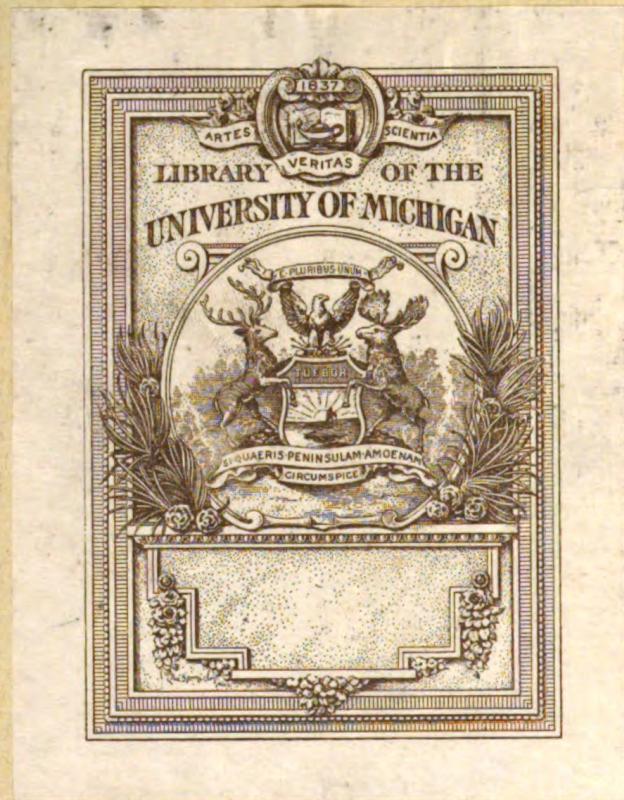
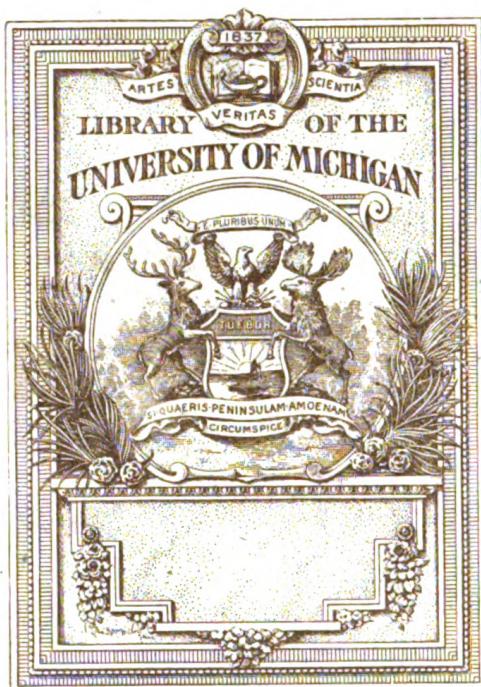


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Second Series

Volume IV

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE SOCIETY
NEW SERIES

NOTICES.

I.—REPORT.

IT is a very special pleasure to announce that my successor in the presidential chair is

THE MARQUIS ADRIANO COLOCCI,

an original member of the first Gypsy Lore Society, formerly a University Professor, Doctor of Law, Councillor of the 'Société d'Histoire Nationale de la Sicile Orientale,' member of the 'Società Siciliana di Storia Patria,' of the Φιλολογικὸς σύλλογος Παρνασσός, and the 'Société d'Archéologie Chrétienne' of Athens, of the 'Conseil Héraldique de France,' Officier d'Académie, etc., etc. The new president is peculiarly well qualified to be our head and leader, not only by his thirty-six years' devotion to the study of Gypsy Lore, his special researches into the early history of the Gypsies in his own country, and by his numerous publications—among which I must not omit to mention the most recent general work on Gypsies which is of any size or importance—but also by the fact that he is one of the few *Romané Raiá* who have lived with Gypsies the true life of the tents, and that not only in Rumelia, Greece, and Spain, but even in Asia Minor and Brazil.

The high standard of our Journal has been fully maintained during the past year, and the scientific value of the papers we have printed greater than ever. By the kindness of the author, and with the permission of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, we have been enabled to begin the publication of Professor R. A. S. Macalister's great collections and thorough grammatical analysis of the language of the Syrian Nawar, and thus place at the service of Romani scholars what they have often declared to be their most pressing need. Among new dialects which have received attention may be mentioned the Bulgarian, in which Mr. Bernard Gilliat-Smith has most ably collected a series of remarkable folk-tales; and the Piedmont Romani discovered by Mr. E. O. Winstedt among the papers of the late Paul Bataillard, and independently by Mr. Augustus John in southern France. To the generosity of the latter we owe also a frontispiece which will for ever distinguish the second volume of our Journal among books that are sought for eagerly.

The importance of the new facts which Cavaliere A. G. Spinelli had collected in Modena, and the attractive form in which he presented them, amply justified the innovation of a long article in the Italian language. A pathetic interest attaches to this paper, since it was this eminent antiquarian's last published work.

In the editing of the Journal, the collaboration of Mr. E. O. Winstedt has been invaluable, placing as it has done both his scholarship and also the resources of the Bodleian Library at the service of the Society, and thus ensuring a degree of accuracy which would have been otherwise impossible. Dr. Archibald Constable equally deserves the gratitude of the members, since he has read all the proofs: to his skill we owe the correctness of our printing, and to his profound knowledge of numerous subjects a happy escape from many blunders.

The statistics of membership are as follows:—

		Libraries, etc.	Individuals.	Total.
At the end of 1908-9	.	58 ¹	149 ¹	207
Losses	.	1	7	8
Accessions	.	5	4	9
At the end of 1909-10	.	62	146	208

¹ One member who, in last year's Report, was enumerated as an individual, was found to represent a library, and has been transferred to the latter class.

The Society has now representatives in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, the British Isles, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Sweden, the Argentine Republic, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Persia, Syria, and the United States of America.

We have had the misfortune to lose three members by death during the year, the Rev. John Parker, Mr. Andrew Smith, and Professor Franz Nikolaus Finck. The loss of Professor Finck is wellnigh irreparable, since with his great learning he combined an unrivalled practical knowledge of Romani. It is satisfactory to know that the book on Gypsy dialects which he was to have written for the *Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, will be composed by another member of the Gypsy Lore Society, Geheimrat Professor Ernst Kuhn, who brings to the work the rare qualification of familiarity with the languages of the Hindū Kūsh.

Under the supervision of the Rev. George Hall, a beginning has been made in the systematic collection of Gypsy pedigrees, a work which, besides possessing great inherent interest, is likely to prove of importance ethnologically.

We have also made an interesting experiment by trying to aid a talented but indigent Gypsy, Engelbert Wittich; and by the liberality of our members the Hon. Secretary has been enabled to send to Geheimrat Kuhn and Professor Brunner a substantial sum for this purpose. A report on the results will be issued with the October journal.

In violent contrast with the scientific success of the Gypsy Lore Society is the state of its finances. Doing a work which would not otherwise be done, and doing it, as we are proud to believe, well, we might have anticipated the support of others besides those who are directly interested in our studies. Such support has, however, been received only to a very limited extent—we have not yet the 300 members we require—and in spite of great economies the year's working has again resulted in a loss. This will necessitate further saving, which involves crippling to some extent the usefulness of the Journal. The question naturally presents itself, whether an appeal should not be made to those members who can afford it to subscribe in order to wipe the deficit from the Society's balance-sheet :¹ in the meantime, all friends are earnestly requested to do what they can to lengthen our roll of members.

THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON.

II.—INDEX OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

The present number is the first of the fourth volume of the New Series of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. The Index of the third volume has been kindly undertaken by Mr. Alexander Russell, M.A., of Stromness. It is in active preparation, and will be issued with the title-page and preliminary matter as soon as possible.

III.—DIRECTORY OF SEDENTARY GYPSIES.

The Rev. George Hall (Ruckland Rectory, Louth, Lincolnshire) wishes to remind members that he is preparing a 'Directory of Sedentary British Gypsies.' He would be grateful not only for the names and addresses of settled Romanichels, but also for particulars of the usual camping-grounds, and of the more or less permanent camps and settlements which are found in or near all large towns. Mr. Hall also invites collaboration in his pedigree work; and Mr. Winstedt (230 Abingdon Road, Oxford) in the collection of Anglo-Romani words, no matter how corrupt, as at present used in Great Britain.

¹ With the manuscript of this Report, Mr. Watts-Dunton most generously enclosed a cheque for £10. The subscription list must therefore be considered as open, and to it the Hon. Secretary gladly adds, as his donation, the same amount.

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOLUME IV

(JULY 1910—APRIL 1911)

PRINTED PRIVATELY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE
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AT THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

CONTENTS¹

	<small>PAGE</small>
LIST OF PLATES	vii
LIST OF MEMBERS	ix
ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1911	xvii
ERRATA	xx

NO. 1.—JULY 1910.

i. MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN STAPLES HARRIOTT. By Colonel W. F. PRIDEAUX, C.S.I.	1
ii. NURI STORIES (<i>Continued</i>). Collected by Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	20
iii. NOTES ON THE CRIMINAL CLASSES IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY. By WILLIAM CROOKE	35 ✓
iv. WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES. No. 10. I BITA KĀNI. By JOHN SAMPSON, D.Litt.	40
v. NIKOLAUS MIHAJLO DER KLEINE. Von FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPOHL	47
vi. ANOTHER BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE. E MUXTÍSKERI PARAMÍSI. Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH	49
vii. A SWEET STREET SANCTUARY. By HERBERT MALLESON	55
NOTES AND QUERIES	60

NO. 2.—OCTOBER 1910.

i. FRANZ NIKOLAUS FINCK. Von Geheimrat Professor Dr. ERNST KUHN	81
ii. ISMAELITES. By Professor LEO WIENER	83
iii. NURI STORIES (<i>Continued</i>). Collected by Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	100
iv. TEXTES EN ROMANI RUSSE. Translittérés et traduits d'après le Tryganski Yazyk de P. Istomin [K. P. PATKANOV]. Par M. le Docteur HENRI BOURGEOIS	121
v. UN GLOSSAIRE TSIGNANE DU SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE. Par M. le Professeur A. KLUYVER	131
vi. A THIRD BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE: O ČOR. Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH	142
REVIEWS	151
NOTES AND QUERIES	155

¹ Complete Lists of the Reviews and of the Notes and Queries will be found in the Index under these headings.

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NO. 3.—JANUARY 1911.

	PAGE
I. GYPSIES ON THE ROAD. After Ch. Baudelaire's <i>Les Fleurs du Mal</i> , xiii. By ARTHUR SYMONS	161
II. JACOB BYRANT: being an Analysis of his Anglo-Romani Vocabulary, with a Discussion of the Place and Date of Collection and an Attempt to show that Bryant, not Rüdiger, was the earliest discoverer of the Indian origin of the Gypsies. By JOHN SAMPSON, D.Litt.	162
III. THE GYPSIES OF CENTRAL RUSSIA. By D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING, LL.D.	195
IV. RUSSIAN GYPSIES AT MARSEILLES AND MILAN. By AUGUSTUS JOHN	217
NOTES AND QUERIES	236

NO. 4.—APRIL 1911.

I. DIE ZIGEUNER ALS MUSIKER IN DEN TÜRKISCHEN EROBERUNGSKRIEGEN DES XVI. JAHRHUNDERTS. Von FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPOHL	241
II. THE GYPSIES OF CENTRAL RUSSIA (<i>Continued</i>). By D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING, LL.D.	244
III. CAPITAINES DE BOHÉMIENS. Par S. G. MONSEIGNEUR J. DE CARSALADE DU PONT, Évêque de Perpignan	259
IV. STORMS AND INTERLUDES. By THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON	262
V. ZIGEUNERISCHES. Von ENGELBERT WITTICH	271
VI. A GYPSY AND A TALE. By JOHN MYERS	272
VII. THE GYPSY LATHE. By JULIUS TEUTSCH	275
VIII. NURI STORIES (<i>Continued</i>). Collected by Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	279
IX. THE ORGANISATION OF SOUTH GERMAN GYPSIES. By ENGELBERT WITTICH	287
X. THE SOUND R. By BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH	292
REVIEWS	296
NOTES AND QUERIES	301
INDEX	321

LIST OF PLATES

FRANZ NIKOLAUS FINCK	<i>to face p. 81</i>
FACSIMILE OF MANUSCRIPT IN THE STATE ARCHIVES OF GRONINGEN: SIXTEENTH CENTURY GYPSY VOCABULARY. By JOHAN VAN EWSUM	,, 131
WOODCUT FROM LEWENKLAU'S <i>NEUWE CHRONIKA TÜRKISCHER NATION</i> , FRANKFURT, 1590	,, 241
SPOON-MAKING GYPSIES AT WORK	,, 275

CUTS IN THE TEXT

TOOLS, ETC., USED BY SPOON-MAKING GYPSIES	,, 276
THE GYPSY LATHE	,, 277

The Gypsy Lore Society

21A ALFRED STREET, LIVERPOOL

President—THE MARQUIS ADRIANO COLOCCI.

CHARLES GODFREY LELAND, 1888-92.

Past Presidents—

DAVID MACRITCHIE, 1907-8.	CHARLES GODFREY LELAND, 1888-92.
	HENRY THOMAS CROFTON, 1908-9.
	THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON, 1909-10.

LIST OF MEMBERS¹

Year ending 30th June 1911

LIBRARIES AND SOCIETIES

- [219] Aberdeen, Scotland, The University Library, King's College.
- [292] Aberystwyth, Wales, The National Library of Wales, care of Sydney V. Galloway, Pier Street, Aberystwyth.
- [148] Berlin, Germany, Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Königgrätzerstrasse 120.
- [18] Berlin, Germany, Königliche Bibliothek, Behrenstrasse 40, W. 64.
- [26] Birmingham, England, Free Reference Library, Ratcliffe Place.
- [162] Boston, Mass., U.S.A., The Athenæum, care of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., Dryden House, 43 Gerrard Street, Soho, London, W.
- [39] Boston, Mass., U.S.A., The Public Library, care of G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.
- [200] Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A., The Public Library, 197 Montague Street.
- [284] Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, care of Misch et Thron, 126 rue Royale, Brussels.
- [260] Budapest, Hungary, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Széchenyi orsz. Könyvtára, care of Ranschburg Gusztáv, Budapest iv, Ferenciek tere 2 szám (Király-Bazár).
- [181] Calcutta, India, The Asiatic Society of Bengal (57 Park Street), care of Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W.

¹ The numbers printed in brackets before the names indicate the order in which members joined the Society, as determined by the dates of the receipts for their first subscriptions. The first new member who joined after the revival of the Gypsy Lore Society in the spring of 1907 was No. 92, and lower numbers, of which there are thirty-two, distinguish those who were members during the first period of the Society's activity, which ended on June 30, 1892.

- [239] Cambridge, England, The Union Society, care of W. H. Smith & Son, 7 Rose Crescent, Cambridge.
- [251] Cambridge, England, The University Library.
- [27] Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., Harvard University Library, care of Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.
- [151] Cardiff, South Wales, Central Public Library.
- [161] Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., The Newberry Library, care of B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross, London, W.C.
- [145] Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., The University Library, care of B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross, London, W.C.
- [265] Christiania, Norway, Universitets-Bibliotheket, care of Cammermeyers Boghandel (Sigurd Pedersen og Eistein Raabe), Karl Johans Gade, 41 og 43, Kristiania, Norway.
- [163] Copenhagen, Denmark, The Royal Library, care of Francis Edwards, 83 High Street, Marylebone, London, W.
- [205] Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A., The Public Library, care of B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross, London, W.C.
- [261] Dresden, Germany, Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek, Kaiser Wilhelm Platz 11.
- [252] Dublin, Ireland, The Library of Trinity College.
- [268] Dublin, Ireland, The National Library of Ireland, care of Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd., 104 Grafton Street, Dublin.
- [203] Edinburgh, Scotland, The Advocates' Library.
- [204] Edinburgh, Scotland, The Philosophical Institution, 4 Queen Street.
- [89] Edinburgh, Scotland, The Public Library, George IV. Bridge.
- [156] Edinburgh, Scotland, The Royal Scottish Museum, care of James Thin, 54 South Bridge, Edinburgh.
- [49] Edinburgh, Scotland, The Signet Library, care of George P. Johnston, 37 George Street, Edinburgh.
- [141] Frankfurt am Main, Germany, Freiherrlich Carl von Rothschild'sche öffentliche Bibliothek, Untermainkai 15.
- [212] Glasgow, Scotland, The Mitchell Library, 21 Miller Street.
- [255] Glasgow, Scotland, The University Library, care of James MacLehose & Sons, 61 St. Vincent Street.
- [236] Hamburg, Germany, Museum für Völkerkunde, Binderstrasse, 14.
- [285] Harrisburg, Pa., U.S.A., The State Library of Pennsylvania.
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- [283] Leipzig, Germany, Universitäts-bibliothek, care of Carl Beck, Inselstrasse 18, Leipzig, Germany.
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- [243] London, England, The British Museum, Department of Printed Books.
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- [279] Manchester, England, The John Rylands Library, Deansgate.
- [28] Manchester, England, Public Free Reference Library, King Street.
- [216] Milan, Italy, Reale Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera, care of Asher & Co., 14 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.
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- [157] Adams, Alfred, 493 and 495 Collins Street (W.), Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- [115] Aldersey, Hugh, of Aldersey, near Chester.
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- [206] McLaren, J. Stewart, Hartfell House, Moffat, Scotland.
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- [136] M^oWhir, James, M.B., Ch.B., Swinton, Duns, Berwickshire.
- [95] Maitland, Mrs. Ella Fuller, 131 Sloane Street, London, S.W.
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- [123] Marston, Miss F., M.A., 9 Stanford Road, Lydney, Gloucestershire.
- [113] Merrick, William Percy, Elvetham, Shepperton, Middlesex.
- [188] Mitchell, William, 14 Forbesfield Road, Aberdeen.
- [172] Moreton, The Lord, Sarsden House, Chipping Norton, Oxon.
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- [291] Morrice, Frederick, Brampton Hall, Wangford, Suffolk.
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-

*Honorary Secretary: R. A. SCOTT MACFIE,
21A Alfred Street, Liverpool.*

ACCO UNTS

FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1911

INCOME

6 subscriptions for the year 1908-9,	.	£6 0 0
5 " " 1909-10,	.	5 0 0
159 " " 1910-11,	.	159 0 0
13 " " 1911-12,	.	13 0 0
Instalments of subscriptions for the year 1911-12,	.	0 11 0
		—————
Copies and parts of Volume I. sold to Members,	£4 6 0	£183 11 0
" " Volume II.	4 13 6	
" " Volume III.	4 8 6	—————
		13 8 0
Special Donations (see list),	.	.
Set of Journal, Old Series, sold,	£6 15 0	117 19 0
Less commission,	0 17 0	—————
		5 18 0
Collected for Engelbert Wittich,	.	0 10 0
		—————
		£321 6 0

EXPENDITURE

Discounts for the year 1910-11,	.	£2 1 0
" " 1911-12,	.	0 11 6
		—————
		£2 12 6
Management and Correspondence—		
Cheque Book,	.	£0 2 6
Stationery,	.	4 9 0
Printed Notices,	.	4 6 6
Postages,	.	5 9 0
Auditor's Fee,	.	0 10 6
		—————
		14 17 6
Carry forward,	.	£17 10 0
		xvii

	Brought forward, . . .	£17 10 0
Journal and Publications—		
No. 1. Letterpress, . . .	£35 6 0	
No. 2. Letterpress, . . .	£40 17 6	
Illustrations, . . .	6 11 6	
	—————	
No. 3. Letterpress, . . .	47 9 0	
No. 4. Letterpress, . . .	34 2 6	
Illustrations, . . .	£32 17 6	
	—————	
No. 5. Letterpress (estimate), . . .	3 10 0	
	—————	
	36 7 6	
	18 2 0	
	—————	
	171 7 0	
Advertising and Reviews—		
Prospectuses and printed forms, . . .	£0 7 0	
Envelopes and labels, . . .	0 12 0	
Additional Journals printed for review,	5 11 11	
Postages, . . .	2 1 10	
	—————	
Dispatch of Journal to Members, . . .	8 12 9	
Separate offprints for the authors of papers, . . .	10 14 2	
Excess actual cost of Vol. III., No. 5, over estimate in last year's accounts, . . .	12 19 1	
Remitted to Geheimrat Professor Dr. E. Kuhn for Engelbert Wittich, . . .	2 18 0	
Balance, income over expenditure, . . .	0 10 0	
	96 15 0	
	—————	
	£321 6 0	

BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES.	ASSETS.
To Creditors—	
T. and A. Constable, £97 15 5	By Cash in Bank, . . . £14 6 10
Gilderoy Gray, . . . 50 0 0	Excess expenditure
J. Summerskill, . . . 0 10 6	over income,
Excess income over expenditure, 1910-11, 96 15 0	1907-8, 129 5 4 Do., 1908-9, 77 17 7 Do., 1909-10, 23 11 2
—————	—————
£245 0 11	£245 0 11

I have audited the Books and Accounts of the Gypsy Lore Society, and examined the Vouchers relating thereto, for the year ending June 30, 1911, and hereby certify the above statement to be a true and correct one as shown thereby.

[Signed] J. SUMMERSKILL,
Certified Accountant.

21 VICTORIA STREET, LIVERPOOL,
February 20, 1912.

NOTE.—The Society owns the following property—

Stock of Journals unsold (at cost) :

Volume I.,	.	.	.	.	.	£53	9	3
Volume II.,	.	.	.	.	.	67	8	8
Volume III.,	.	.	.	.	.	59	9	4
Volume IV.,	.	.	.	.	.	66	16	3
Subscriptions in arrears,	.	.	.	.	.	32	0	0
Dr. George F. Black's <i>Gypsy Bibliography</i> , provisional issue, standing in type,	.	.	.	.	.	not valued		
						£279	3	6

SPECIAL DONATIONS

Dr. George F. Black,	.	.	.	.	.	£0	10	0
Dr. Archibald Constable,*	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Mr. Henry T. Crofton,	.	.	.	.	.	5	0	0
Mr. William Ferguson,	.	.	.	.	.	10	0	0
Miss Alice E. Gillington,	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Mr. Gilderoy Gray,	.	.	.	.	.	50	0	0
Mr. Herbert W. Greene,	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Captain Frederick H. Huth,	.	.	.	.	.	10	0	0
Principal Sir Donald MacAlister,	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Provost Andrew M'Cormick,	.	.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Mr. R. A. Scott Macfie,	.	.	.	.	.	10	0	0
Mr. David MacRitchie,†	.	.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Mr. William Mitchell,	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Mr. John Myers,	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Mr. Sidney W. Perkins,	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Colonel W. F. Prideaux, C.S.I.,	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Dr. D. F. de l'Hoste Ranking,	.	.	.	.	.	5	0	0
Mr. Llywarch Reynolds,	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Mr. Alexander Russell,	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Dr. John Sampson,	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Mr. Charles Strachey,	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Mr. Theodore Watts-Dunton,	.	.	.	.	.	10	0	0
Professor Alfred C. Woolner,	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
						£117	19	0

* Dr. Constable subsequently sent another guinea, which will appear in the accounts of 1911-12.

† Mr. MacRitchie had already given a donation of one pound, which was acknowledged in the accounts of 1909-10.

ERRATA

- Page 27, (xxxviii., Trans., lines 12 and 18), *for tent read tents.*
,, 29, line 10, *for cupboard read platter.*
,, 34, „ 4, „ *Háyayin gärdä-kerdöm* read *Yáyá in-gärdä-kerdöm.*
,, 46, *footnote,* *for jal'p'ski* read *jal'p'ski.*
,, 80, „ 2, „ *Gypsy* „ *Gipsy.*
,, 113, (lxii., Trans., line 10), *for swpt read swept.*
,, 116, (lxv., Trans., line 8), „ *negro showed read negro]* showed.
,, 139, line 26, *for pourrai treprésenter read pourrait représenter.*

NEW SERIES

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

JULY 1910

VOL. IV

NO. 1

CONTENTS:

ARTICLES BY

- Friedrich Wilhelm Brepohl
Dr. William Crooke
Bernard Gilliat-Smith
Prof. R. A. S. Macalister
Rev. Herbert H. Malleson
Colonel W. F. Prideaux
Dr. John Sampson
Notes and Queries

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN STAPLES HARRIOTT. By Colonel W. F. PRIDEAUX, C.S.I.	1
II. NURI STORIES (<i>Continued</i>). By Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	20
III. NOTES ON THE CRIMINAL CLASSES IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY. By Dr. WILLIAM CROOKE	35
IV. WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES. No. 10. Ī BITA KĀNĪ. By JOHN SAMPSON, D.Litt.	40
V. NIKOLAUS MIHAJLO DER KLEINE. Von FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPÖHL	47
VI. ANOTHER BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE. E MUXTIS- KERI PARAMÍSL. Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH	49
VII. A SWEET STREET SANCTUARY. By HERBERT MALLESON	55
NOTES AND QUERIES	60

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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began with the number of July 1888 and ended with that of April 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several copies of Vol. III. at the original cost of £1, and also most of the numbers of Vols. I. and II. at the original cost of 5s. for each number.

The New Series of the Journal began with the number of July 1907, four numbers and a supplementary index-number making a volume. Three such volumes have been issued, those of 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1909-10. A limited number of copies can still be obtained at the subscription price of £1 for each volume, but they are sold only to members of the Gypsy Lore Society, and not to the general public. Single parts cannot always be supplied: when copies are available for sale to members the price is 5s. each with the exception of the index-number of Vol. I., for which only 2s. 6d. is charged.

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY
—
NEW SERIES

VOL. IV

JULY 1910

No. 1

I.—MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN STAPLES HARRIOTT.

By Col. W. F. PRIDEAUX, C.S.I.

A MONGST the pioneers of Gypsy lore in England, the name of Harriott holds a distinguished place. He himself tells us how, while he resided in North Hampshire, in the years 1819-20, he was led to pay considerable attention to a race of vagrant men, who, roaming about the high roads and lanes in the vicinity of Waltham, Overton, and Whitchurch, appeared to be almost out of the protection of the law, and were known throughout the world under varied names. His interest in this people led him to make researches into the history and language of the Gypsies, and the results of his investigations were given to the world in a valuable and painstaking paper which was read before the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland on December 5, 1829 and January 2, 1830, under the title of 'Observations on the Oriental Origin of the Romnichal, or Tribe miscalled Gypsey and Bohemian.' To this paper was appended a 'Comparative Vocabulary of the Gypsey Dialect, with a variety of Asiatic Synonymes, deduced chiefly from the Hindi, or Language of Hindustan.' It was published in volume ii. of the *Transactions of the Society*, and a few copies were separately struck off for presentation to friends.

VOL. IV.—NO. I.

A

Notwithstanding the valuable military services rendered to his country by General Harriott during his career in India, and his important philological and historical work in connection with the Gypsies, his name has failed to find admission to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There has even been uncertainty with regard to the spelling of his name. On the title-page of his 'Observations' it is spelt 'Harriot,' and although my own copy of the separate edition is a presentation one, and bears an inscription in the autograph of the author, the error is left uncorrected. The parish registers of Great Stambridge and the India Office records leave, however, no room for doubt that the correct orthography was 'Harriott.'

John Harriott, the father of the Gypsy scholar, was a man of some distinction in his day. There is an adequate memoir of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, from which it appears that he was born in 1745 at Great Stambridge, or Stambridge Magna, near Rochford in Essex, where his father, who belonged to an old Northamptonshire family of small landowners and tanners, had settled two years previously. John Harriott had a varied and somewhat adventurous life, and, according to the mural tablet erected to his memory in Great Stambridge Church, had 'repeatedly surmounted every danger and difficulty arising from Shipwreck, Earthquakes, Pestilence, War, Fire, and Inundation.' He subsequently took up his abode in Great Stambridge, where his sons John Staples and Thomas were born. Their baptisms were recorded in the parish register under the respective dates of September 30, 1780, and December 6, 1783. The mother of the two boys, Ann Harriott, was 'buried in Wollen [sic] only' on February 9, 1785, and on August 11 in the same year John Harriott was married again to Elizabeth Wood, spinster, of the parish of Great Binstead, by whom he had several children. In 1798 John Harriott was appointed Resident Magistrate at the Thames Police Court, after having addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, the Duke of Portland, proposing a scheme for the establishment of a body of river police on the Thames, which was shortly afterwards carried into effect. He died on January 22, 1817, at Burr Street, Spitalfields, and was buried at Great Stambridge, where a copper tablet was placed to his memory on the wall of the church, which still remains to attest his excellences and virtues.

John Harriott had at one time served under the East India

Company, and he had sufficient influence to procure nominations to the Company's service for his two elder sons, John Staples being appointed a cadet of infantry in 1796, and the younger brother, Thomas, obtaining a berth in the old Indian navy. As a lieutenant he afterwards commanded the *Psyche* gun-brig at the taking of Java. John Staples Harriott was appointed ensign on October 13, 1797, and was promoted to lieutenant on September 10, 1798. He did duty with the 8th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry from March to September 1798, and with the 9th Native Infantry at Cawnpore and Lucknow from the following December to April 1799, when he was finally posted to, and joined, the 2nd Native Infantry. In February and March 1803, he served with the army under Lord Lake, besieging the strong forts of Catchoura, etc., in the Doab; and in August of the same year accompanied his regiment into the field, upon the breaking out of the war with the Mahrattas. He was at the capture of Coil, the storm of Aligurh, the battle of Delhi on September 11, in which, while storming a very strong and well-served battery, constructed by French officers, of sixty-two pieces of cannon, he had the misfortune to lose his right leg. In 1804 he was nominated to the general staff of the army, as Persian interpreter to general courts-martial. On October 22, 1805, he was promoted to the rank of captain, and in 1806 he was appointed to the barrack and executive departments, in which situation (occasionally officiating as deputy judge-advocate, etc.) he remained until March 1817. He obtained his majority on August 1, 1818, was promoted to lieutenant-colonel on July 11, 1823, and to colonel on June 5, 1829. On June 28, 1838, Colonel Harriott's promotion to major-general was included among the Coronation honours.

I gather from the India Office records that General Harriott died at Paris on February 13, 1839, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, but, so far as I can discover, no memorial of the fact is to be found in such publications as *The Gentleman's Magazine* or *The Annual Register*. At this distance of time it is difficult, from the scanty materials in our possession, to form a just estimate of his character. He seems to have been one of those soldier-scholars who have never been wanting in the ranks of the Indian army, equally at home in the field and in the study, and in either sphere a credit to the country that bore them. The linguistic aptitude which at an early period of his career secured him the Persian interpretership must have materially assisted him in

compiling his vocabulary of the Gypsy dialect. A long familiarity with the vernacular languages of Northern India enables the present writer to testify to the accuracy of Harriott's investigations.

The following extract from Harriott's paper, which has now become rather scarce, is interesting from the inferences which it enables us to make of the character of the man, as it is hardly necessary to state that it is not every one who can win the affections of a Gypsy:—

'Having thus traced the Gypsey through Europe and Asia to his native place, and shewed the general resemblance of this tribe in feature and in language, I may briefly advert to what occurred the day before I left my late residence in Hampshire. Old Master Sam. Ayres is considered as the head or chief of those bearing his name, or that of Stanley: he was born in the year 1745, and had served several years in the army. On one occasion I saved his life by a little surgical aid, and he acknowledged the service I had done him gratefully. A number of his family came to pay their humble respects at Court House, and to wish me a prosperous journey: this was done in a plain but earnest manner; and seated on the steps before my door, eating some slices of fresh barley bread which I gave them, with water to drink, it was impossible not to be pleased with their songs and artless mirth, their cheerful merry countenances. The children danced and sang; but as soon as they had finished their homely meal, they came and said in a very pretty manner, "Thank God, and thank you, sir!"—a grace that I little expected, and which, if studied ever so much, could scarcely be altered for the better.'

No clearer light than this could be thrown on the character of the genial gorgio, or of the unsophisticated Romany of ninety years ago. The journey that Harriott was about to undertake was evidently that referred to in his 'Observations,' when in 1821 he travelled through Poland and the southern provinces of Russia towards Persia, in which country he gleaned some important particulars regarding the *Luli* and *Kauli* of Kurdistān and Azerbijān. It is unfortunate that we have no fuller details of this adventurous journey.

In drawing up this slight tribute to the memory of one of the fathers of Gypsy lore, I must acknowledge the willing assistance that has been afforded me by the Rev. F. Rashleigh Burnside, rector of Great Stambridge, and by Mr. William Foster, of the India Office.

HARRIOTT'S VOCABULARY.

Of Harriott's paper Pott (i. 22) said in 1844 :—‘Dieser Aufsatz ist weitaus das Beste, was je von Engländern über den Ursprung der Zigeuner und ihrer Sprache geschrieben worden, und enthält in beiden Beziehungen viel Neues und Brauchbares, besonders rücksichtlich der Auswanderung der Zigeuner von Indien nach Persien. Auch beobachtet er die richtigere Jones'sche Transcriptions-Methode.’ The volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* in which it was printed is, however, rare, and the vocabulary not easily studied, because it is arranged in the alphabetical order of the English, and not of the Romani, words. Almost the whole glossary could be reconstructed from quotations in Pott's work, but Harriott's words are there so involved in a cloud of references to other sources, that it has seemed worth while to rearrange his collection in such a way as to show at a glance the importance of his contribution to our knowledge of Anglo-Romani in 1819-20.

One is struck by the corruptness of the dialect spoken by these North Hampshire Gypsies who roamed ‘about the high roads and lanes in the vicinity of Waltham, Overton, and Whitchurch,’ and whose most common surnames were Stanley, Aires, Lee, and Peters. Pott found only one inflection of the noun, viz. *res* ‘welches Acc. sein könnte’; ‘Die Anführung der Verba’ he complained ‘findet meistens im Imper. Sg. statt, . . . öfters aber auch in anderen, vielfach rätselhaften Weisen’; and the adjectives do not as a rule agree with their nouns. Many of the enigmatical verbal forms end in *-en* which Pott, i. 329, took to be ‘wohl 3. pl. Conj.’—they are, however, participles formed with the English suffix *-ing*; and Anglicized plurals and possessives in *-s*, though rare, are present. On the other hand spurious Romani words are absent, unless *efage* ‘Irish Gypsey,’ *jixa* ‘song,’ *rekadil* ‘grandchild,’ and *spark* be counted as such; and though mistakes are numerous—and often amusing—there are indications that his Gypsies could have spoken inflected Romani if Harriott had been able to demand it.

Harriott, however, demanded little more than single words, and in recording these his knowledge of Eastern languages, useful though it was in tracing etymologies, sometimes led him unconsciously to make a false record, as when he wrote *rekabe* for *kekavi* ‘tea-kettle’ and *giti* for *gili* ‘song.’ This applies particularly to his rendering of the Romani vowels. A vacillation between *a* and *e* in representing the short Romani *ă* is excusable—justifiable in fact, since the Gypsy sound has no symbol in the English alphabet, but an examination of the examples Harriott collected of the word *baro* ‘great’ will convince most students that his Gypsies said *bāro* and that he occasionally wrote *a* because he knew that the word was connected with Hindi *bārā*. The following is his description of the system of spelling he used :—

In the Gypsey and oriental words I have followed Sir William Jones, or the Italian orthography, as being the most perfect; except the short breathing letter *ă* marked with this character to distinguish it from the long *Ā*, *ā*; to the former belongs the power of the Arabic *fatha*, and the Sanskrit *় akār*; or the short *e* in the French words, ‘le,’ ‘me, de.’

Thus *A*, vel *a*, short, like *e* in ‘me, Gallice;’ or *u* in ‘but;’ or *o* in ‘money, Anglice.’

Ā, vel *ā*, long invariably.

Of the Consonants.

G is always hard, as in the Latin ‘gravitas.’

J is always like the soft English *j* in ‘jasmine.’

K is used, instead of *c*, for the third letter in the English alphabet, from its always retaining the same sound.

Y is always consonant, like the English *y* in ‘your, yoke.’

Without wishing to detract in any way from Harriott's reputation as a pioneer in Gypsy lore it may be pointed out that his want of skill in discriminating vowel-sounds is shown by the fact that the only vowel he has described at length is one which does not occur in pure Romani words !

VOCABULARY.

[*ach-*, to remain] : in *achipaleste* 'bless'; from sentence *me deval achipaleste* 'God bless you': [= *ach opral leste*. Pott, i. 248, 'God bless you (wohl him) d. h. Mein Gott, bleib—über oder bei?—ihm!' See also Pott, i. 232 and ii. 50. Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 83, '= *atch apré liste*, "rest on him."]

āg. See *yag*.

aja, thus: in *ma-karo, ja* 'do not so': [Pott has not this form, but see i. 260 and 319.]

aka. See *kā*.

apre, pre, above, up, upper: also in *chan-dapre* 'cover,' *dey apre* 'read (to),' *pude apre āg* 'blow (up the fire)'; *opre* in *pandi to pre* 'bind (it up)', [see s. v. *it*]; and *pre* in *preopodus* 'story (second, of a house)': [Pott i. 292 and 348. For the last phrase Pott, i. 105, suggests 'Z. pre (auf) mit Engl. abode,' but Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 84, more correctly, = *pré o boórdas*, "up the stairs."]

atraish. See *trash-*.

[*av-*, to come]: *av* 'come' [imperat.]; *ave* 'coming,' *māngar ave* 'beggar is coming,' *ave giv* 'sing (come)'; *avāta* 'to come' [? emphatic imperat.]; *gajo-avate* 'a person is coming': [Of the last Pott, i. 344, says 'von mir unklarer Form, falls nicht etwa 1 st. t zu schreiben.' Cf. *giti* and *rakto*, for *gili* and *raklo*. See also i. 348, 460 and ii. 50, 52.]

avai, away: in *dein*; *avai lova* 'charity': [Eng. away. Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 83, '= lit. "giving away money."' Pott, ii. 303.]

āvo, yes: also *ava pala* 'yes brother': [Pott, i. 318 and ii. 50.]

badras. See *vadras*.

bakalo, hungry: [Pott, ii. 396.]

bakro, sheep, lamb: [Pott, ii. 83-4.]

bal, bāl, hair, bristle: *pano bal* 'white hair'; *yakar bal* 'eye-brow, eye-hair'; *balas, bal* 'bristle' [Pott, ii. 420, 'verm. ist das Komma zu tilgen, und das erste W. ein verstümmelter Gen.' = 'pig's hair.']}

balo, hog, boar, sow: *doe bālō* 'two hogs'; *balas, bal* 'bristle': [= *balo's bal*. Pott ii. 420-1. See *balas*, s.v. *bal*.]

bango, crooked, lame: *bango mush*, 'lame man': [Pott, ii. 89-90.]

bar, stone: *bār* 'ball': [Pott, ii. 409. On p. 410 Pott suggests that the second word is 'Aus dem Engl. ?']

bark, bar, breast, bosom: *gāja bark* 'a woman's breast': [Pott, i. 148, ii. 356.]

bāro, baro, boro, great, big, long—i.e. great, brave: *boro-churi* 'sword'; *gav, boro, gav* 'town'; *haro haro* 'cram (to)' [see s.v. *haro*]; *bāro kasht* 'club (a stick)'; *boro-ker* 'great house'; *boro-mochi* 'whale (a large fish)'; *bāro mush* 'brave man, = great man'; *boro pani* 'stream (great), river (a stream)'; *boro rae, boro-rae* 'lord or chief, nobleman, (great man)'; *boro rāni* 'a great lady'; *baro-shil* 'cough, a great cold': also *bara* in *bara*; *dinlo*; *atraish*; *trasela* 'coward (afraid)': [Pott, ii. 411-6.]

bāshno, cock: in *kāni bāshno* 'cock, v. fowl': [Pott, ii. 426.]

[*bāshov-*, to play music.]: *bāshom-angri* 'fiddle'; *basho mangri* 'violin': [Pott, ii. 426, 'richtiger in Eins.' See also i. 135.]

baval, bavol, beval, bevel, bevo, wind, breath, air: *beval pude, bevo pude* 'blows (the wind)': [Pott, i. 344, and ii. 383, 418.]

be, be : in *mush jaen be nashko* ‘man going to be hung’ : [Pott, i. 344 ‘Präp. oder Engl. to be?’ The latter is right.]

bero, ber, ship, boat : *ber-engro* ‘sailor (ship-man)’ : [Pott, ii. 89. See also i. 144.]

[*besh-*, to sit.]: participle *boshto, boshta* ‘saddle’ [Pott, i. 126 and ii. 427.]; *besham* ‘county’ [=?= *beshipen* or *beshimas* ‘(county) sessions,’ or connected with *vesh* ‘forest.’ Pott, ii. 402, ‘Bittutheim (eig. wohl kl Land) A country (so !) . . . Bry.; viell. daraus verderbt: Besham A county (so !) Harr., dessen Vgl. mit Pers. . . nicht anschlagen will.’]

bibi, aunt : [Pott, ii. 405.]

bikin-, to sell. See s.v. *pagar*.

bitta, bite, biti, beti, small, little, short, brief, lean : *beti chāvo* ‘little child’; *beti gav* ‘street’; *biti-guoni* ‘calf, small cow’; *ker bitta* ‘cottage, a small house’; *beti pani* ‘brook, lit. small water’; *bete giv* ‘a piece of wheat’ : [Pott, i. 348 first regarded this word as = Eng. ‘bit’;—‘bete giv (a piece of wheat; d.h. wohl nicht ein Stück Weizenackers, sondern bete = Engl. bit, Bisschen ? s. Lex.)’; but when he wrote the Lexicon, ii. 402, he said ‘doch wohl nicht aus Engl. bit (morceau), wie im D. Bisschen für: wenig. . . Aus Engl. petty, Frz. petit?’ See also *besham*, s.v. *besh-*.]

bobi, babi, pea : [Pott, ii. 406.]

bokalo. See *bakalo*.

boro. See *baro*.

boshto. See *besh-*.

brischin, rain : [Pott, ii. 81.]

bunet, bunch : [Pott, ii. 388, s.v. *bunda*, ‘Etwa aus d. D. Bund?’: but probably = Pott, ii. 419, ‘Burnek f. eine Handvoll,’ S. & C. *bónnek*.]

but, much, a great deal, multitude : *but, dasto* ‘crowd’ [Pott, i. 37.]; *but hāben hābina* ‘eating much’ ; [Pott, ii. 400.]; Comparative *butodēr* in *neni man noboto. delovo* ‘money (I’ve no more)’ : [Pott, i. 319, ‘offenbar falsch st. no botoder im Compar.’]

chaha, chāpar, shoe, stump : [Pott, ii. 256.]; *chāh-engro* ‘shoemaker’ : [Pott, i. 147, ‘etwa mit Verlust von r, vgl. Pchm. cirachengéro.’]

chaho, coat : also *choho* ‘broadcloth’ : [Pott, ii. 178, with ref. to *cham* ‘leather’, ii. 192.] *chaho* is also given for ‘sheepfold’: [Pott, ii. 178 suggests ‘Etwa zu Hind. *chak* A shepherd or goatherd?’ but more probably a pun on Eng. ‘cote.’]

chai. See *che*.

chakni, whip : [Pott, ii. 181.]

chal. See s.v. *romano*.

[*chan-*, to cover.]: in *chan-dapre* ‘cover’ : [? for *n* read *r*, thus *chardo* (*apre*), participle of *charava*, S. & C.’s *choróva*. Pott, i. 348 and ii. 206, takes it for an imperative.]

chang, knee : [Pott, ii. 195.]

chāpar. See *chaha*.

char. See *chav*.

chav, cabbage : [Pott, ii. 229, ‘Chaja f. Cabbage. Col. Bw., aber chav (so !) Harr.’ ? mistake for *char* ‘grass’, see Pott, ii. 198.]

chāvo, child : *beti chāvo* ‘little child’ : [Pott, ii. 181.]

che, girl : in *romaniche* ‘Gypsey (female).’ [Pott, i. 37, ‘wohl componirt mit czaj Tochter.’ See s.v. *romano*.]

chericlo, bird : also *chariklo* ‘cage.’ [Pott, ii. 199, ‘Harr. chericlo (Bird), aber auch, verm. durch Missverständ, für Käfig (cage) chariclo.’ See also Groomie, *In G. Tents*, p. 83] ; and *chiklo* ‘crow (bird)’ [? for *chiklo cheriklo* ‘dirty bird’, if not simply by the omission of -er- or -ri-.]

chi, nothing : [Pott, i. 323 and ii. 176.]

chik, dirt, clay : for *chiklo* see s.v. *chericlo* : [Pott, ii. 177.]

[*chin-*, to cut.] : *chin*, imperative, 'cut, clip'; *chināsa* 'let us cut', in *ne pala jasa mego tichin nāsa mege bete giv* 'brother, let us go and cut a piece of wheat' [Pott, i. 348, 'tichinnāsa mege (and cut; schr. ti, und, chinnās, d.i. desecemus, mit: amege=us?)'; *kinoben* 'reap (to cut)' and *chin*, *kinoben* 'cut, clip' [i.e. *chinoben*]; *chinen, churi* 'chopper, knife' [i.e. *chin-ing churi* 'cutting knife'] and *chinnane giv* 'harvest; (lit.) cutting wheat' [i.e. *chin-ing e giv* 'cutting the wheat.' Of these last endings Pott, i. 344, says 'Am auf fallendsten stellen sich mehrere Formen auf -en dar, was schwerlich mit der Hindust. Infinitiv-Endung -nā zusammengehalten werden darf, sondern vielmehr mit der 3. Pl. Präs. Conj. sich in trefflichem Einklange befände, zumal solche Phrasen (mit te vor ihnen) infinitiv gefasst werden können, Broil, quarrel: Chingaren... Von verwandter Wurzel Harvest: Chinnane giv; (lit.) Cutting (wohl nicht Partic.!) wheat. Chinen (Chopper v. Knife, als Subst.).' See also Pott, i. 134 and ii. 207.]

[*chingar-*, to quarrel.] : *chingaren* 'broil, quarrel': [= *chingar-ing*. See Pott, i. 344 and ii. 209.]

chiv, tongue : [Pott, ii. 215.]

[*chiv-*, to put.] : *chiv puv* 'hide it in the ground'; *chiv tale* 'hide below': [Pott, i. 297, 348 and ii. 186.]

choho. See *chaho*.

chor, thief : [Pott, ii. 200. See also *chur-*.]

[*chor-*, to cover.] See *chan-*.

[*chumer-*, kiss.] : *chumer*, 'kiss' [Pott, ii. 193, 'wahrsc. Imp.']; also *muk man chumer tote* 'let me kiss you': [Pott, i. 348, 'auch dies 2. Wort wahrsc. Imper. 3. Sg. st. Conj.' See also Pott, i. 232.]

chung, moon : [Pott, i. 88, 'mit g st. d.' See also ii. 194.]

chupni. See *chakni*.

[*chur-*, to steal.] : *chure* 'rob, steal'; *churan* [i.e. *chur-ing*] 'cheat, cozen': [Pott, i. 344 and ii. 201. See also *chor*.]

churi, knife : *boro-churi* 'sword' [lit. 'big knife']; *chinen, churi* 'chopper, knife' [i.e. *chin-ing churi*: see s.v. *chin*. Pott, ii. 210.]

churu, poor : [Pott, ii. 211.]

[*da-*, to give or strike.] : *davo* 'gift, present' [= *dava* 'I give' or 'will give.' Pott, ii. 303]; *del, de*, 'blow (a knock)' [Pott, i. 344, 'wohl 3. Sg. Praes. und Imper. (dat, wo nicht det; da, sc. verbera, . . .)'; *dey apre* 'read (to)': [Pott, i. 292]; *dein*; *avai lova* 'charity' [as Pott, ii. 303, points out, the semi-colon should be deleted. *Dein*=*de-ing*, *avai*=Engl. away, and the words mean 'giving away money.']]

dad, dade, däde, father, dad : *däd* is also given for 'grandfather,' and *däde* for 'grandmother': [Pott, ii. 308.]

däe, mother ; *däya* [vocative] 'mother': [Pott, ii. 309. Harriott gives *di* 'she,' probably a mistake; for his *i* sometimes represents the diphthong *-ai*, as in *gri* 'horse' and *räshi* 'priest.']}

dan, tooth : only in the form *danyas* 'tooth': [A double plural,—Gyp. *dana* + Eng. *-s*. Pott, i. 157, 'Ob im Acc. sing. ?'; but ii. 315, 'Es hat aber Harr. *danyas* (Tooth), mithin als Sg., welcher schwer zu erklären, obschon auch bei den Engl. Ztg. diese Form als Pl. in der Landessprache keinen Hinterhalt fände.']

[*dander-*, to bite.] : *dande en* 'bite (to)': [Pott, i. 134, 'wohl Ein Wort'; i. 434, '*dandérov* . . . Ohne r bei Harr.' Harriott's verbs are often given in the imperative, and this may be the plural imperative *dande(r)en*; or it may be simply *dande(r)-ing*; *ov dande man* 'he has bit me': [Pott. i. 344, compares

this with *beval pude* which has lost its inflection, and comments 'Desgleichen Ov dande (Perf.?) man (he has bit me).' See also i. 232.]; *mā dande mi* 'don't bite me,' [See Pott, i. 232 and 319. On p. 348 he says, 'also auch mit Voc. hinter d nach der Pchm. Regel.' See Puchmayer, *Románi Čib*, 1821, p. 28, 'Im Imperativ nimmt d den Vokal e nach sich : chudav : chude, tradav : trade.' Pott here assumes that the verb-stem is *dand-*, not *dander-*: but it is probable that Harriott's form is simply the latter, the *r* being dropped. See also Pott, ii. 315].

dasta, plenty, enough : *dasto*, 'crew, company'; *but*, *dasto* 'crowd'; *dasto romnichal*, 'company of Gypseys': [Pott, i. 37 and ii. 308.]

[*dek-*, to see.]: *dek* 'see (to)', 'sight': [Pott, ii. 304.]

deval, *devol*, *davel*, *daval*, *dovel*, God: in *midevol*, *midavcl*, *midaval*, *midovel* 'God' [*mi*=my. Pott, i. 178 and 284.]; *me deval achipaleste* 'God bless you' [lit. 'my God remain over him': see s.v. *ach-*. Pott, ii. 311.]

devas, day, to-day : *kash-ko devas* 'good day': [Pott, ii. 157 and 310.]

di, she. See *dæe* and *yoi*.

dinlo, fool : *bara*; *dinlo*; *atraish*; *trasela* 'coward (afraid)': ['great fool, afraid, he fears.' Pott, ii. 313. On p. 303 he discusses a possible connection with *dava*. See s.v. *trash-*.]

doe yar, the sea : [The *r* is perhaps a misprint for *v*, and the form is suspiciously like Bryant's. Pott, ii. 317.]

dori, cord, string, twine, ribband, violin string: [Pott, ii. 262.]

dosta. See *dasta*.

dovel. See *deval*.

due, *doe*, two, couple : *doe kani*, 'fowls (two)'; *doe bālo*, 'two hogs': [Pott, i. 219, 221.]

duk, pain : in *perduk'ho*, 'cholic': [? *per duklo*, 'sore belly', *per dukela*, 'belly is hurting,' or *per (eskre) dukha*, 'pains of the belly.' Pott, ii. 306.]

duma, back : [Pott, ii. 314.]

dur, far off : [Pott, ii. 317.]

[*durok-*, to tell fortunes.]: *duroken* [= *durok-ing*], 'fortune telling, foreseeing'; *duroken lil*, 'fortune-telling book': [Pott, i. 344, and ii. 317. For derivation see i. 440.]

e. See o.

efage, Irish Gypsey : [Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 84, " ? Engl. *effigy*, i.e. scarecrow, tatterdemalion." Pott, i. 37.]

engro, man, fellow : 'a person, man, or thing; used as an affix to other words, as Ber-*engro*, sailor; Gri-*engro*, horse-soldier; *yag-engro*, gun, musket or fire-arms': [a 'totally erroneous assertion,' as Pott, i. 144, points out: 'Daher kommt denn auch bei Harr. die schlechterdings zu missbilligende Zerlegung solcher Wörter, indem der Trennungsstrich rechtmässig nur unmittelbar vor gro stände.' -*engro* is the termination of the Genitive Plural.]

gād, shirt : [Pott, ii. 132.]

gājo, *gajo*, *gashu*, man, person, conjurer [!]: *gaji* 'woman'; *mulo gājo*, 'carrass'; *tikno gājo*, 'little man'; *gajo-avate*, 'a person is coming', [= *avela*, see *av-*]; *gāja bark*, 'a woman's breast': [Pott, i. 43, 112, and ii. 129; 'Harr., bei dem j wahrsch. nicht Ital., sondern Engl. Geltung hat.')

[*garov-*, to hide.]: *garove*, 'hide (to)': [Apparently in imperative, but the *e*, if pronounced, is unaccountable. Pott, i. 449, and ii. 140.]

gav, *gaiv*, *gai*, town, city, village or place : *beti gav*, 'street'; *gav*, *boro*, *gav* 'town': [Pott, ii. 134.]

gili. See *giti*.

giti, song, ballad : [An erroneous correction of Harriott's own notes to approximate to Sk. *gita* which he quotes. The word is *gili*. Pott, i. 445, and ii. 140.]

[*giv-*, to sing.]: *giv* 'sing (to)'; *ave giv* 'sing (come)': [Both imperative. Pott, i. 445 and ii. 140.]: *given* 'chant (to sing)' [= *giv-ing*.]

giv, wheat: *chinnane giv* 'harvest; (lit.) cutting wheat'; *ne pala jasa mego tichin nāsa mege bete giv*, 'brother, let us go and cut a piece of wheat': [See s.v. *chin-* and *bitta*. Pott, i. 344, 348, and ii. 67.]

goe, pudding: [Pott, ii. 134.]

gouro, ox: *guvani*, *gurni* 'cow'; but *gurani* and *guruni* are also given falsely for 'bull'; *biti-guoni*, 'calf, small cow': [Pott, ii. 141.]

gri, horse: *tani gri*, *tane-groi* 'colt'; *gri-starí* 'halter, horse-cap or bonnet'; *gri-engro* is given both for 'horse-soldier' and 'soldier's horse': [Pott, i. 144, 'gri-engro (Horse-soldier; ganz falsch p. 555. dasselbe W. Soldier's horse übersetzt, also mit ähnlicher verkehrter Umdrehung als Fürstenthum, s. uns S. 70.).' See also ii. 143.]

gudlo, sugar, honey: [Pott, ii. 54, 133.]

gurushi. See *karushi*.

[*ha-*, to eat.]: *hā* [imperative] 'eat (to)'; *hāben*, *haben*, *hāb* 'victuals,' defined also as 'eat (to)', 'cook (to cook)'; but *hāben hābina* 'cram (to), eating much' [this sentence is given as synonymous with *haro baro*, ? 'great lie.' *Hābina* can scarcely be the verb *haen* 'they eat': perhaps it was a plural alternative to *hāben* 'food,' *hābina* 'victuals.']; *hāben-engro* 'cook' [Pott, i. 134-5]; *hāen*, *haen* [i.e. *ha-ing*] 'eat (to), chew (to)' [Pott, ii. 158, 'Han Rb. ist Conj. (comedant), wie *hāen* (To chew) Harr., p. 548., *Hā* (Imp.), *hāben* (Subst.), *haen* (3. pl. Conj. ?) To eat p. 545., *hāb* (1 Sg. Conj., oder gekürztes Subst. ?), *haben* (victuals).' See also i. 344.]

hāro, penny: *shahari*, *shakori* [= *shov hāri*] 'sixpence'; *pashero* 'halfpenny': [Pott, i. 52, connects it with *Heller*. ? mutilated form of his *charkom* 'copper.' See ii. 168.]

haro baro, cram (to): the words occur thus:—'Cram (to). Haro baro: but *hāben hābina*, eating much': [? Borrow's *hokkano baro* 'great trick'—a different kind of 'cram.' Pott, i. 455.]

hev. See *kev*.

holaves, stockings: [Pott, ii. 170, 'mit Engl. Pluralendung ?']

hono, *honi*, angry: [Pott, i. 89, ii. 174. See ii. 169, '*Uhóli* f. die Galle.']}

hora. See *ora*.

hufa. See *kufa*.

[*is-*, verb substantive.]: *shen* in *sarishen* 'how d'ye do': [Pott, i. 313, 453-8, and ii. 213. But he takes it as a part of the verb *ja-*. See s.v. *sar*.]

it, English: in *pandi to pre* 'bind (it up)' [= *pand it opre*. Pott, i. 348, misinterprets the phrase—'dessen to ich nicht sowohl mit dem Böhm. to . . . , als vielm. mit einem der Pron. . . . um so eher zusammenstelle, als sich bei Bry. die aus Versehen dort ausgelassenen Pron. acavat (this) und acavo (that) finden, deren ersteres noch einen Verwandten zu obigem to (etwa ado) einschliesst.' He gives the right explanation in ii. 387, 'Pand' it opre ?'; also in *karvit* 'cook (to cook)' and *tattavit* 'warm (to heat).']

[*ja-*, to go.]: *ja*, imperative, defined as 'go, to,' *jā* 'walk (to),' also in *ja puch las* 'go and ask,' *ja puch las* 'go, and ask,' *ja kir* 'go and do,' *jā-kir* 'go, and do,' and *jā tuki* 'go, thou' [Pott, i. 348, 'gewisserm. Geh dir.' See also i. 232.]; *ja* [= *java* 'I am going'] in *ja tur shutur* 'I must go to sleep'; *jaso mingo* 'let's go' and *jasa mego tichin nāsa mege bete giv* 'let us go and cut a piece of wheat' [Pott, i. 348, 'Pl. 1. Conj. mit imperativem Sinne: . . . ich schreibe jas, d. i. eamus, und ziehe das End -a noch zu mego=Engl. us.' The words are *jasa amenge*, and it matters little which *a* is elided. Harriott was evidently uncertain about the unaccented vowels: cf. *jaso mingo*. Pott, i.

348, 'enthält hinten wohl eig. einen Dat. Pl. mit n.']; *jāen* in *mush jāen be nashko* 'man going to be hung' [= *jā-ing*. Pott, i. 344. See also i. 232 and ii. 138 and 212.]

jag. See *yag*.

[*jin*-, to know.]: *jin*, imperative, defined as 'know (to)' and 'acquaintance'; *jinela* in *jin dali* 'I know them': [= *jinela-li* 'she knows': Pott. i. 232-3, 'ist wohl eher *jinela-li*, Er kennt sie (eos st. len; oder eam ?), wo nicht mit nachgestelltem fem. li im Nom.: Sie kennt': i. 344, 'wohl eher Ein Wort (Er kennt) mit suffig. li (st. len d. i. them) ?' See also ii. 218.]

[*jiv*-, to live.]: *jiven* 'life, living': [= *jiv-ing*. Pott, i. 344 and ii. 217.]

jixa, song, ballad: [Pott, i. 445, 'von sehr rätselhaftem Aussehen.' Perhaps *gilia* misprinted.]

jukal, *juklo*, dog: [Pott, ii. 214.]

juvu, woman: in *juvu manush* [Pott, i. 112, 'weiblicher Mensch'] 'woman'; *puru juvu* 'old woman'; *tano juvu* 'maid (virgin)'; *tāno, juvu* 'virgin'; and *tute tano juvu* 'art thou a maid': [Pott, i. 232, 'allein leicht könnte es vielmehr in Wahrheit bedeuten: Estne tibi juvenis puella ? oder aber tute enclitisch die Fragpartikel te . . . enthalten.' See also ii. 215.]

juzo. See *yuzo*.

kā, aunt: [= *aka* 'this.' Pott, ii. 91, 'also gekürzt ?']

[*kāchar*-, to burn.]: *kāchar*, [imperative] 'burn (to)': [Pott, ii. 160.]

kael. See *kil* 'cheese.'

kais, *hay*: [Pott, ii. 156.]

kako, uncle: [Pott, ii. 91.]

kaliko, yesterday: [Pott, ii. 107.]

kālo, black, blue: *kālo yak* 'black eye': [Pott, ii. 106.]

kam. See *kem*.

[*kām*-, to love or desire.]: *kām*, 'love, desire'; *kāmelo* 'I love' [Pott, i. 344, 'ist viell. = kaml'om (amavi) Pchm., oder, wenn man hinten a st. o liest: amat.']; *kāmaben* 'friendship'; *kamade, raman* 'marry (to)': [Pott, i. 345, says of the last, 'Ob zu *kāmaben*, Freundschaft ? Ist *kamade* Part. Perf. st. 3. Perf. Pl. (Sie haben geliebt, oder: gewollt) *raman* etwa Acc. pl. viros ? Viell. ist aber de s.v. a. und, oder noch eher: dass und *raman* eine davon abhängige conj. Verbalform.' The Participle is, however, *kamlo*: Pott, ii. 104. See s.v. *ramar*.]

kamora, room, cell: *kamoras* 'room'; *kamora-mas* 'room': [Pott, ii. 105, 'mit einem dunklen Zusatze.']}

kan, *ken*, corrupt (stink): [Pott, ii. 150.]

kan, *kān*, ear: *kanya* 'ear' and *kanyo* 'ear-ring' [both plural]; *kan-engro* 'hare, ear-fellow': [Pott, ii. 102, '*kanengro* (Hare) als Langohr, eig. bloss auritus.' See also i. 145, 157, and ii. 224.]

kangre, church: [Pott, ii. 150.]

kāngri, comb: [Pott ii. 104.]

kāni, hen, chicken, fowl: *doe kāni* 'fowls (two)'; *kāni bāshno* 'cock': [Pott, ii. 91.]

kanyo. See *ran*.

kar. See *kuro*.

karlo, throat: [Pott, ii. 96.]

karushi, groat: in *trinkarushi* 'sixpence': [rather, 'a shilling' = three groats. Pott, i. 52, 'eig. wohl 3 Groschen.']}

kashko, *kashto*, good: *kashko-devas, kash-ko deras* 'good day'; *kash ko-rati* 'good night': [Pott, ii. 157.]

kasht, *kaisht*, *kāsht*, *kāsh*, wood, timber, board, plank, crook, stick: *bāro kasht* 'club (a stick)'; *kipsi, kasht* 'willow' [= 'basket stick']; *kelin kāshta* 'singlestick' [= 'playing sticks']; *kasht-engro* 'wood (cutter)': [Pott, i. 147 and ii. 120.]

- kekavi*, tea-kettle: also *rekabe* 'kettle' [by vicious assimilation to a Persian parallel: Pott, ii. 93.]
- [*kel-*, to play.]: in *kelin kashtha* 'single-stick' [i.e. *kel-ing kashtha* 'playing sticks.' Pott, ii. 121, 'eine gymnastische Uebung.' See also ii. 155.]
- kem*, sun: [Pott ii. 152.]
- ken*. See *kan* 'corrupt (stink).' [ker-.] See *kir*.
- ker*, house, cottage: *boro-ker* 'great house': *ker bitta* 'a small house'; *ker-engro* 'housekeeper (maid)': [Pott, ii. 154, 'was als Fem. jedoch hinten -i haben müsste.' See also ii. 415.]
- [*kerav-*, to cook.]: in *karvit* 'cook (to cook)': [= *kerav* it, 'cook it' (imperative). Pott, i. 344, 'To cook keravit, haben (wohl Komma zu tilgen, denn haben ist Essen).' See also ii. 113.]
- kev*, window: [Pott, ii. 162.]
- kichema*, alehouse: [Pott, ii. 117.]
- kil*, butter: *kil-tod* 'butter-milk': [Pott, ii. 257, 296.]
- kil*, *kael*, cheese, curd: *kael-maro* 'cheese and bread': [Pott, ii. 258, 'also ein Dwandwa.']
- [*kin-*, to buy.]: *kin* [imperative] 'buy'; *mange kin las* 'I will buy': [Pott, i. 232, 'Bei mange kin las . . . ist nur las (es) deutlich, aber nicht, ob mange (sonst: mir) pronominal sein soll oder verbal von mang (to beg). Etwa: Verkaufe mir es, oder: Bitte, verkaufe es? Kin kann regelrecht nämlich nichts als Imper. sein.' See also i. 451 and ii. 103].
- kinoben*. See *chin*.
- kipsi*, basket: in *kipsi, kasht* 'willow': [Pott, ii. 100, 'Da das zweite W. Holz bedeutet, ist viell. das Komma falsch, und das Ganze Comp., etwa gar: Gipsy—oder Zigeuner—Holz ?': ii. 121, 'eig. wohl ein Compos., weil sich die Zig. "am liebsten unter den Weidenbaum lagern" Grellm. S. 71. Ausg. 2.' *Kipsi*, however, means 'basket,' and willows are used for wickerwork.]
- [*kir-*, to make or do.]: *kir* 'create' and *kar* 'do (to do)' [imperatives]; *ja kir* 'go and do'; *jā-kir*, go, and do; *ma-karo, ja* 'do not do so': [Pott, i. 319, 'eig. Ne fac, i,' which is wrong: see also i. 348 and ii. 111, and this vocab. s.v. *aja*.]
- kop*, blanket: [Pott, ii. 100.]
- koredo*, blind: [Pott, i. 126 and ii. 109.]
- kralis*, lord or chief: [Pott, i. 105 and ii. 123.]
- kufa*, *kufo*, cap: [Pott, ii. 100.]
- kukalis*, bone: [Pott, i. 105 and ii. 92.]
- [*kur-*, to fight or strike.]: *kurin* 'fight', *kuren* 'battle (combat)' 'fighting a battle' 'cuff (a blow)', *kuran* 'fighting' 'fight', *kutta kuran* 'hard fighting' [all variations of *kur-ing*. *Kutta* may be *kotor* ('a bit of fighting') or *kusi* ('a little fighting'). Pott, ii. 114, says 'das erste W. allenfalls auf Sskr. Kat'hina, Kat'hara (Hard) oder Kat'a (Much, excessive) zurückgehen könnte,' but gives no other instances. It looks suspiciously like 'got a *kur-ing*.']; *kuru* 'battle (combat)'; *kuraben* 'combat'; *kurum-engro* 'soldier (a fighting man)': [Pott, i. 134-5.]
- kurlo*. See *karlo*.
- kuro*, *kurha*, *kar*, cup, can, pot: *kuro levina* 'cup of beer': [Pott, ii. 154.]
- kutta*, hard: *kutta kuran* 'hard fighting': [? *kotor* 'piece' or *kusi* 'a little.' See s.v. *kur-*. Pott, ii. 114.]
- [*la-*, to take.]: *la* 'catch' [= *lava* 'I take']: *lal* 'catch', *lel* 'caught' [*lela* 'he takes']; *lam* [= *liom* or *liam* 'I took' or 'we took.' Pott, i. 344, explains 'Vgl. Catch La (Imper.), lam (cepi, cepimus ? oder lav. mit me, nehme ich ?) lal (capit ?). Caught lel vgl. Pchm. Part. Prät.' The imperative is, however, *le*. See also i. 420 and ii. 139, 327.]

- lalo*, red, crimson : [Pott, ii. 338.]
- las*. See *ov.*
- lasa*. See *yoi*.
- leste*. See *ov.*
- levina*, beer: *kuro levina* ‘cup of beer’; *leven-angro* ‘brewer, beer-man’ : [Pott, i. 147 and ii. 335.]
- li*. See *ov.*
- lil*, book: *duroken lil* ‘fortune-telling book’ : [Pott, ii. 339.]
- lon*, salt : [Pott, ii. 336.]
- lovo*, money : in *neni man noboto. delovo* ‘money (I’ve no more)’ [=no *buteder lovo* ‘no more money.’ See s.v. *but*] ; and *dein*; *avai lova* ‘charity’ [see s.v. *da-*. Pott, ii. 335.]
- ludni*, whore : [Pott, ii. 334, ‘wohl verdrückt mit d. st. b.’]
- ma*, prohibitive particle : *ma* ‘(not), do not’ ; *mā dande mi* ‘don’t bite me’ ; *ma-karo, ja* ‘do not so’ [= *ma ker aja*] ; and *ma rov* ‘cry (I)’ [=either ‘do not cry’ or *me rov* (*ava*) ‘I cry.’ Pott, i. 232, 319, 322, 344, 348 and ii. 434.]
- machka*, cat : [Pott, ii. 438.]
- machko*, fish : *boro-mochi* ‘whale (a large fish)’ : [the *k* is an error. Pott, ii. 416 and 438, ‘etwa nach Analogie von i. 99,’ i.e. the Slavic adjectival suffix *-ko*.]
- maila*, ass, donkey : *tane mail* ‘young donkey’ : [Pott, ii. 454.]
- makto, maktā, makta*, box, chest. [Pott, ii. 437.]
- mal*, companion: in *mal-yār, malgar* ‘partner’: [The *g* is a misprint for *y*, (possibly exchanged with the *y* in *spinyu* in the next line), and the word is plural, *mal'a*, ‘companions’] ; and *mal-gar, pail* ‘companion’ [= *mal'a, pal!* ‘companions, brother! ’ Pott, ii. 453.]
- [*mang-, to beg.*] : *mang* [imperative] ‘beg, solicit’ ; *meng* ‘begging’ [Pott, ii. 445, ‘so !’] ; *māngar* ‘beggar’ and *māngar ave* ‘beggar is coming’ [Pott, i. 344, ‘wohl mit Engl. Suff.,’ ii. 445, ‘wohl mit anglis. Endung’ i.e. *māng-er*] ; ? in *mange kin las* ‘I will buy’ [see s.v. *kin*.]
- manush*, man : in *juru manush* ‘woman’ : [Pott, ii. 446.]
- māricli, mericli*, cake : ‘from *māro*, bread’ : [Pott, ii. 440.]
- māro*, bread : *kael-maro* ‘cheese and bread’ : [Pott, ii. 258, ‘also ein Dwandwa.’ See also ii. 440.]
- mas, mās*, flesh, meat (food) : *mas-engro* ‘butcher, meat man’ ; ? in *kamora-mas, kamoras* ‘room’ : [see s.v. *kamora*. Pott, ii. 456.]
- māto, matto, motto*, drunk : [Pott, i. 36, ft.note and ii. 439.]
- matse, matsa*, shin : [Pott, ii. 439, ‘Doch nicht etwa Skin und zu morchás?’ See also ii. 452.]
- me, I*: does not occur in Nom, unless in *ma rov* ‘cry (I)’ and *lam* ‘catch’ [Pott, i. 344, ‘cepi, cepimus ? oder lav mit me, nehme ich ?’] ; but in Accus. sense in *ov dande man* ‘he has bit me’ [Pott, i. 232, 344.], *muk man chumer tote* ‘let me kiss you’ [Pott, i. 232, 348.], *mā dande mi* [= Eng. ‘me’] ‘don’t bite me’ [Pott, i. 232, 319, 348.] ; in Genit. sense in *me deval, midevol, midavel, midaval, midovel* ‘God’ [Pott, i. 284.] ; in Dat. sense in *neni man noboto. delovo* ‘money (I’ve no more)’ ; and perhaps in *mange kin las* ‘I will buy’ [Pott, i. 232, is uncertain ‘ob mange (sonst : mir) pronominal sein soll oder verbal von mang (to beg)’] ; Prepositional, *mande* ‘me’ [Pott, i. 232.]. Plural :—Nom. possibly in *rökramen* ‘conversation’ [probable misprint, *m* for *p*. Pott, i. 134, ‘doch wohl kaum “wir sprechen uns” darin ?’] ; in Dat. sense in *jaso mingo* ‘let’s go’ [Pott, i. 348, ‘enthält hinten wohl eig. einen Dat. Pl. mit n, wie Jā tuki (gewisserm. Geh dir)’] ; and in two forms in *ne pala jasa mego tichin nāsa mege bete giv* ‘brother, let us go and cut a piece of wheat’ ; *mege* is also given separately for ‘us’ : [Pott, i. 232, 348. See also s.v. *simensa*.]
- [*merav-, to die.*] See *mulo*.

misali, table : [Pott, ii. 448.]

mochi. See *machko* 'fish.'

mui, mue, mouth, countenance, face : [Pott, ii. 435.]

[*muk-*, to leave.] : *muk* 'leave, lend'; *muk man chumer tote* 'let me kiss you': [Pott, i. 232, 348, 'auch dies 2. Wort wahrsch. Imper. 3. Sg. st. Conj.' See also ii. 434.]

mul, wine : [Pott, ii. 455.]

mulo, dead : as *mulo* 'corps' [*sic*] and *mulo gājo* 'carrion' : [Pott, ii. 448.]

mumbli, mumbel, candle : [Pott, ii. 443.]

mush, man, person : *bango mush* 'lame man'; *bāro mush* 'brave man=great man'; *puru mush* 'old man'; *mush jāen be nashko* 'man going to be hung' : [Pott, i. 344 and ii. 447.]

[*mutar-*, to micturate.] : *mutar* 'urine'; *mut-engri* 'tea, i.e. aqua micta' : [Pott, i. 94, 148 'Mutengri (d.i. nach Harr. aqua micta, mithin von mütera pl.)' and ii. 440, 'In mutengri Harr. p. 556., woselbst aber auch peamangri (*lit.* a drinking thing). Tea spricht sich meines Bedünkens die Verachtung der Zigeuner von einem, der Civilisation angehörenden Luxusgetränke entschieden aus, weshalb ich Harr.'s Erklärung des W.'s aus mutar (urine) trotz dem Fehler des r dort beipflichte.' The proper form is *mutarimangri*.]

mutsi. See *matse*.

nā, no, not : perhaps also in *neni man noboto*. *delovo* [*nanai man na buteder lovo*] 'money (I've no more)' : [Pott, i. 319.]

nāe, nail of the finger : [Pott, ii. 320.]

nak, nose : [Pott, ii. 320.]

nanai. See *neni*.

nango, nāngō, naked, bald, callow : *nango-shiro* 'bald, callow' : [Pott, ii. 322.]

[*nashav-*, to hang.] : *nashko* 'hang, hung'; *mush jāen be nashko* 'man going to be hung' [Pott, i. 126 refers to this word when dealing with the participial suffixes, but the regular participles of *nash-* 'to go away' and *nashav-* 'to cause to go away, lose, hang' are *nashto* and *nashavdo*. English Gypsies, however, confuse *t* and *k*: cf. *kashko*, *kashto* and *tushni*, *kushni*. He quotes the sentence and the word at i. 344 but without explaining it; nor is it explained in the vocabulary, ii. 324-5. It is presumably one of the verbs which he found in 'vielfach räthselhaften Weisen.']; *neshan* 'hanging' [= *nash-ing*]; *neshiven* 'hanging' [Pott, i. 344, 'N. abstr., oder von einem Verbum nach Cl. IV.?' (Verbs whose 1st. Pers. Pres. Ind. ends in -*evava*). The second supposition would make *neshiven* the 2nd. or 3rd. person pl.; but Harriott's ending -*en* is always the Eng. -ing; and hence *neshiven* probably = *nashav-ing*, or possibly *nashiben*.]

ne, come! : *ne pala* 'brother (come)'; *ne pala jasa mego tichin nāsa mege bete giv* 'brother, let us go and cut a piece of wheat' : [Pott, i. 316, 'also in diesem Sinne etwa Gr. *vai?*' See also i. 348.]

neni, not : in *neni man noboto*. *delovo* 'money (I've no more)': [Pott, i. 319 et seqq.]

nevi, new : [Pott, ii. 321, 'viell. Fem. oder das i von Sskr. *nawya*']

no. See *nā*.

o, the : in *preopodus* 'story (second, of a house)' [= 'pre o podus' 'up the stairs.']. Oblique case *e* in *chinnañe giv* 'harvest' [= *chin-ing e giv* 'cutting the corn.' Pott, i. 279.]

opral, above : in *pral* 'sky' [Pott, i. 293.]; and in *achipaleste* 'bless' and *me deval achipaleste* 'God bless you' [= *ach opral leste*, 'remain over him.' See s.v. *ach-*, and Pott, ii. 342.]

opre. See *apre*.

ora, hour, clock : in *yekora* ‘hour, v. clock’ and *hora* ‘clock, v. watch’ : [Watch is not in the vocabulary. The *h* of *hora* is perhaps transferred from an aspirated *k* in a preceding *yek*. Pott. i. 284, ii. 110 and 174.]

ov, of, he : [Pott, i. 244 and ii. 50.] ; *ov dande man* ‘he has bit me’ [Pott, i. 232 and 344.] : in accus. *jā puch las* and *ja puch las* ‘go and ask’ [Pott, i. 232, ‘enthält sicherlich noch einen Pronominalacc. : Erfrage es, oder, falls die gewöhnliche Construction jenes Verbums mit dem Abl. hier nicht beachtet wurde : Frage i h n.’ See also i. 348.] ; *mange kin las* ‘I will buy’ [Pott, i. 232, ‘Etwa : Verkaufe mir es, oder : Bitte, verkaufe es?’] ; prepositional in *achipaleste* ‘bless’ and *me deval achipaleste* ‘God bless you’ [really ‘him’ : see s.v. *ach-*.] ; *li* in *jin elali* ‘I know them’ [Pott, i. 232, ‘ist wohl eher *jinela*-*li*, Er kennt sie (eos st. len ; oder eam ?), wo nicht mit nachgestelltem fem. *li* im Nom. : Sie kennt.’ i. 344, ‘wohl eher Ein Wort (Er kennt) mit suffig. *li* (st. len d.i. them) ?’]

pābo, apple, ‘crab (apple)’ : *pab-engro* ‘button’ [Pott, i. 148.] ; *pāl-engro* ‘cyder, apple-thing’ [Pott, ii. 378, ‘worin l st. b verdrückt scheint.’]

pach nikas, handkerchief : [Pott, ii. 365, ‘ist’s richtig getrennt ?’]

pado. See *per-*.

padras. See *podus*.

[*pagar*-, to break.] : *pāgar* ‘break (to),’ ‘crack (broke)’ ; *pāga* ‘break (to)’ ; *pigar* ‘broke’ : [Pott, i. 451, connects this last with *bikkevava* ‘sell’—‘Ausgelöscht sind : . . . sowie Harr. *pigar* (Broke ; wahrsch. nicht von : to break, Zig. *phagérap*) als Imp., sich recht gut fügte.’ ii. 374, ‘*pāgar* Crack (broke) Harr., das sich übrigens sicherlich von *pigar* . . . unterscheidet.’ This is improbable, since the Anglo-Romani form of the verb ‘to sell’ is *bikin-*.]

paias, fun : [Pott, i. 94, ‘Nicht ungewöhnlich ist die auch in den Töchtern des Sanskrit gar nicht seltene Einbusse von r. . . . *paias* (fun) Harr.=perjas (Spass) Bisch.’ See also ii. 355.]

pal, brother : in *mal-gur*, *pail* ‘companion’ [? misp. for *pall*] ; and as vocative in *pāla* ‘brother,’ *ava pala* ‘yes, brother’ [Pott, i. 318], *ne pala* ‘brother (come)’ and *ne pala jasa meyo*, etc. ‘brother, let us go, etc.’ : [Pott, i. 316 and 348. See also ii. 383.]

[*pand*-, to bind.] : *pandi* ‘bind’ ; *pandi to pre* ‘bind (it up)’ : [= *pand* it *opre* : see s.v. *it*. Pott, i. 292 and 348, and ii. 387, ‘*Pand* it *opre* ?’]

pāni, *pani*, water : *beti pani* ‘brook, lit. small water’ ; *boro pani* ‘river (a stream),’ ‘stream (great)’ : [Pott, ii. 343, 415.]

panj, five : [Pott, i. 219, 221 and ii. 351.]

pano, white : *pano bal* ‘white hair’ : [Pott, i. 27, ‘bei Harr. *pano* (white) sein r eingebüßt hat.’ See also ii. 359.]

papin, *pepin*, duck : [Pott, ii. 350.]

pār. See *per*.

[*pārav*-, to change.] : in *pāra*, *vāsa* ‘change’ : [= ‘we change.’ Pott, i. 348, ‘Ein Wort : Lass uns wechseln !’ See also i. 447 and ii. 354.]

partan, cloth (linen) : [Pott, ii. 298, 367.]

pash, half : in *pashero* ‘halfpenny’ : [Pott, ii. 363. See also s.v. *hāro*.]

patin, *petin*, branch, bough : *petin ruk* ‘branch of a tree’ : [= *patrin* ‘leaf.’ Pott, ii. 348.]

pelashtha, cloak : [Pott, ii. 368.]

pelim. See *velin*.

pen, sister : [Pott, ii. 385.]

per, belly : in *perduk'ho* ‘cholic’ [? *per duklo* ‘sore belly,’ *per dukela* ‘belly is hurting,’ or *per* (*eskre*) *dukha* ‘pains of the belly.’ Pott, ii. 306, 356.] ; also *pār* ‘belly.’

[*per-*, to fill.] : *perdo* 'fill up (to)' [Pott, i. 125, 344, 'ist vielm. Part. Prät. Pass.']; *pado* 'burden, load'; *poru* 'full (complete)': [Pott, ii. 380.]

[*peraker-*, to thank.] : *perakra tut* 'thank thee': [Pott, i. 232, 344, 'viell. mit Verlust von v hinter a,' 438 and ii. 355. Lit. 'I thank thee.')

perda. See *pir-*.

pero, foot : *peras* 'feet'; *vesavo peras* 'lame feet': [Pott, ii. 351.]

pesham, *pasham*, bee (honey), wasp : [Pott, ii. 366.]

petin. See *patin*.

[*pi-*, to drink.] : *pi* 'drink (to)' [Pott, i. 343, 'Die Anführung der Verba bei Harr. findet meistens im Imper. Sg. statt, z. B. pi (to drink.)'; *peam-angri* 'tea, literally, a drinking thing' [Pott, i. 135 and ii. 342.]; ? in *teparaben* 'health (your good)' [Pott, i. 134, under abstract nouns, 'Tepauben . . . ist wohl kein hieher gehöriges Subst., noch auch te als Poss. (dein) zu erklären, sondern vielmehr als te (ut), und etwa: ut bibant, oder ut bibatis ?' See also i. 342 and ii. 283. Cf., however, *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, iii. 219, where Edwin Buckland gave *ðkkü*, *tü péeäpen* for 'your health (the expression in pledging a health).' Pott was wrong; *te=tiro* 'thy' and *pauben=piapen* 'drinking.')

[*pigar-*.] See *pajar-*.

[*pir-*, to walk.] : *piren* 'walking, walk' [= *pir-ing*. Pott, i. 344.]; *perda* 'traveller: (a name given to common vagrants, not Gypsies)', *perdas* 'traveller, stranger, foreigner,' [Eng. plural. Pott, i. 43-4, 294, ii. 355. Past Participle of *pirava*, Pott, ii. 382.]

plashta. See *pelashta*.

podus, stairs : in *preopodus* 'story (second, of a house)' [= 'pre o podus' 'up the stairs.' See s. v. *apre*.]; *padras* 'stairs': [Pott, i. 105, 'Ob vielm. Z. pre (auf) mit Eng. abode ?' ii. 77-8, 349.]

pori, feather : [Pott, ii. 357.]

pral. See *oprål*.

pre. See *apre*.

[*puch-*, to ask.] : *puch* 'ask' [imper.]; *ja puch las* 'go, and ask,' *jā puch las* 'go and ask' : [Pott, i. 232, 348 and ii. 375.]

[*pud-*, to blow.] : *pude* 'blow (as the wind)'; *pude apre äg* 'blow (up the fire)' [imper. Pott, i. 94, gives this verb as an example of the loss of *r*. See also i. 292 and ii. 383]; *beval pude*, *bevo pude* 'blows (the wind)' [Pott, i. 344, 'würde, wenn es 3. Sg. Präs. oder überhaupt verbal sein sollte, das Flexionszeichen entbehren.']}

puru, old : *puru mush* 'old man (person)'; *puru juvu* 'old woman' [gender wrong! Pott, ii. 381.]

pus, straw, chaff : [Pott, ii. 388.]

puv, land, field : *paw* 'ground, v. field' [Pott, ii. 377, 'schwerlich genau !']; *chiv puv* 'hide it in the ground' [Pott, i. 348.]; *puv-vardo* 'plough' : [Pott, ii. 376.]

rae, gentleman, lord : *rāe* 'farmer; landholder; a man of some property; a householder'; *boro rae* 'lord or chief, nobleman, great man'; 'nobleman. *res*, *boro rae* (great man)': [Pott, i. 232, 'Bei Harr. finde ich im Subst. wenigstens keine andere Andeutung einer Flexion als etwa *res* (nobleman), welches Acc. sein könnte.' See also i. 112, and ii. 264, 415.]

raklo, boy : *rakli* 'girl, young woman'; *rakto* 'young man (person)' [Pott, i. 113, 'irrig mit t': ii. 269, 'verdrückt st. *raklo*.']

[*ramar-*, to marry.] : in 'marry (to). *kamade*, *raman*, s. q.' : [The letters *s*, *q*, attached also to *kanyo* 'rod (kind of broom)' and to *slagus* 'rick,' perhaps mean *sed quaere*. The first letter *k*, and the last letter *n* of these words, are probably both mistakes for *r*, and they should be read *ramade* (partic.=

- 'married') and *ramar* (verb-stem, = 'marry'). See s. v. *kām-*, and Pott, i. 345 and ii. 275.]
- ran*, rod : in *kanyo* 'rod (kind of broom)' : [Pott, ii. 104 'Ob zu canna ?' The *k* is a mistake for *r*, and the word should be read *ranid* 'rods.' Pott, ii. 266.]
- rāni*, lady, queen : *rāni* 'princess (a great lady)'; *boro rāni* 'a great lady' [Gender of Adj. wrong. Pott, i. 112 and ii. 264.]
- rāshi*, priest (a holy man) : [the final *i* has here, as in *gri* 'horse,' the sound of the diphthong *ai*. Pott, ii. 278.]
- rat*, blood : [Pott, ii. 272, who quotes wrongly *rad.*] *ratti*, night : *kash ko-rati* 'good night' : [Pott, ii. 273.]
- [*regar-*, to carry.] : *regar* 'carry (to)' : [Pott, i. 435 and ii. 269.]
- rehamges*, breeches : [Pott, ii. 170 and 271 (*rachemi*).]
- rekabe*. See *kekavi*.
- rekadil*, grandchild : [Pott, ii. 270 : but without explanation of this extraordinary word. Possibly it may be *roker'd* ill = 'spoken badly,' or *keka del* 'he will not give.]
- [*riger-*.] See *regar*.
- rikeno*, pretty : [The Anglo-Rom. form of Gyp. *raikano* is *rinkano* : Harriott has either omitted the *n*, or, as in *gri* and *rāshi*, used *i* for *ai*. Pott, ii. 264.]
- [*rokra-*, to speak.] : *rokra* 'speak (to)', 'chat (to)'; *rokra* 'I spoke' [Pott, i. 134 '?']; *rokra bin* 'language'; *rokramen* 'conversation' [Pott, i. 134, 'doch wohl kaum "wir sprechen uns" darin ?' Probably the *m* is a misprint for *p*, though the form is between *rokerpen* and *rokermus*. It might, however, be a genitival noun *rokraman* (*gro*) 'lawyer, man of talking,' from which the termination has been omitted. See also Pott, ii. 268, where 'l. pl.' is suggested.]
- romano*, Gypsy (adj.) : in *romnichal* 'their real name in England, and that by which they exclusively call themselves' and *romni-chal* 'Gypsey (male); the proper name in England, Spain, and Bohemia', *dasto romni-chal* 'company of Gypsies' and *romne-chal*, *romaniche* 'Gypsey (female)' [the last = *romani chai*. Pott, i. 37.] : in adverbial form as *romanes* 'Gypsey language' [Pott, i. 37, 'das W. wahrsch. Adv.'; at i. 212 it is placed among the adverbs in -es; and at ii. 276 Pott quotes a sentence from Zippel which shows how the adverb has gained, in Anglo-Romani, almost the sense of a noun : 'Rakker-vela meschto Waldschitkes ;—Rommenes. Er redet gut Französisch ; —Zigeunerisch.']
- [*romer-*.] See *ramar*.
- [*rov-*, to cry.] : *rov* 'cry (to)'; *ma rov* 'cry (I)' [this is good Romani for 'don't cry'; but, if the translation be correct, it is corrupted from *me rovava* 'I cry']; *roven* 'cry (to)' [Pott, i. 344-5, 'Ist nun roven etwa 3. Pl. (ut plorent = plorare) oder verderbt aus roviben ?' More probably it is *rov-ing*. See also Pott, ii. 267.]
- ruk*, tree : *petin ruk* 'branch of a tree' : [Pott, ii. 270.]
- rup*, silver : [Pott, ii. 274.]
- ruzho*, *ruzh*, flower : [Pott, ii. 280, s.v. *rosa*.]

sa, all : [Pott, i. 277, 'Eine kürzere, aber nicht nothwendig gekürzte Form.'] *salaveris*. See *solovaris*.

samin. See *siman*

sap, snake : [Pott, ii. 234.]

sapa, soap : [Pott, ii. 236.]

sar, how : in *sarishen* 'how d'ye do' : [Pott, i. 313 '=Sser dschana tukke Zipp. . . Wie geht's Euch ? entsprechend'. At ii. 213, he again connects it with *ja*, and says that it is not from *aczar*. It is, however, simply *shan*, from the verb 'to be'.]

- sastar*, iron : [Pott, ii. 224.]
- seneka*, gold : [Pott, ii. 227, s.v. *sonakai*.]
- shelo, shalo*, rope, cable, cord, string, twine : [Pott, ii. 231.]
- shen*. See *is-*.
- shero*, head : *nango-shiro* 'bald, callow' : [Pott, ii. 221.]
- sheshai*, rabbit : [Pott, ii. 224.]
- shil*, cold, chill [noun] : *baro-shil* 'cough,' 'a great cold'; *shalalu, shil* 'cold (chill)', *shilalu* 'cold, (chill), soal, Danish' [Adj. Pott, ii. 231.]
- shing*, horn : [Pott, ii. 221.]
- shov*, six : also in *shahari, shakori* 'sixpence' : [See s.v. *hāro*. Pott, i. 219, 221.]
- [*shun-*, to hear.] : *shun* 'hearing, to hear' : [Pott, ii. 221.]
- shutur*. See *sov-*.
- siman, samin*, broth : [Pott, ii. 254.]
- simensa*, relation, kin : [Pott, i. 232, 'enthält wohl den Instr.: "die mit uns," nämlich das sa (sat, mit, Bw.) prä- und suffigirt, wie im Span. conmigo (con mit. Lat. mecum).' See also ii. 237, 'Viell. genauer *ol μεθ' ημῶν.*']
- skamin*, chair : [Pott, ii. 243.]
- [*sn̄um-*, to smell.] : *sn̄um* 'smell (to)' : [Pott, ii. 227, 'in einer etwas sonderbaren Form, welche durch die, inzwischen wieder ausgetilgte "Schnupfen (Taback) te summaf" Kr. einige Bestätigung erhalten könnte.']
- solovaris, salaveris*, bridle : [Pott, i. 105 and ii. 239.]
- sonakai*. See *seneka*.
- [*sov*, to sleep.] : in *sov, lasa* 'cohabit (to)' [Pott, i. 296, 348, 'viell. nur äusserlich Imper.; wäre z. B. ein l in dem nachfolgenden lassa untergegangen, so hielte ich sie für 3. Sg. Präs.', 389 footnote. *lasa* = 'with her.' See s.v. *yoi*.]; *shutur* 'sleep,' *ja tur shutur* 'I must go to sleep' [Pott, ii. 235, 'Abgesehen von dem rätselhaften r, lässt sich auch die erste Person darin nicht erkennen. Imper.: Geh dahin (Sskr. atra; vgl. akater, allhier. Rtw.), schlaf da ?? Oder ist tur, was sonst Tuus bedeutet, nichts als Tu ??' The participle *suto* or *suti* is commonly used in Anglo-Romani for the noun 'sleep': *tur* is the English 'to' and *ja=java* 'I am going.' The sentence is thus *ja-[va]* to *suto* 'I am going to sleep.')
- [*spark*-, to sleep.] : in *spark lasa* 'to sleep together' : [Pott, i. 296, 'etwa Sskr. sprīhā ?'; 348 'etwa Schottisch Spark, einen Fleck machen, bespritzen. Motherby . . . viell. nur äusserlich Imper.; wäre z. B. ein l in dem nachfolgenden lassa untergegangen, so hielte ich sie für 3. Sg. Präs.' *lasa* = 'with her.' See s.v. *yoi*.]
- spinyu, pin* : misprint for *springa* : [Pott, ii. 248, s.v. *spinaf*.]
- stagus*, rick : [Pott, ii. 246.]
- [*star-*, to confine.] : in *starom-angro* 'prisoner' : [Pott, i. 135 and ii. 246.]
- stār, star*, four : [Pott, i. 219 and 221.]
- stāri, stari, stār*, hat, cap, bonnet : *gri-stari* 'halter, horse-cap or bonnet' : [Pott, ii. 243, 'stār (so mit r) Bonnet, stāri Harr., der, glaube ich, mit Unrecht Pers. *dastār* f. A turband herbezieht, obschon auch die Liefl. Zig. *stari* (Mütze) mit r haben, das aber entweder Verderbniss aus d oder demin. Art sein mag. Bei Harr. p. 549. Halter—*gri-stari* (Horse-cap or bonnet) vgl. ii. 143., aber bei Dorph nicht bloss *stadi*, sondern auch *kristádi* (en Hat), obschon des zweiten ersten Sylbe nur dann etwa mit Pferden etwas zu thun haben könnte, falls ein Rossenschweif oder dem Aehnliches sich dran befände.' The usual Anglo-Romani is *stādi*.]
- stekas, turnpike* : [Pott, ii. 246, 'Zum Vor. (*stīka*) oder zu : Stecken ?']
- [*sung-*.] See *sn̄um-*.
- ta*. See *ti*.
- tacho*, true : [Pott, ii. 178.]

- tale*, below, down : *chiv tale* 'hide below' : [Pott, i. 297 and ii. 285.]
- tano*, young : in *tano juvu* 'maid (virgin)', *tāno, juvu* 'virgin' and *tute tano juvu* 'art thou a maid' [Pott, i. 232. See s. v. *tu.*] ; as *tane* 'young, small', *tane-groi* 'colt,' *tane mail* 'young donkey' and *tani gri* 'young horse (colt)': [Pott; ii. 286-7, 'R unterdrückt in Tane Young,' etc.]
- tato*. See *tetto*.
- [*tatav-*, to heat.] : *tattov* 'hot (heat)'; *tattavit, tetto* 'warm (to heat)': [Pott, i. 344, 'Etwa 1. Praes. u. Imper. mit Engl. it (es)?' See also ii. 283.]
- te*. See *ti*.
- tel*, thread : [S. & C. give this form of *tav.* Pott, ii. 286 and 298.]
- ten*, tent : [Pott, i. 95, as an example of 'Unterdrückung einer Dent. hinter einer Liq.'—'ten aus tent Harr.' The word is, however, *tan* with the short *a* written as *e* (cf. Bryant's *pen*, *pan*, and *sap*, *sep*; Whiter's *bel* 'hair'; and Harriott's own *kan*, *ken*; *shelo*, *shalo*; *shen*, etc.) Pott, ii. 298.]
- tepauben*, health (your good) : [= *tiro piapen*. See s.v. *pi-* and *tu.* Pott, i. 134, 342, and ii. 283.]
- tetto*, hot : in *tattavit, tetto* 'warm (to heat)': [Pott, i. 344, and ii. 283.]
- ti*, that (conj.) : in *jasa mego tichin nāsa mege bebe giv* 'let us go and cut a piece of wheat.' [Pott, i. 310, 348 (where, however, Pott takes *ti* as = *ta* 'and'), ii. 281 and 295.]. In *ave giv* the *e* may represent *te* or *ta* [Pott, i. 445.], and Pott, i. 134, suggests wrongly that in *tepauben* the *te* = Lat. *ut*. [See also *tute tano juvu*, s.v. *tu.*]
- tikno*, small, little, concise : *tinkno gājo* 'little man' : [Pott, ii. 281.]
- [*trash-*, to fear.] : *trasela* [he fears] in *atraish*, *trasela* 'fear' and *bara*; *dinlo*; *atraish*; *trasela* 'coward (afraid)' [Pott, i. 343, 'eig. Er fürchtet,' ii. 292, '3. Sg. Präs.']: *atraish* 'afraid, fear, dread, terror, coward (afraid)', [in the sentence *bara*; *dinlo*; *atraish*; *trasela* the punctuation is wrong: it is evidently an exclamation *baro dinlo! a-trash!-trasela!* 'big fool! afraid!—he's afraid!' Pott, ii. 50, quotes *atraish* as one of the few words in Harriott's vocabulary which begin with vowels, but adds 'wahrsc. mit präf. Art.' At ii. 292, he amends this explanation, 'Das präf. a Art. oder nach dem Engl. afraid.' See also ii. 303.]
- traslo*, thirsty, dry : [Pott, ii. 292.]
- trin*, three : also in *trinkarushi* 'sixpence' : [Pott, i. 52, 'eig. wohl 3 Groschen,' = 'a shilling,' not 'sixpence.' See also i. 219, 221.]
- tu*, thou : does not occur in Nom.; Accus. in *perakra tut* 'thank thee' [Pott, i. 232, 344]; Dative in *jā tuki* 'go, thou' [Pott, i. 232, Jā tuki (Go, thou), chatucue Luc. v. 14. kann, vorausgesetzt, dass es nicht etwa, wie Rtw. nählsle penge (aufgerunt sibi), hier als wirklicher Dat. fungirt, doch unter keiner Bedingung etwas anderes sein als Dat., mag dieser nun auch wie tūcue (Thou, Tu) Bw. vgl. Luc. i. 22. wirklich zum Nom. umgestempelt sein.' i. 348, 'gewisserm. Geh dir.'], *tute* 'thou' and *tute tano juvu* 'art thou a maid' [Pott, i. 232, 'allein leicht könnte es vielmehr in Wahrheit bedeuten: Estne tibi juvenis puella? oder aber tute enclitisch die Fragpartikel te (s. Conjunct.) enthalten.'], *muk man chumer tote* 'let me kiss you' [Pott, i. 232, 348.]; *te* = *tiro* 'thy' in *tepauben* : [See s.v. *pi-*.]
- tud*, milk : *kil-tod* 'butter-milk' : [Pott, ii. 296.]
- tulo, tullo*, fat, corpulent : [Pott, ii. 296.]
- tur* = Engl. to : in *ja tur shutur* 'I must go to sleep' : [see s. v. *sov-*.]
- tuv, tuvi*, smoke : [Pott, ii. 297.]
- usht*, lip : [Pott, ii. 86.]
- vadras*, bed : also *badras* 'couch (bed)' : [Pott, i. 105, and ii. 78.]
- vail goro*, fair (colour) : [Pott, ii. 77 (*waggaulus*) and 83. Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 84, 'vail goro, "fair in hue" (= *valgóro*, "fair, or market").']

- vangasht*, finger : as *vangashti* 'finger (a span)' and *vangash* 'ring (for the finger)': [Pott, ii. 55-6. Harriott has reversed the true meanings.]
- vardo*, wagon : only in *pvr-vardo* 'plough' : [Pott, ii. 80.]
- vāsavo*, bad : also *vesavo* 'cripple (lame)' and *vesavo peras* 'lame feet' : [Pott, ii. 85 and 90, 'Vesavo (doch kaum : unganz, mit Präf. vi ?)'].
- vast*, hand : *juzo vast* 'clean hands' : [Pott, i. 157, 'juzo vast (clear hands), wo sich fragt, ob der Pl. genau sei, wogegen das -o des Adj. allerdings streitet.' See also ii. 86.]
- velin*, *pelim*, bottle : [Pott, ii. 69.]
- ver-angri*, faggot : [Pott, i. 148, 'zw. Ursprungs,' and ii. 79. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 212, *faréngro* and Engelbert Wittich's word *werli* 'kleingespaltenes Holz, (genau : ganz kleines Holz oder auch Reisig zum Feueranzünden)' in Jühling's paper, *Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie*, xxxii. 227 (Feb. 1909). Cf. also S. & C.'s *börngri* 'hedge-stake.]
- vesh*, forest, wood, coppice : [Pott, ii. 85. See also *besham*, s.v. *besh-*.]
- vodros*. See *vadras*.
- vusht*. See *usht*.
- yag*, fire : as *yag* 'fire, v. cannon' [Pott, ii. 47, 'wohl *yag* auszusprechen.']; also *āg* in *pude apre āg* 'blow (up the fire)' [Pott, i. 292.]; *yag-engri* 'cannon, fire-thing,' 'musket (fire-arm)', *yag-engro* 'gun, musket, or fire-arms' : [Pott, i. 148 and ii. 47.]
- yak*, eye : *kālo yak* 'black eye'; *yakar bal* 'eye-brow, eye-hair' : [Pott, ii. 46, 'das r ver. genitivisch.']
- yek*, one : also in *yekora* 'hour, v. clock' : [Pott, i. 219, 220, and ii. 66.]
- yoi*, she : does not occur in Nom. The Instrumental appears in *sov*, *lasa* 'cohabit (to)' and *spark lasa* 'to sleep together' [Pott, i. 296 and 389 footnote. The word *di*, which Harriott gives for 'she,' Pott (i. 233), takes as fem. of *ada*, and he gives it again on p. 270 as a form of this pronoun. It may, however, be simply *dai* 'mother'. See s.v. *dāe*.]
- yov*. See *ov*.
- yuzo*, clean : in *juzo*, *yuzi* 'clean'; *juzo vast* 'clean hands' : [Pott, i. 157 and ii. 222.]
- zi*, heart, soul (life) : [Pott, ii. 216.]

II.—NURI STORIES.

Collected by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, F.S.A.
(Continued from Volume III. page 148)

* XXX

Izd-kan tómür nīm-imhītlă, 'nde° barárkă pünj kăntlă :
intómüs dī kăntlă hujđti ; ihr' ūnkłis hōt kăntlă. Min nīm-
imhīldski mányări šas kăntlă u nīm, băd-mă intór barárkă.
Măncăñ ühř li-áuni žímă tă-páumōmă, min-šán dési ămákă ;
u nī tóris ămákă, jdnămi kái hóri.

If I give you half a *majidi* you must give five piastres to your brother : I gave him two piastres yesterday ; he will have seven piastres. From the half *majidi* there will remain six piastres and a half, after you have paid your brother. Let that remain till next week till I come, to give to me ; and if you do not give it to me I will know how to make you [lit. what will happen]

XXXI

Gárēn ážră Dōmánkă, wésrēn ūnkisān. Pírēn kírwi; mán-gárdēn mnéssān lacičk. Tírdēn mřnjts das dī zerd. Kal miš niħre° déndis āminkă. Mángăndi giš plen kómák yikák, u dme mángăni dénsān n̄tmōs, mányări ūnkimān n̄m. Štírdă máumus lacički, kal miš niħre°: círdă “Káraš ‘imli pánjī?” Gárirēn kúriémintă; lágiš-kerdi júär illi gári párvrsă lacički pôissān, min-sín dáris zérđi pôis. Kal miš niħre°. Géndtírdă zérđák máumuskă u zérđák kës ábsunkă, u dt zerđ sáfdhná-k'rar átústă u párvrsă júär potrúskáru. Mángăre des hót zerđ kálifócer átsúntă. Štírde min hnōn lacičk káumi, kal mis niħre°. Mínde halésān, ráurde. Círdēn dme° “Keiski intésmān lacičk?” Círdē inni bárōs lacički mangárde°: yikák údesásma u bőis mángăre mnéštis ple, mángăre minjts wís zerđ tă-'ndár áurákă illi mángárdóssi ūhū désásma. Štírdēn dme, kál miš niħren°, inhe° wástimān. Ple illi giš inténsān: Áštă wástmān n̄m u mányări n̄m.

We went last night to the Nawar, we sat with them. We drank coffee ; we wanted [demanded] a girl from them. We offered for her twelve pounds. They said they would not give her to us. They demand all the money in one pile, and we want to give them half, and the half to remain with us. The uncle of the girl arose, said he did not agree : he said 'Is she [only worth] the price of a donkey ?' We returned to our tents ; the woman who went to bring the girl quarrelled with her husband, that her husband might give her a pound. He said he did not want to. He offered another pound to her uncle and a pound['s worth of] food to them, and two pounds to make a writing about her, and to bring her [as] a wife to his son. [If] they wanted seventeen pounds, they would be paid to them. The people of the girl rose from there, said they did not agree. They betook themselves and departed. We said 'Why do you not give us the girl?' They said that the brother of the girl did not want it ; that there was a certain one in the place and her father wanted money from him ; they wanted for her twenty pounds to give to him who wanted it in that place. We arose, said we did not agree, we had not got it. We gave all the money [that we had] ; we had half and there will remain half.¹

* XXXII

Kan dī áudék² siténde tănakásma. Árá zárō, inhe°

¹ This story, when simplified, is to the effect that the family A wanted a girl from family B, and offered £12, in instalments of £6 : the B people wanted the whole sum down. Thus negotiations fell through, and the woman who acted as 'matchmaker' or go-between did not get her fee. Then the A people advanced their offer to £16 or £17 if necessary : but the girl's brother now wanted £20 to pay for a wife for himself, and so demanded that sum for his sister. This was at last agreed, with the compromise that it should be paid in instalments. The first had been paid and had cleaned the A people out : the second was still unpaid when the story was told.

² This singular form of the predicative suffix is probably to be explained as an old dual.

pánuromă mőzű, sásüs nī pēnde°. Bândă diyénän ūkctsün saúuă dafákamă sálaski. Yikák aūddnki kălaurdă siriōs sdšmă. Štirdă áudă ūhü "Hirbocăr kúriur, nī-kšálă° ukcimma! Kándör úkéum!" Wésre diyén áude, koldă ukcésän ba'désanki.

There were two old men sleeping in a bed. There came a boy, with no shoe on his foot, he made no noise. He tied their two beards together with a knot of string. One of the old men shook his head in sleep. The other old man arose and said, 'May your house be destroyed, do not pull my beard! You have torn my beard out!' The two men sat up, loosened their beards from one another.

* XXXIII

Sáyil-kerdă yikák 'Áisástă Măriámăk-potréstă "[Ka] ămrósi Huyáiski tillăski¹ matéstă?" Círdă 'Áisă, "In mang illi cencurmék² mitl-mă mángék hálur." Círdă manüs "Kónik járóm?" Círdă 'Áisă "Húldă yikák min ēUyáriki li-Rihákă u kúră bén káutánki, illi imgöldă kerdéndis u féréndis u dirde kálos, u măndéndis mitl mårnă pándăsmă. Génă ctnák, áră ktírák tillă, lherdă fennás märnék fesiki. Nī windírdă ktír, u násră. Génă ctnák, áră kám-kernák, lherdă bizótás, windírdă, kánídră átústă, nī hrósis gálnă-kerăr wăsts. Génă ctnák áră Prötklăk min Náblusăk, štáldă illi firék, kláurdósis břugléť, ujaldósis kuriéstă-káränki, u círdă kúriük-sáui, 'Par émänsäs illi firék, indé bálór ábúskă. Hátän ple átústă mnëstím. Kan mángék ból, démri tă-gárícem.' Kónik illi karíbi átústă?" Círdă manüs "Prötklă." Círdă 'Áisă, "Ja átu, u inkér mitl-mă kérđă."

One asked 'Aisa son of Mariam '[which] command of God is greatest to men?' Said 'Aisa 'The love that is for those around like as thou lovest thyself.' Said the man, 'Who is my neighbour?' Said 'Aisa, 'A man went down from this city to Jericho and fell among thieves, who made him naked, and struck him, and split his skin, and left him like a corpse on the road. Another while, there came a great monk,³ he saw the beaten man, how he was [half] dead with blows. The monk did not stop, and made off. Another while, there came a wright,³ he saw the poor man, he stood, he looked on him, would not speak to him. Another while came a Jew from Nablus,³ he raised him who was beaten, mounted him on a mule, sent him to a Khan [*lit.* a donkey-house] and said to the master of the house, "Take this man who was beaten, give heed to him. Here is money for

¹ This seems to be a superlative : if so, it is the only trace of a special superlative form that I have found.

² *cenc* (side) + *ur* (pronom. suffix) + *m(ă)* (locative suffix) + *ēk* (predic. suffix).

³ It being utterly impossible to explain intelligibly to Shákir what priests and levites and Samaritans were, I altered the *dramatis personæ* to something more within his comprehension. Like all the stories marked with an asterisk, I told it to Shákir in Arabic and made him translate it. I selected it because it contained some words and phrases I wanted.

him from me. If you want more, I will give it when I return." Who was he who was near to him ?' Said the man, 'the Jew.' Said 'Aisa, 'Go thou, and do as he did.'

XXXIV

Áre ūnktimän áisá Dōméní náuande járakätä. Pardóssi yikák Cújik, dáiós róri átústă. Mínde hálésän u gđre nárne kuriēsámmä¹, u gréwärösän wăstisanni. Ár' ūnktimän, min ūnktimän húlde Guld-uyártă, min Guld-uyárik húlde denglzmă páníakäkmă pánjän u potrésän u kuriësän u kólde Háiféttă. Min hnónä áre, kólde Tübäryétă. Gđre kláräntă; min kláränki gđre béläd Hauránältă. Min hnóna gđre Húrkäläntă. Náure giš áidesüs u gđre Till-uyártă, ní-läherde². Áre hínder. Mínde hálésän, kólde, türde kláräntă, min kláränki ráurde Rhyärtă, síté árútfyös. Káutirde mnëstisän di kär u góriäk. Gđre skí-kerde mémrástă. "Ihi dē káutirde kárémän u goriómän: náur' átsántă, mémür." Inténdis di zerd mémräskáră. Bándă déik-mátăs tă-nndé kárän u góriă. Ráurde min hnónä, türde ihi dē illi pandasték. Mindóssän wärsindă dī árdt erhónä, u ájóti ár' ūnktimän zlámësän kuriësámmä¹ u gréwärösän; dêménă, uyärméyă. Áră gréwärösän, kérden ábúskă kirwi u gúldă. Gáră, nánd' ábúskáră bákrák u štar min sal, kéš-kerdén ábuskáră. Káre, píre; mínde hálésän sábáktän, ráurde u gđre désisántă.

There came to us once on a time Nawar seeking a woman. An Egyptian had taken her, her mother wept for her. The men betook themselves and went with their tents, and their sheikh with them. They came to us, from us they descended to Jaffa, from Jaffa they got on a ship, they and their sons and their tents, and rode to Haifa. From there they came, rode to Tiberias. They went to the bedawin : from the bedawin they went to the country of Hauran. From there they went to the Druzes. They searched all that place and went to Damascus, they did not see [them]. They came further. They betook themselves, rode, encamped with the bedawin, from the Arabs they went to Jericho, slept [there] a night. Two donkeys and a mare were stolen from them.² They went and complained to the *mamür*, 'That village has stolen our donkeys and our mare : seek for them, O *mamür*.' They gave two pounds to the *mamür*. He imprisoned the people of the village till they fetched the donkeys and the mare. They went from there, camped at that village which is on the way. The rain took them [held them] two nights there, and to-day their people came to us with their tents and their sheikh ; they were in the village, he was in the town. Their sheikh came, we made for him bitter and sweet coffee. He [we] went, set before him a sheep and four *rotls* of rice, we made food for him ; they ate, drank ; they betook themselves in the morning, departed and went to their own place.

¹ A curious use of the locative : it is evidently meant for the associative, *kuriësän-sánni*.

² Lit., 'they stole two donkeys . . . from them.'

XXXV

Míndén hálémán, gárén dmá u máumúm-pitr. Gárén Lyddetá tā-párén káre. Sítén árättiyós déikámá. Ár' ünktimán kájjéni: kájják minjts sa'ék kíwuši. Árättiyós gárá márð. Sábáhtán nánde ámínká déik-májos másti u móñák u nilyá-kéši. Kárén u píren. Sábáhtán míndén hálémán, ráúrén, lherdén cálák bárdék páni. Dáúrdén imhémán u pánémán u hástémán, u ráúrén Lyddetá. Árda kókferá ská-feri meddánétá 'ásri. Míndén hálémán u sítén áratós moná-kerndsmá. Sábáhtán húldén stíkastá kádranki. Párdén kádrák, das imhíld u ním, u káriák das u štar imhíld. Koldénsán, míndén hálémán, árén Rámlétd, kárén báklék-kéši u móñák, u ráúrén áhrén tā-páuán. Štirdá min hnóná, wársr' ed-dínyá tā-mindósmán; wársindék min Rámléki li-erhéná. Pant-hre kiyákémán. Árén kuriémintá, kándén kiyákémán, wárd-kerdén kiyáki hláftisán. Sábáhtán kándén kádrás bi-dís imhíld u ním, bi-tárdán zerd; u káriák kündénis bi-štár zerd. Tábbmán wársindá illi ámíntá kúldi ní gárá hsárá: kisibrén kárdmmá zérdač u ním; kúllmánhum mnésmán párdá tárdán imhíld u ním.

We betook ourselves, we went, I and my uncle's son. We went to Lydd¹ to buy donkeys. We slept by night in a village. There came Gentiles to us: one of them fell in a fit. In the night he was going to die. In the morning the people of the village set for us *laban*² and a loaf and a stew of *hubbázi*.³ We ate and drank. In the morning we betook ourselves, we departed, we saw a well that was full of water. We washed our faces and our feet and our hands, and departed to Lydd. There came the muezzin to cry the afternoon prayers (*asr*) from the minaret. We betook ourselves and slept the night in the oven.⁴ In the morning we went down to the donkey-fair. We bought a donkey for ten *majídís* and a half, and a she-ass for fourteen *majídís*. We rode them, betook ourselves, came to Ramleh, ate a stew of beans and a loaf, and departed to come hither. Arising from there,⁵ there was rain to hold us; it rained [all the way] from Ramleh to here. Our things became wet. We came to our tents, stripped off our things, dressed in other things. In the morning we sold the donkey [which

¹ The ancient Lydda, a town not far from Jaffa, where an important weekly cattle-market is held. The town of Ramleh, also mentioned in this story, is close by—about half an hour's walk.

² Artificially soured milk.

³ A species of mallow, eaten as a relish.

⁴ A dome-shaped structure, in the centre of which is the slow furnace where bread is baked. People often sleep round this fire in cold weather.

⁵ Such expressions as *štirdá min hnóná* are (like the 'runs' in Celtic folk-stories) more or less meaningless stopgaps, giving the narrator time to think what next to say. In this case it has no translatable meaning at all. The nominative to *štirdá* must be *dínyá*, although this word, feminine in Arabic, is thus treated as masculine. The literal sense of the passage is then, 'The *dínyá* [= "universe," "world," "sky," "weather"] arose from there, it rained, so that it held us.'

we had bought] for ten and half *majidis*, for three pounds ; and the she-ass we sold for four pounds. Our trouble [from] the rain which had come on us was not thrown away [lit. did not go a loss] : we gained on the donkeys a pound and a half. Each of us took three and a half *majidis*.

XXXVI

Gdrēn min hnónă dmă u bénōm, tă-nánđr kūst min häláiki. Amă štldōm kúziăk, u bénōm štldi kūst. Mínden hälémăn, rđwđhrēn kuriémintă. *Hlúurdōm dmă káziă min pištímkı,* hlúurdi bénōm kústás min siríski. Känídrom; kústásma illi bénōm štaldóssă minjts, sdpi tillék dirgék. Štirdōm min hnónă, märdómis. Círdom bóiomtă “*Ldhe sdpás illi štaldóssă dtrür siriústă!*” “*Kwásis*” círda bóiom “*cäldsmă* : jas, nánás, bärdd-keräs úgoniän kómär, u tássän kdrántă u kláuássän mäumur-káră u gréwáraskă.” Bärdd-keren góniän kómär, tirdénsän kdrántă. Sábáhtän rúvren minjtsän erhénd, inténdsän mäumumkéră u sítén árátos u gárirén sábáhtün kuriémintă. Min ta'biki anuin' sakrōmi^o, mištă-hrómi.

I and my sister went from here to bring firewood from the waste lands. I raised [carried] a log and my sister carried firewood.¹ We betook ourselves and went to our tents. I lowered the log from my back, my sister lowered the firewood from her head. I looked ; in the firewood which my sister put down from her, was a snake which was great and long. I rose from there, I killed it. I said to my father, ‘See the serpent which thy daughter put on her head !’ ‘Throw it,’ said my father, ‘into a pit: go, bring [and] fill these sacks with charcoal and put them on donkeys and conduct them to thy uncle and the sheikh.’ We filled the sacks with firewood, put them on donkeys. In the morning we went with them here, gave them to my uncle and slept that night and returned in the morning to our tents. From the weariness upon us I had no strength, I became sick.

XXXVII

*Áste diésni Döméni. Mínde hälésän Hälíliäki, pánjän u kdjjäki. Káutirde štar kär, dī góru. Rávure kdjjă u yikák Dömánki minjtsän, u sítă ühü 'álätiskă. Sábáhtän rásróssän, ár' erhén' ábsánkă. Níngre min hnénă Rámálläik-pándástă. Tírde górwän u kdrän dériükämă ádírik-déită² u gdre diéni Dóme tă-mángiš-keränd déik mónd. Ühü tát-käjjă wésră kdrankă u górwänkă. Štirdă yikák áudék déik-matäski. Círdă Dömántă illi mángiš-kerändi “*Mikréni hrési dtme?*” Círde “*Áme* min Hälílk hréni.” Gdră nándă áudă dī kdjjă min déiki u kéttif-kerdóssän u pardóssän páubáginyétă. Lámmă ndnde kdrän u*

¹ I.e. brushwood.

² Ódírik-déită must be a compound which has developed out of ühü déită [illi] dírik, ‘to that village which is distant.’

góruván, gārnāurđossán Hălăltă. Párde kăjje diéni Dōmän u kăjjás u góruván u kdrăn. Pardéndsán, nīrdéndsán sāuiésankă. Párde órăn kăutăn, tirdéndsán elhásmă, bandéndsán u kdrănsáui pardéndsán. Ihi wésre šaš wars elhásmă. Kdje illi măndéndsán párde kăruvásán štar zerd u răwähre.

There were two who were Nawar. They betook themselves from Hebron, they and a Gentile. They stole four donkeys and two cows. The Gentile and one of the Nawar went with them, and that one [the other Nuri] slept with his people. In the morning he followed them, came here to them. They entered from here on the Ramallah¹ road. They put the cows and donkeys in a place in yonder distant village, and the two Nawar went to beg bread from the village. That fellah stayed with the donkeys and cows. One who was an elder of the villagers arose. He said to the Nawar who are begging, 'Whence are ye?' They said, 'We are from Hebron.' The old man went, and brought two men from the village and bound them and took them to the court-house. When they brought the donkeys and cows, they made them return to Hebron. The Gentiles took the two Nawar and the Gentile and the cows and the donkeys. They took them, and led them to their owners. They took those thieves, put them in prison, bound them, and the owners of the donkeys took them [the donkeys]. Those men stayed six years in prison. The men who took them received their reward, four pounds, and departed.

XXXVIII

Bóiom ujáldă păctis yikák kăuti kăjjék. Gără bóiom ābúskáră ărátăn. Míndă hálōs, năndă ābúskă mási górvănkăki kăutiši u nănde ābúskékă² kđriă pánjī u pótrōs kăutiši. Ărátăn bărdik ābúskă jălăwiă mási. Míndă hálōs ărátăn, răuci minjts kuriémintă. Késh-kerdă másid tă-wíyră, u săbăhtăn mínda hálōs, kúlda kđriă, gără āhár td-k'neris. Lăherdă éklărăs, pénáurđos wăstis, intós zód bóiomkáră štar kicilă u gără minjtsán Rămlétă. Kándă kđrăs, tărăn zerd u nîm. Sítă ărătýos monă-kerndismă. Săbăhtăn gără hălimkă bóiom. Sávies-kăriăki áre, mîndéndis, pardéndis; klără náură bóimtă, nî lăherdós. Párdă kđrios kăjjă u gără minjts; u bóiom sítă hălimkă hăt ărát. Míndă hálōs u găriră kuriémintă. Štirdă min hnónă, ujáldă păctis kăut illi tós kđriă. Intós zérdaķ u nîm, u bóiom párdă dî zerd. U márd' ābúskă káliaķ u tirdósis jălăwiismă. Răwâhră minjts, círdă dărimkă "Káli kăutiši, kénáui, késh-keri ărátăn. Innén nîmos bénárkă u nîmos potrérkă." Săbăhtăn gără bóiom, nîrdă nîmos béniskáră jăuttriiskáră u dră. Răwâhră kuriémintă năndă ābúskáră kđriăk u gără Cujétă minjt bóiom. Gärnáurdenis déită. Ărătýos sítă. Săbăhtăn năndénis uyártă tă-

¹ Ramallah is a large village about twelve miles north of Jerusalem.

² So in my notes: but this must be an error for āhúskáră.

knaūrdénis Dōmānkáră. Círde Dóme "Ühü mnéšmän inhe°." Círdēn "Inhe° ábruskă bōi, bōios imrék. Nändénos ábúrkă tillátmáli, háttă bēn hastárkă, tuyés elhásomă u baniyés." Tmáli bandósis u cíndă átústă tdrán wars. Ldmmän fíkk-kerdă tdránă wárešn kolárd zárō u ndsră Cíjétă u wésră erhónă das wars u mra° erhónă.

My father, a thief who was a Gentile sent for him. My father went to him by night. He betook himself, set before him stolen cow's meat, and he and his son brought him a she-ass that was stolen. By night a cloak¹ was full of meat for him. He betook himself by night, goes with it to our tents. He prepared the flesh till it was cooked, and in the morning he betook himself, rode the she-ass, went down to sell it. He saw a bedawi, made an exchange with him, he gave as addition for my father four beshliks, and he went with them to Ramleh. He sold the donkey for three and a half pounds. He slept by night in an oven. In the morning my father went to my uncle. The owners of the she-ass came, seized her, took her. The bedawi searched for my father, did not see him. The Gentile took his she-ass and went with her; and my father slept seven nights with my uncle. He betook himself and returned to our tent. The thief who had given him the she-ass arose from there, he sent after him. He gave him a pound and a half, and my father took two napoleons. And he slaughtered for him a goat and put it in his cloak. He went with it, said to my mother, 'The goat is stolen, boil, cook it by night. We will send half of it to thy sister and half of it to thy sons.' In the morning my father went, brought half of it to his sister [and] brother-in-law, and came. My father went to our tent, got him a she-ass and went to Egypt with it.² We made him return to the village. That night he slept. In the morning we sent him to the town to show him to the Nawar. Said the Nawar, 'This man is not one of us.' Said we, 'He has no father, his father is dead. We have brought him to thee, O Governor, here he is between thy hands, put him in prison and bind him.' The governor bound him and condemned him to three years. When he had finished the three years the boy was released and fled to Egypt, and stayed there ten years and died there.

¹ The goat-hair 'abba or outer cloak, worn by all male natives of Palestine who have not become hopelessly Europeanised, is often folded up into a kind of sack and used for carrying heavy objects (such as lumps of meat, as here).

² From this point the story-teller has flown off at a tangent to another story altogether! It is a curious illustration of the impossibility which he found in continuous thought when constantly interrupted, to allow the writer to keep pace with the speaker. The previous part of the story is clear. The thief bribed the Nuri with a gift of meat to undertake the responsibility and risk of disposing of a stolen she-ass. The Nuri at the outset ingeniously threw the onus on a passing Bedawi, by offering to exchange, for a very small sum, the she-ass for the Bedawi's male animal (females being, for obvious reasons, more valuable than males). The Nuri had then no trouble or risk in disposing of the Bedawi's donkey, while the Bedawi unluckily came across the proprietors of the she-ass, and was compelled to surrender her. (I can sympathise with the Bedawi: I shall always retain a lively recollection of the scene that took place when I innocently chanced to ride a hired donkey right into the middle of its lawful owners—semi-savages from one of the wild villages round Gaza, from whom it had been stolen a year before!) The Nuri remained *perdu* with relatives till the Bedawi was safely away, and then returned to his friend the thief, to whom it will be noticed he gave less than half the sum he had obtained by the transaction.

XXXIX

Bóriom aúdék. Áme dtis hréni potrés, yikák kúštóték u yikák tillék. Mínden hálémán; tillá-báróm wésrā kuriémmá: u nihe° unkrimán wdlá káliák, wdlá dáwáriák, wdlá kdrák, wdlá góriák. Kúštótá minjtimán gárä tă-náúcer kúutishtá. Mínden hálémán, ráúrom ánuari das dis pándásmá. Štirdóm min hnón', ldherdóm klaréni, kuriésan-đger dáwári. Káutirdóm wís dáwári min unkrisan. Ráúrom ăratán, nándómsá bőumkárú; gáróm géná, ráúrom pünj ărat Húrkáluntá. Nándóm tárán sáí káli káutis. Báróm btrák, 'ngre° wáštim. Dísák gárä wáštim báróm Húrkáluntá, wésláúrdómis dériákámá, w'ämä gáróm déitá tă-náñan mónä; ní mändä wáštimán mónä. Áröm wínni kdjjik mónä-keri monä-kerndsmá. Mángiš-kerdóm, nirdahre° dárim. Tírdi mónás kuriéma,¹ wä dmä wésrómi, carirómi. Štirdóm min hnónä, kíldi kdjji min kúriáki. Ningróm tă-párän mónás min tákneki, wínni ărék kdjji. Carírom pdcí kiyákdñki. Ári sahíb-kerdik kdjji: pónos kúriám' inhe°. Árë min hnónä, ningrán[di] kuriésmá. Árë pónos gáfletá: ühü ăartrá pdci kiyákdñki. Círdá pónos kdjjiáki "Kónik el-únkerä?" Círdi kdjji "Nihe° unkrimán mat." Štirdá káut, diyár-kerdä hálos. Círdä "Mángerdom báirki mónä, ni tósim, kíldi min kúriáki, ningróm kuriéma tă-káután dí mónä. Míndom hálom, báíur ári, carírom kiydkán-pdcí. Láhëmmi ínni báíur sahíb-kerdik. Árë sahíbós unkris. Štirdá min hnónä, cardósí kiydkán-páci unkrim, u mändä hálös illi drós dtu: hädóttá carirék kiydkán-páci." Gárä, nándosis pónos kdjjiáki, u árë u tirdosis kuriák-kápietá, u péndä étirwali u märdosis u nándä kdjjiá u märdosis génä, u tirdossán égoniésmá u štirdá pánji u káut, tirdéndsán dírd. U intá áuráski das monék.² Círdä "Ha pándor min hnénä; láherdómur erhénä, märdómur." Láherdä bárus káut u siték. Štaldosis u káre monä pánji u pánji, u mändä hálös. Káutird' ábsánká star góru, ráwáhre. Ukcós áuráski gártrá pnárä min bišwáránkí, u tiwibrä káutishtá giš.

My father is an old man. We were his two sons, one was small and one was big. We betook ourselves ; my big brother stayed in the tents : and we had not a goat, or a camel, or a donkey, or a mare. The small one of us went to seek something to steal. We betook ourselves, I departed a journey of ten days on the

¹ A variant from the normal form *kúriámá*, possibly due to the influence of the plural *kuriémmá*, or the plural with 1st personal suffix *kuriémma*.

² A quite irregular use of the predicative suffix.

road. I rose from there, saw there were Bedawin, there were camels before their tents. I stole twenty camels from among them. I departed by night, brought them to my father ; I went again, departed five nights to the Druzes. I brought three hundred goats by theft. My brother was a coward, he did not go with me. One day my brother went with me to the Druzes, I caused him to wait in a place, and I went to a village to fetch bread ; no bread remained with us. I came, and there was a Gentile woman baking bread in the oven. I begged, she would not give me. She put the bread in the house, and I stayed, I hid. I rose from there : the woman came out from the house. I entered to take bread from the cupboard, and the woman was coming. I hid behind the things. The woman came, ‘making friends’:¹ her husband was not in the house. They came from there, they entered into his house. Her husband came by chance : that one hid himself behind the things. The husband of the woman said, ‘Who is with thee ?’ The woman said, ‘There is no one with us.’ The thief arose, showed himself. He said, ‘I asked from thy wife bread, she did not give it me, she went out from the house, I entered the house to steal two loaves. I betook myself, thy wife came, I hid behind the things. I saw that thy wife was “making friends.” Her friend came with her. He arose from there, hid himself behind the things with me, and he betook himself [the time in] which thou didst come : here he is, hidden behind the things.’ The husband of the woman went and took him, and came and put him at the door of the house, and took the sword and slew him, and took the woman and slew her also, and put them in the sack and he and the thief arose, and put them far away. And he gave that one ten loaves. He said, ‘Here is thy way from here : if I see thee here, I will kill thee.’ The thief saw his brother and he was asleep. He woke him, and they ate bread they two, and he betook himself. They stole [and took] with themselves four cows, and went. His beard turned white from fear and he ceased from all theft.²

XL

Ārát ár' ūnk̄timān kāumémān, mángerde grēwárás-dírī ; u bōrōs int̄sis u dários nirdahre^o. Săbáhtān dários kal miš nihre^o. Ndsri lăci, gdri, siti yikáskă min Căjăk-désăski. Săbáhtān gdrēn, năndénis u ári. Kéi-hra 'imlás ? Pünj zerd dăriiskă, pünj zerd bōriskă. Dários kal miš nihre^o. "U mányări díriák-potréstă das zerd." Kal miš nihre^o dários. Gdră hálōs lăciăki u bárōs dăriiskáră, inni "ăhă min kāumémănki, ăhă díră inhe^o ămintă : măumumă-n-pótre," círdēn. "Démę° dírim árăskáră : indémę° dírim măumus-potrëskă la tirwálma cntrék gúrgiom !" Mínde hălésăñ illi găre măngăndi lăciă, risre. Štirde min hnónă, lágiš-kerde grēwárásăñ. "Átu dírür ăgálik ătúrtă, 'nde^s ămănkáră." "Ázib ămě déri lăciă : átu dírer ăgaléni." Mínde hălésăñ. Găre dários lăciăki tillă-tmálieskáră, círdă "Yá tillă-tmáli, dírim găre bésauí-kerinde ăgăben ămătă." Círdă tillă-tmáli "Kónik illi gără bésauí-kersi ?" Círdi dários "Bóriosi." Tmáli círdă inni "Bórios

¹ Euphemism.

² Here again the narrator has got confused. That the story told partly in the first person and partly in the third was *not* a personal reminiscence is sufficiently proved by the fact that Shákir has no beard !

hálli bésáui-keris, bőios wäktli minjts." *Bésáui-kerdōsis bőios* *güsben dárístă u párdă das zerd: intă pünjés dáriskáră u pünjés* *böiuskáră u zérdák háluskáră u dī zerd kés-kerdă minjtsän u* *mándă átústă des zerd.* *Kálf-hri laci pořistă wīs u tdrän* *zerd; u súfdh-kerdă átústă u pardōsis ūnkisi u mñnde hálósän,* *gärnáürde.* *Wársră ed-dínya, nī-ráürde^o:* *mre^o štar kár* *mnëšisän.* *Wésre erhénă lă-dúni jim'ák.*

By night there came our people to us, they wanted the sheikh's daughter ; and her father gave her but her mother was not willing. In the morning her mother said she was not willing. The girl fled, went, and slept with one from the land of Egypt. In the morning we went, took her, and she came. What was her price ? Five pounds to her mother, five pounds to her father. Her mother said she did not agree. 'And there would remain for her daughter's husband ten pounds.'¹ She said she did not agree. The girl's maternal uncle and brother went to her mother. [They said] that 'these are from our own people, they are not remote from us ; they are our uncle's sons,' they said. 'I will not give my daughter to this one : I will not give my daughter to her uncle's son if you cut my throat with a sword !' They who came and asked for the girl betook themselves and were angry. They rose from there, their sheikh quarrelled. 'You—your daughter is expensive to you [i.e. in your estimation] ; you will not give her to us.' '[It is] a wonder that we should give the girl : your daughters are expensive.' They betook themselves. The mother of the girl went to the governor and said, 'Oh, governor, they were going to marry my daughter in spite of me.' Said the governor, 'Who is he who is going to marry her ?' Said her mother, 'Her father.' The governor said, 'Let her father give her in marriage, her father is in authority over her.' Her father gave her in marriage in spite of her mother, and he took ten pounds : he² gave five to her mother and five to her father, and a pound to her maternal uncle and two pounds [worth of] food for them, and there remained for him ten napoleons. The girl cost her husband twenty-three napoleons ; and he made a contract for her and took her with him, and they [the girl's people] betook themselves and caused them to return. It was raining, they did not depart : four donkeys of theirs died. They stayed there till the following week.

XLI

Áštă kláraki. Míndék kúrios hálémă. Míndă hálós. Ášt' *únkis kústotă óglájaki.* *Inhe^o únkis gáir pánjik.³* *Štírdă min* *hnónă sáúies-kúriáki kláră.* "Jam u k'ném ógláji, nđnám
ábránkă kiyáki." *Míndă ógláji u pardōsis.* Áră uyártă. Áră
áraskáră bálik-keră. Círdă ábúskă "Drárá-kerémi, par
übúrkă ógláj." *Míndă hálós illi kéri baklémă, círdă klírástă*
"Wésti, kémän." Káră giš túkni, nī mándă kiyák. Círdă kláră
"Nán u drárá-kerim." *Míndă hálós kdjjă, kal,* "Inhe^o únkis."

¹ An argument used by one of the persons concerned to soften the obstinate *dá*.

² I.e. the girl's intended husband.

³ An example of the almost obsolete ablative of *pánji*. Usually the prepositional compound *mnëšis*, is employed : the correct form is reverted to on account of the place of the preposition being here taken by the Arabic *gáir*, "without."

Párdă ḫglăgōs kláră u gdră minjts. Áră ārăskáră illi kéri hăláwi. Círdă ăbúskă “Drărá-kerémi u párek ăbúrkáră ūhū ḫglăgi.” “Cíneri ăbúskáră, u tári. Círdă ăbúskáră “Dráră nī hrūr°?” Círdă ăbúskáră kláră “Láu.” Míndă hálós u párdă ḫglăgōs kláră u gdră minjts. Áră ārăskáră illi másid kéră. Círdă ăbúskáră kláră “Pári ăbúskă ḫglăgi u drăránă-k’rem.” Círdă ăbúskáră kdjjă “Ár, wésti.” Tírdă ăbúskáră, nī drărăhra°. Círdă ăbúskáră, “Par ḫglăgōr u ja ămáta.”¹ Párdă ḫglăgi u kundósis. Párdă kélé ‘ārlătiskáră. Răwáhră.

There was a bedawi. His tent was pitched in the desert. He betook himself. He had a little kid. He had nothing else but that. The master of the house, the bedawi, rose from there. ‘I will go, sell the kid, I will bring something for you. He seized the kid and took it. He went to the town. He went to a merchant of fried meat [*lit. to that one who makes fried meat*]. He said to him, ‘Satisfy me, and take thee the kid.’ He who works in fried meat betook himself, said to the bedawi, ‘Sit, eat.’ He ate the whole platter, nothing remained. Said the bedawi, ‘Fetch [more] and satisfy me.’ The man betook himself, said, ‘I have nothing [more].’ The bedawi took his kid and went with it. He came to one who makes hăláwi. He said to him, ‘Satisfy me and take to thee this kid.’ He cuts for him and gives him. He said to him, ‘Are you not satisfied?’ The bedawi said to him, ‘No.’ The bedawi betook himself, and took his kid and went with it. He came to one who prepares meat. The bedawi said to him, ‘Let him take to him the kid and satisfy me.’ The man said to him, ‘Come, sit.’ He set before him, he was not satisfied. He said to him, ‘Take thy kid and go from me.’ He took the kid and sold it. He bought clothes for his family. He departed.

* XLII

Bóřos bářski Ya'kbéski kan káfri, inhe° wăstis díană bol. Kan 'ăbidóră ăsnáméni min wdtănski u găriēnbăgănánki. Bă'd-mă běsáui-kerdă bářos Yá'kbos, ndsre min áudăs-kuriăki u káutirde ăsnámés kúriăki. Răsróssăń áudă. Lămmă răsróssăń, dírös cárdi gónămă ăsnámän² u tirdósis dăwălătă. Wésri ătüstă. Lămmă dră bóřos sar náuări ăsnáméstă. Pánji gál-kerdi “Ydbă bóřom, násámáhmi, insăkrome° istírcăm.” Bóřos éfeni nī sákra° lăher ăsnámän.

Jacob's wife's father was an infidel, he had not the true religion. He used to worship images of stone and pottery. After Jacob had married his wife, they fled from the house of the old man and stole his images from the house. The old man followed them. When he followed them, his daughter hid the images in a bag and put them on the camel. She sat on it. When her father came he began to search for his images. She said, ‘My father, forgive me, I cannot rise up.’ Her father thus was not able to find his images.

¹ Unusual use of dative for ablative.

² Note the use of the plural ăsnám (instead of the singular, sénám, “an image”), as the stem of this noun.

XLIII

Ār' ūnk̄imān māumūm-potre. Bāke Till-uyarmēnā. Tārānēs tmāliéni. Pardōssān grēwārā u huldā minjtsān pāubāginyētā u gdrā, nīrdōssān tmaliéskā; pardōssān tmāli, tirdōssān kišlēmā. Štirdā āhlōsān nāwūndi ātsāntā; huldē ziričte, gđre Ydmāntā, wāddd-kerdēndsān āhlōsān u gārtre. Mīndē hālōsān, kuriēsān, rāurde, tīrde kuriēsān dītre. Āratān gārtre zlāme, fēre grēwārās dfāngāk, mārdēndis. Sābāhtān lāherde dhlōs grēwārāskā mārīrēk, ujālde pācīsān štar gōrāndelā. Mīnde hālōsān ūhū, rāurde, nāsre, gđre Cūjētā. Mānde hrōnā das wars, u gārtre. Nānde štar kāli, dī kāfā sal, u dī kānātūi gir, u nānde dī sāl zerđ u nīngre āhlīstā grēwārāskā. Tālyib-kerde ātūstā [read ātsāntā]. Mīnde hālōsān, imcīrde siriēsān, mārde štar kāliān u kēš-kerde sālās, u kđre u pīre, u tēndsān dīdānā sāiān zerđānki u ktīb-kerde hāte ātsāntā nī kātūwā ni štālār wālā intāwār. Ūhū dme yikāk hrēn.

There came to us my uncle's sons. They stayed, they had been in Damascus. The three were soldiers. The sheikh took them and descended with them to the court-house and went, brought them to the governor, the governor took them, put them in the barracks. Their people arose, searching for them; the boys went down, they went to Yaman,¹ their people sent for them, and they returned.² They betook themselves[and] their tents, they departed, they put their tents far away. By night the men returned, shot the sheikh,³ and killed him. In the morning the people of the sheikh saw him dead, and sent four horsemen after them. The others⁴ betook themselves, departed, fled, went to Egypt. They stayed there ten years and returned. They brought four goats, two baskets of rice, and two jars of butter, and paid two hundred pounds and entered into the people of the sheikh. They were reconciled with him [them]. They betook themselves, kissed their heads, slaughtered the four goats and made food of rice, and ate and drank, and paid the two hundred pounds and made writings for them, that there was no power to remove or place [an idiom for 'make trouble']. They [and] we became one.

XLIV

Ažrā hādi āréndi kāutiéni ūnk̄iman; kōlēndi kūriān. Dōmēni; wēsre ūnk̄iman. Sābāhtān kīldā dīs, gđre ūyārmā. Nāwūndi kōlēndi dī kūri. Mīndēndsanni sāuiēsān. Ār' ūnk̄iman nāndēndsān jārān. Cirde tmālie "Ehe mnēšrānni?" Cīrdēn "Lāu, mnēšmān nī hrendē." Pardēndsān elhāstā, bandēndsān. Pōiēsān Guld-uyarmēnā ujāll̄ ābsānkā jāre. Āre

¹ I suppose to some war, such has been going on more or less since 1900 with the revolting bedawin there. ² I.e. deserted.

³ For having delivered them up to military service.

⁴ The relations of the deserters.

pō̄esān ūntimān. "Āme bāniréni elhásmā. Mīndéndmān kdjje u nīrdéndmān tillā-tmaliéstā." Štirde min hnōnā zlāmē-sān, gđre tillā-tmaliéstā, círde "Āme° kāutine° hréni,¹ ya tillā-tmáli, āme bālémān gäréndi tā-náucānd kāumósān. Mīndēn hālómān, mīndéssānni tirdéssānni elhásmā. Kéik sdbābos, tillā-tmáli, mīndéndsān?" Kal "U pánjān kōlínde kuridmmā tānpárānd kiyákān u plen, áste átsántā kdjje lāherdēndsānni. Āre kdjje, lāherdēndsān: círde 'āme lāherdēnsān.'" Štirdā min hnōnā, hákim-kerdā átsántā pūnj mas, u tirdē žézđ das zerđ u hídīm-kerdā pūnjéna másān u kílde.

This last night there come female thieves among us ; they open the tents ; they were Nawar, they stayed with us. In the morning day dawned, they went to the city. They seek to open [and rob] two tents. Their owners seized them. They came to us and brought the women. The soldiers said, 'Are these from among you ?' We said, 'No, they are not from among us.' They took them to prison, bound them. Their husbands were in Jaffa, the women sent for them. Their husbands came to us. 'We are bound in prison. The men took us and brought us to the governor' [said the women]. Their men rose from there, went to the governor, and said, 'We are not thieves, oh Governor, our wives were going to seek their people. We betook ourselves, [and found that] you had seized them, put them in prison. What is the cause, oh governor, that they took them ?' He said, 'And they were opening the tents to take things and money, there are men with them who saw them. Men came, saw them, they said, "We saw them."' He arose from there, condemned them to five months, and put a fine of ten pounds and imprisoned them five months and they went out.

XLV

Štirdēn min hnōn', gđrēn dmā u dārōm dēsāstā Mutawilánki tā-náucēn bēnímtā, pārdōsus yikák u gđrđ minjts: jāndénsi° min kam dēsāski dmā u dārōm. Náurānni átiústā: sindénis: doméni círde ámínkā "Gārā Till-uyártā das dīs" u āme rāuāni. Mišd-hrōm pāndāsmā, nī sdkrōm rāuācām. Kré-kerdi dārōm ámākdrā kdrāk, tā-kúlcen kdrāstā. Ni jándōm kúlcen, mištwiōm gráni, wésrōm pūnj dīs. Gārdd - hrōm, rásrēn Till-uyártā, lāherdēnis erhónā. Mīndōm hālōm, círdōm dālímka "Cam ya dāi, ni diknáuā hálur ābúskā tā ărátān mārómis; lđci mányări. Mīndēn hālémān, párāni lđciă u gāryăni dēsimintă." Štirdōm ărátān, férómis dfángák, mārdómis. Lđci štirdi min sášik, círdi "Kónik ăhă ?" Círdōm "Āmă hrómi." Círdi lđci "Kónik ăhă ?" Círdōm "Băróri." "Mărdórís ?" círdi. Círdōm "Mărdómis." Míndi hálōs u štirdi. Párdēn kiyákes u gārítren tārānémān. Wésrēn das pūnji dīs u āme rāuāni, gārítren, lđherdēn mātumum mrék; ujáldā păčímān u gđrēn ābúskā. Dāurdénis,

¹ Note the misplaced hamza, which should be at the end of hréni.

nánd' ábúskáră kiyáki u kóld' ábúskă málkăddă u möldénis. Árättiyos déyik-mať mdrde áminkáră kálidăk: sábáhtän kálidăk. Mínden hälémän, råwáhren. Mándom dmă tdrän mas wă dmă mišd-hrömi. Gdröm mdrämă, gárr Háydyin gärdä-kerdöm, u bësäut-kerdën laciă matumüs-potréskă.

We rose from there, we went I and my mother to the land of the Mutawileh to seek my sister ; one had taken her and gone off with her : I and my mother did not know him, from what place he was. We seek for him : we heard [of] him : there were Nawar who said to us, 'He went ten days [ago] to Damascus.' And we depart. I fell sick on the way, I could not walk. My mother hired for me a donkey, so that I might ride upon the donkey. I could not ride, my sickness was heavy, I stayed five days. I recovered, we reached Damascus, we saw him there. I betook myself, said to my mother, 'Say, mother, do not show thyself to him so that by night I may kill him ; the girl will remain. If we betake ourselves, we will take the girl, and go back to our place.' I arose by night, shot him, and killed him. The girl rose from sleep, said 'Who is there?' I said, 'I am.' Said the girl, 'Who is there?' Said I, 'Thy brother.' 'Hast thou killed him?' said she. I said 'I have killed him.' She betook herself and rose. We took his things and returned, we three. We stayed fifteen days and were going, we returned, we saw my uncle dead. He had sent after us and we went to him. We washed him, got [grave] clothes for him, dug for him a grave and buried him. In the night the people of the village killed a goat for us ; in the morning a goat. We betook ourselves, and went. I stayed three months and was sick : I was going to die but God made me recover, and we married the girl to her uncle's son.

XLVI

Gdrën ; dmă hrömi u gënä, ditoni. Ujäldösän grëwaromän. Kilde dtis tmaliéni u Dománki mängerdössän tillă-tmáli. "Jas ábsánkă." Gdrën min hnénă, siten klárantă. Sábáhtän ráurën, cindën Šriă, siten tillă-klárastă grëwarék drátos ; nī kénatur-dösän wdă pínáurdösän. Sábáhtän kıldă dís, ráurën, räserénsän déyikämă námös Mdhäsi. Mínden hälémän. Aštă wăstmän hâtaki min grëwaromän. Diknáurdénis dëi-grëwarankă. Cirdën "Ehe tmaliéni mangire mnëstimän, gärnáuássän wásmän." Déyik-mátdas grëwarän[tă] inténdšan pünj zerđ u "dme" círde "nī gäriréne" wăstirän." Cirdă grëwáră ámintă "Ni jande° wásrän ehe." Mínden hälémän, gärtrën, siten pándäsmă dî árat, la kárén wdă ptřen. Wársră ed-dínyă ámintă pándäsmă. Gdrën márne min siéski ; latherden klaréni, gdrën ünkisän, pénde kiyákemän u téndmän kiyáki hláfésän, u siten áratos u sábáhtän mínden hälémän, råwáhren kuriémintă. Cirdă mánüs "Ni nándéssän." Cirdën dmë "Rásréneän déikämă námüs Mdhäsi, inten hâtás illi wăšimánni grëwarankă. Bárdal-kerde grëwárän pünj zerđ, u férndemän grëwáre u ha gärtrën. Mínden hälémän u gärtrën."

We went; I was there and another, there were two. Our sheikh sent us. Two who were soldiers had gone out,¹ and the governor demanded them from the Nawar. 'Go for them.' We went from here, slept with the bedawin. In the morning we departed, cut [crossed] the Jordan, slept that night with a great bedawi who was a sheikh; he gave us neither food nor drink. In the morning day broke, we departed, we followed them to a village named Mahas. We betook ourselves. We had a letter from our sheikh. We showed it to the village sheikhs. We said, 'These are soldiers who are wanted from among us, send them back with us.' They had given five pounds to the sheikhs of the people of the village, and 'We,' said they, 'will not return with you.' Said a sheikh to us, 'They will not go with you.' We betook ourselves, returned, slept on the road two nights, we neither ate nor drank. The rain fell on us in the road. We were going to die [*lit.* dead bodies] from cold. We saw bedawin, went among them, they took our things and gave us things instead of them, and we slept that night and in the morning betook ourselves and went to our houses. Said the man, 'You have not brought them.' Said we, 'We followed them to a village called Mahas, gave the letter which we had to the sheikhs. They bribed the sheikhs five pounds, and the sheikhs beat us, and here we have returned. We betook ourselves and returned.'

III.—NOTES ON THE CRIMINAL CLASSES IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

By WILLIAM CROOKE

THE Government of Bombay has published, under the editorship of Mr. M. Kennedy, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, a handbook for the use of the force, under the title of *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1908).² Mr. Kennedy is not a learned anthropologist, and his knowledge of the literature of the subject beyond the province in which he serves is slight. But the book contains much curious and interesting matter contributed by European and native officers skilled in the detection of crime. Some of the practices of these tribes are analogous to those of the Gypsy and wandering tramp classes of Europe; and although resemblances of this kind are of little value as proofs of identity of origin, some extracts from the work may be of interest to those engaged in the study of European nomads.

Few of these tribes are nomads in the true sense of the word; that is to say, though many of them have adopted a wandering life, few are destitute of any permanent home or head-quarters. The Kaikādis of the Deccan are almost pure nomads, only a few

¹ Desereted.

² Printed at the Government Central Press, pp. xii+340, 19 plates. Price 7s. 9d.

having settled down as agriculturists, makers of mats, baskets, or brushes. The Māng Gārudis and the Pārdhis have no settled abode, but do not wander to a long distance or beyond a regular beat. The Sānsiyās and Beriyās of North India are pure nomads, and have no permanent home, interests, or connections. Many of these tribes possess only the most flimsy, movable habitations. The Kaddi Korwā Kaikādis live in huts made of reeds and grass;¹ the settled Kātkaris have more or less permanent houses with grass roofs, while the nomad members of the tribe live in temporary shelters, eight to twelve feet in diameter, and conical in shape. The Māng Gārudis carry about on buffaloes portable grass huts. The wandering Pārdhis live in huts of grass or flimsy cloth tents, which they pitch wherever water and good grazing are to be found, and in places where they can snare game. The Waddars fix screens at the openings of their mat or grass shelters.²

They practise various modes of crime. Some are dacoits and burglars; others thieve on the railways, of which they have provided themselves with maps showing the stations; others are pickpockets, coiners of false money, cheats, and rogues. The circumstances surrounding a certain crime, such as the weapons and implements used, the methods by which entry is effected into houses, indicate to the expert the particular tribe which was probably guilty of the crime. In the case of burglary there is a clear line drawn in the modes of entering a house between what is known as the *baghlī* and the *rūmālī*; the former being a hole made in the wall beside a door-frame through which a hand can be introduced to open a latch; the latter a hole in the wall large enough to give entry to the burglar.³ Some tribes use one, some the other, a few both. The Kolis usually make the hole in the back wall, it being considered unlucky to break in from the front. Many burglars are careful, after making the hole, to thrust in a stick which is often covered with a blanket, so as to tempt the

¹ Cf. the *Häuser aus Rohr* which Grünemberg saw at Modon in 1486 (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 61), and the *kleynen huser mit rijet gedeckt* which Arnold von Harff described about ten years later (p. 64).

² The true Maghaiya Doms of Northern India do not erect huts or shelters of any kind, during the rainy season cowering under the eaves of houses or in cattle-sheds (Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces*, 1896, ii. 318). The Kanjars have rude tents, which they cover in rainy weather with mats made of reeds (*Ibid.*, iii. 150).

³ In *Criminal Investigation* translated and adapted from Professor Hans Gross' *System der Kriminalistik* by J. Adam and J. Collyer Adam (London, 1907), p. 361, the boring of holes in walls for the purpose of burglary is attributed to Gypsies.

occupant to strike at it, should he happen to be on the alert. It is reported of the Hārnis of the Panjāb that the smaller and better made the hole is, the higher is the reputation of the burglar; and a full-grown member of this tribe can slip through a hole which seems hardly large enough to admit a boy.

Nearly all these tribes have ingenious methods by which they signal or give warning of danger to confederates. Some of these resemble the methods of the European tramp. Thus 'one Bhāmptā warns another by first coughing, and then clearing his throat; this is done quietly if police are about, or noisily if the person to be warned is at a distance and the coast is clear. He never points with the hand or finger, does not look in the direction from which danger is expected, but points with the elbow while scratching his head. If he wishes to intimate to a friend that he is being watched, he will, when scratching his head, work his elbow backwards. If a Bhāmptā is awaiting the arrival of a train in which he expects friends, and notices the police are watching him, he will twist one end of his shoulder cloth round one arm to indicate that he is tied up; and if he intends his friends not to alight, he will scratch his head and work his elbow in the direction the train is moving; this all means "I am watched; continue your journey." The Chandravedis of Central India work in fairs with a boy. When the leader decides that something is to be lifted, he raises his hand to his cheek bone and scratches his face. If he sees that the boy is watched, he closes one hand, turns the fist upwards, and strikes the palm with the other, implying 'Wait for further orders.' Other similar signs indicate that the boy is to bolt, hide the goods, and so on. Most of these people when leaving a camp make a mark on the ground indicating the direction in which they are going, and they use winks and motions of the hands to communicate with their friends. The Bauriyās indicate the direction by making a straight line on the ground with a curve at one end; the number of strokes within the curve shows the strength of the gang; a circle with similar strokes shows that the gang is encamped close by; when a square is made within the curve it means that a box containing property has been stolen. Each tribe has its own particular marks by which it is often possible to recognise their handiwork.

When Sānsiyās are engaged in a burglary, one member of the gang is posted outside, who goes on flipping with his finger

against the wall to show that all is well, and to keep his friend who has entered the house informed of the line of retreat should he lose his bearings in the dark. In the same way the Mīnā sentry indicates to the man inside that all is well by imitating the squeak of a mouse; the approach of danger is notified by a sound resembling the hooting of an owl.

Many of them are clever in concealing stolen property and other articles. The Bhāmpṭā conceals between his gum and upper lip a small curved knife which he uses to cut open bags in railway carriages. The Chhapparband coiners have a concealed flap in their waist-cloth for holding false coins. Men and women conceal small articles of jewellery in various indescribable ways.

In order to avoid leaving tracks the Kōlīs walk on tiptoe from the scene of the crime. The Miānās carry some of the gang on their backs for a certain distance in order to reduce the number of footprints. The Hārnīs in their retreat walk backwards in order to suggest that the crime was committed by a resident in the village. Many tribes have ingenious methods of disguise, dressing themselves as merchants, respectable travellers, or wandering fakirs. The women are active in resisting the search of their huts. Māng Gārūdī women divest themselves of their clothes in order to force the police to retire through shame; Beriyā women threaten to dash out the brains of their babies,¹ and throw filth on the searching party.

Many are adepts in cheating. In dealing with a 'fence' in a secret place it is a common trick for one of the gang to personate a policeman, on whose arrival the receiver is forced to make his escape without receiving the stolen articles for which he has already paid. When clarified butter is sold the grocer weighs the vessel first when empty and afterwards with the contents. The Audhiyā meets the difficulty by providing two stoppers for his coconut shell, one light the other heavy, which he exchanges as it suits his purpose. Vāghris perform the 'dropping trick' by letting a piece of metal, coloured to represent a gold ingot, fall

¹ Rather curiously a similar custom was attributed to Gypsies in a paragraph which appeared in many newspapers towards the end of July 1909. They were alleged to have used their babies as weapons with which to attack the inspectors of emigrants in New York. The report as it stood was American and incredible, but it is not impossible that the Gypsies may have threatened to do what the newspapers said they did. The criminal records of India supply numerous instances of offenders when being arrested dashing their babies on the ground with fatal results, the intention being that the ghost of the child may worry the prosecutor.

before a passer-by, who is forced to pay blackmail on threat of exposure.¹

It used to be a common practice for night burglars on entering a room to fling about a few seeds or peas, the rattle of which when falling upon brass vessels indicated their position. Safety matches have now replaced the more primitive method.

All tribes of this class are influenced by superstitions of various kinds. We find among them, as with the Doms and other criminal tribes of North India, the tabu of iron, which points to a tradition of the replacement of implements of stone by those of metal, the latter being consequently regarded as uncanny. Some tribes, such as the Badhaks, Chunvāliā Kolis, Waddars, Pāsīs, and Mārwar Nāiks, practise the nasty trick of defecating on the floor of one of the rooms of the house into which entry has been made. Among some this is said to mark their sense of disappointment, and in order to revenge themselves upon and insult the owner; others allege that it is in some way a safeguard against detection.² The Bauriyās carry with them a packet of seeds of millet and a kind of soap-nut which they use in consulting omens before undertaking an enterprise or in determining what members of the gang shall take part in it. If one of their number is believed to be an adept in charms, he casts the seed of the *abrus precatorius* shrub into the house before breaking into it in order to ensure that the burglars are not interrupted.³ The Minās, unless they are successful, do not shave except at home, and then only after

¹ See F. W. Carew (A. E. G. Way), No. 747, p. 37, where a similar trick is attributed to a Gypsy called Matt Orchard from the black country, described as 'having been brought up in Birmingham.' According to Borrow (*Lavo-Lil*, 'Wandsworth' chapter) 'ring-dropping,' of which he gives a full description, is the 'honourable profession' of 'Hindity-mengre.'

² Wlislocki, *Aus dem inneren Leben den Zigeuner*, (Berlin, 1892), p. 90 :—'Ehe der Dieb in ein Gehöft einbricht, verrichte er vorerst in der Nähe desselben ein Bedürfniss. So lange der "Haufen" warm ist, bleibt der Dieb vor jeder Störung gesichert. Verlässt er dann den Schauplatz seiner Tätigkeit, so streue er etwas von diesem "Sprungpulver" [the dried blood of a woman who has died in child-birth] auf den "Haufen"—in der zigeunerischen Gaunersprache "Hirte" (feris) genannt—dann bleibt er im ungestörten Besitz des gestohlenen Gutes.' The excrement, like the saliva, hair, nail-parings, blood, etc., which are supposed to have a vital connection with the person from whom they are derived, and are hence used for purposes of sympathetic magic, here seems to be intended to represent the burglar, while he succeeds in escaping in safety. See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*², i. 375 ff.; E. S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 258 ff.; *Notes and Queries*, 11th Series, i. 296 f. For an interesting discussion of this and similar Gypsy practices, see the article by Dr. A. Hellwig entitled, 'Kriminalistische Aufsätze' in *Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie und Kriminalistik*, vol. xxxi. 282 ff.

³ Gross-Adam, *loc. cit.* p. 385. Gypsies almost always leave some *datura* (thorn-apple) seeds in a room they have burgled. They are supposed to ensure secrecy and facilitate escape.

making an offering to the tribal goddess ; when they are away from home they will not eat rice, berries, sugarcane, parched grain, nor any meat except mutton. They carry with them, carefully wrapped up in cloth, a dried goat's tongue, either whole or in pieces rolled into pills about the size of peas ; these are used in consulting omens. Rāmosis and Waddars will not steal the marriage necklet worn by all Hindu women, like our wedding ring. The Sānsiyās and Beriyās steal from a cremation or burial ground some of the cerements of the dead, and wave them over sleepers in the belief that they will not be disturbed by any one waking. This resembles the 'Hand of Glory,' the hand of a dead man carried by European thieves for the same purpose. (See Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, 1849, vol. iii. 278 f.).¹

IV.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

No. 10. Ī BITA KĀNĪ

With this folk-tale compare Wasti Gray's story of "De little Fox" (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. iii. p. 204), which, though very different in detail, contains the same episodes of pregnancy resulting from food given by a witch, the birth of a helpful animal, and the begging of food from a great house.

Ī BITA KĀNĪ

Sas yekār dūi bárē filišind. Aré yek oléndē sas pívl̄ rānī, tā pívl̄ rai 'rē i vavér. Sas i púrē rāniáti čai, tā čai i púrē restī pápale. Ī púrē rāniáki čai bita uglimen yek tā duméskeri sas.

THE LITTLE HEN.

Once upon a time there were two large mansions. In one lived a widow and in the other a widower. The old lady had a daughter and so had the old gentleman. The old lady's daughter was an ill-favoured little creature and a hunchback

¹ Compare the various spells used by thieves which Wlislocki describes in pp. 88-95 of *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner*. On p. 94 it is stated that pieces of the clothing of a hanged man are used to prevent the discovery of theft ; and on the same and the following pages a candle is described made from the fat of a white dog and the blood of a still-born twin which, when carried burning in the left hand, makes the bearer invisible. In Gross-Adam, *loc. cit.* p. 387, it is stated that 'gipsies of all countries are said to possess a "slumber-thumb,"' i.e. the left thumb of a corpse which has been nine weeks in the grave, disinterred at the new moon. Thieves in Northern India are said to throw ashes from a funeral pyre on sleeping persons in order to make them unconscious while a burglary is going on (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*², 1896, i. 261).

I purē reskī čai raikanī rānī sas-lī. Romerdé pen o pivlō tā i¹ pivlt. Jidilé sár kitanés aré reskī filišin.

I bita duméskerī sas lā te jal talé kī xent² i tušnīása³ te lel pānī. 'Yas i tušnī tā talé gyas.

Bita kér pōsē stiga, tā bita purī jivélas odói. *I purī sas poš o huddár.* P'učás i dumesk'riátē, "'Vesa aré te les čomónī te xds?" Xoint 'v'as i bita duméskerī, "Na lajésa tū kek te pucés mandē te 'va 'rē 'jesavō bita čorvanō tan?" Mukdás lā, tā talé gyas kī xent.

"Čidás i tušnī aré xenákeri.⁴" 'Pre'čilé trin bdlénē šerē. Xočē yekl "Azer man, tā kos man, tā burā⁵ man, tā či man talé šukár." Diás len talé i tušnīása. Čidás i tušnī 'rē i xent, tā 'yas lā pálē pārdi číkalō pānī. Keré gyas. "Soskē andián o číkalō pānī?" "Číkalō pānī dikóm mē aré xent."

Ak'i vavér jala talé tušnīása kī xent.

Talé o drom gyas, tā 'vías kī 'kala puriákō kχér. *I purt sas poš o huddár.* "'Vesa tū 'rē, rānta,⁶ te les bita te xos?" "Aúa mē!"

to boot. As for the old gentleman's daughter, she was a beautiful lady. The widower and the widow married. They all abode together in the old gentleman's house.

The little hunchback had to go down to the spring with a pail to fetch water. She took the pail and went down.

There was a little lodge near the gate, and a little old woman lived there. The old woman was at the door, and she asked the hunchbacked girl, "Wilt thou come in to have something to eat?" The little hunchback got angry, "Art thou not ashamed to ask me to enter such a wretched little place?" She left her and went down to the spring.

She dipped the pail in the well. Three boars' heads rose up. Quoth one, "Lift me, and wipe me, and comb me, and set me down softly." She struck them down with the pail. She dipped the pail into the well, and she drew it up again full of muddy water. She went home. "Why hast thou brought muddy water?" "I saw only muddy water in the well."

Now the other girl goes with the pail to the spring.

She went down the road, and she came to this old woman's house. The old woman was at the door. "Wilt thou come in, my lady, and have a mouthful to

¹ tā i]. Pronounced as a monosyllable tāi.

² xent]. The W. Gypsies use xanī and xeni beside xanyakeri, xenidkeri, xendkeri indifferently for "spring" or "well," though originally xanī probably connoted the former sense, and the derivative xenákeri the latter. Pasp. khaník, etc., BS and C hánik, Pott ii. 165, Mik. vii. 61.

³ tušnīsa]. Tušnī is used either for "can" or "basket." In reading over the story to Matthew, he suggested that perhaps čárō would be a better word for "pail."

⁴ xenákeri]. See above, note 2.

⁵ burā]. From buraváva, "to comb out"=Pasp.'s buruváva, "dénatter," "détresser."

⁶ rānta]. Voc. case as the gájē have it, or as Matthew himself expressed it, "to give her a bit of a compliment like."

tā'rē gyas. 'Yas ēomónī te χol. Diás lā i pūri dropa gudlō tud tā kil-márō. Čōvezanī sas i pūri.

Mukdás i pūri tā'vri 'vías. Talé gyas kī xeníákerī. Čidás peskī tušnī aré xeníákerī. Oxtilé trin báléyē šerē. Xočē yek i raikaníáki, "Azer man, tā kos man, tā burā man, tā či man talé šukár." Azerdás les, tā kosdás les, tā buradás les, tā čidás les talé šukár. Pārdiás i tušnī pāniésa. Yūžō pāni sas. K'eré gyas lesa.

Trašudt sas i pūri. Junélas kek sō te kel. "Sār šiš andésa tū o iñžō pāni, tā tūya¹ andésa o čikalō pāni?"

Ši kī dumékerī kalikō te lel pāni. Gyas peskī. Dikás i pūri poš o hudár. "'Vesa tū'rē, ránta, te les bita te χos?' " Nā mē! Na lajésa tū kek te pūcés mandé?" Gyas kī xenyákerī, tā čidás i tušnī aré latī. 'Prē oxtilé trin báléyē šerē. Xočē vavér yek oléndē, "Azer man, tā kos man, tā burā man, tā či man talé šukár." Díás len i tušnása. 'Yas tušnī čikulō pāni tā keré gyas.

Rušdás² lakī dai te dikél o čikulō pāni pápale.

Ak'i vavér ránī jala 'kaná tī lel pāni. Talé gyas tā'vīús kī bita pūríákō kér. "'Vesa tū'rē, ránia, te les ēomónī te χos?' " "Aua mē!" Aré gyas tā'yas ēomónī te χol. Pendás "Lačo

eat?" "Yes, that I will," and in she went. She had something to eat. The old woman gave her a little sweet milk and some bread and butter. Now this old woman was a witch.

She left the old woman and came out. She went down to the well. She dipped her pail in the well. Up sprang three boars' heads. Quoth one to the fair lady, "Lift me, and wipe me, and comb me, and set me down softly." She lifted him, she wiped him, she combed him, and she set him softly down. She filled her pail with water. The water was clear. She went home with it.

The old woman was bewildered. She knew not what to make of it. "How is it that thou canst fetch clear water, while thou, daughter, bringest muddy water?"

On the morrow it was the hunchback's turn to fetch water. She set off. She saw the old woman by her door. "Wilt thou come in, my lady, and have a mouthful to eat?" "Not I! Art not ashamed to ask me?" She went to the well and dipped in the pail. Up sprang the three boars' heads. Quoth the second one, "Lift me, and wipe me, and comb me, and set me down softly." She struck them with the pail. She drew a pailful of muddy water and went home.

Her mother was angered to see the muddy water again.

Now here is the other lady going to bring water. Down she went, and she came to the little old woman's house. "Wilt thou come in, my lady, to have something to eat?" "Yes, that I will." She went in and had something to eat.

¹ tūya]. A characteristic instance of the use of the emphatic pronoun = "and thou."

² rušdás]. Rušáva (Pott ii. 279, Mik. viii. 60), "to be angry," "to fall into a rage," is several degrees stronger than χoieráva.

divés " i pūriákī tā talé gyas kī xenákerī. Čidás i tušnī arō pānī. Oxtilé trin bálénē sérē. Xočē yek, "Azer man, tā kos man, tā burā man, tā či man talé šukár." Ojá kedás i raikanī ránī, tā 'yas peskī tušnī pārdī yūžō pānī, tā keré gyas.

I pūri ránī sas xooint te dikél i raikanī ránī te andél yūžō pānī. "Sār sī 'doiyá te andél yūžō pānī tā mīrī andél čikalō pānī! Bičaváva i dūién, pala vaverkéndī, pāpalē, kalikō."

Kalikō 'vyas. Talé gyas i bita duméskerī. Dikás i pūriá.¹ "Vesa tū 'rē, ránfa, te les čomónī te xos?" "Na lajésa tū, pūrička,² te pūcés mandē te 'va 'rē?" Gyas peskī kī xent tā čidás i tušnī aré. Oxtilé trin bálénē sérē 'prē. "Azer man, tā kos man, tā burā man, tā či man talé šukár." Diás lejē sérē talé i tušniása.

Niserdás te jal keré, tā dikás trin bárē raid te 'čenas odóí. Xočō puredér pal lendē, "Akē raikanī ránī!" "Aua pala," xoč 'o wavér. "Sō baxterésa³ tū 'kala ráníákī?" "Baxteráva mē yek' rig lakō bal sár juvá." Pučtás i tar nedér paléstē, "Sō baxterésa tuya 'kala ráníákī?" "Baxteráva mē wavér rig sár l'ikd." Ó puredér pal rakeréla 'kaná. "Uglimén ši-lí akaná, baxteráva te bút bút uglimedér⁴ 'vela kana jala keré."

She bade the old woman "Good day," and went down to the well. She dipped the pail in the water. Up sprang the three boars' heads. Quoth one, "Lift me, and wipe me, and comb me, and set me down softly." The fair lady did so, filled her pail with clear water, and went home.

The old lady was enraged to see the beauty bringing clear water. "How comes it about that yon girl brings clear water while my child brings muddy water? I will send them both again to-morrow, one after the other."

The morrow came. Down went the little hunchback. She saw the old witch. "Wilt thou come in, my lady, to have something to eat?" "Art not ashamed, thou old beast, to ask me to come in?" She went to the well and dipped in her pail. The three boars' heads sprang up. "Lift me, and wipe me, and comb me, and set me down softly." She struck the heads down with the pail.

She turned to go home and saw three gallants standing before her. Said the eldest brother, "Here is a fine lady!" "Yes, brother," quoth the other. "What dost thou wish this lady?" "I will that one side of her hair shall be all lice." He asked the youngest brother, "And what dost thou wish this lady?" "I will that the other side shall be covered with nits." Now the eldest brother speaks, "Ugly is she now; I will that she be uglier far when she reaches home."

¹ *pūriá*. An instance of the extremely rare inflected form of the fem. acc. sing. in this dialect.

² *rička*. *Ričkō* (m.), *rička* (f.), "beast," "brute" (used as a term of contempt), is probably Cont. Gyp. *ricí*, "bear" + Slav. suff., -*kō*, -*ka*.

³ *baxterésa*] *Baxteráva*, obviously a denominative from *baxt*, in most of my examples of the use of this fairly common word, means something more than "to wish," rather "to will anything into being," "to ensure anything happening," "to bring about, or effect by the act of volition."

⁴ *uglimenedér*]. Eng. "ugly" + partic. suff. -*men* (Gk. -*μενος*), here, as often, used adjectivally not participially, + compar. suff. -*dér*. And an *uglimenedér* lav it would be damned hard to find!

Ak'i raikanī rānī jala te lel pānī. Tā'viás kī bita pūriákō kēr. "Vesa tū'rē, rānfa, te les bita te χos?" "Aua mē," tā'rē gyas. Xoiás tā'vrī gyas. Tā'viás te xenyákerī. Čidás i tušnī aré. 'Prē oxtilé o trin bāléjē šērē. "Azer man, tā'kos man, tā burā man, tā'či man talé šukár." Ojá kedás. Talé gilé o šērē. 'Yas tušnī yūžō pānī. Niserdás peskō šērō; dikás trin tārnē raið. Ō pūredér þal pūkerdás i vaveréyī, "Akē raikanī rānī!" "Aua, raikanī rānī ši-lī tai." "Sō baxterésa tū'kala tārnē rānīákī?" Xočē yek "Baxteráva mē yek rig lakō bul sár sunakái." "Sō baxterésa tū, þula?" "Baxterá mē vavērrig sár rūp." "Sō baxterésa tū, þula?" þendé i þurederéskī, "Raikant ši-lī'kanđ. Baxteráva te büt büt raikanedér 'vela kana jala keré."

Keré ši-lē'kanđ i dūi poš pēnyā. Trašadí sas i pūri te dikél i dūién—yek büt büt uglimén, i vavér büt büt raikaní. Gyas i pūri rānī nasvalt te dikél len. Pašt ar'ō vodros sas-lī. Kārdás peskō rom. "Sō kerása 'mē odóla dūiénsa?" 'Čas o pūro, tā sundás top i pūriátī mankē þendás či.¹ "Juná mē kek sō te kerd." Xoči pūri leskī, "Kēr bárō moxto, tā'či u dūi aré, tā' učer len aré o dōriáv. Me jan i bavalíása!" Ojá sas kedó, sár þendás i pūri.

O dūi poš pēnyā 'kanđ'prē o dōriav. 'Doi sus-lē'kanđ štár

And now the fair lady goes to fetch water. She came to the little old woman's house. "Wilt thou come in, my lady, to have a mouthful to eat?" "Yes, that I will"; and in she went. She ate and came out. And she reached the well. She dipped in the pail. Up sprang the three boars' heads. "Lift me, and wipe me, and comb me, and set me down softly." She did so. The heads sank down. She drew a pailful of clear water. She turned her head: she saw three gallants. The eldest brother said to the others, "Here is a fine lady!" "Ay, she is a fine lady indeed." "What dost thou wish this young lady?" Quoth one, "I will that one side of her hair shall be all gold." "What dost thou wish, brother?" "I will that the other side shall be all silver." "What is thy wish, brother?" they said to the eldest. "Lovely is she now; I will that she be lovelier far when she reaches home."

The two half-sisters are home now. The old lady was aghast when she saw them—the one most evil looking, and the other so beautiful. It made her ill to look upon them. She took to her bed. She called her husband, "What shall we do with these two?" The old man pondered and listened to his wife before he said anything. "I know not what to do." Quoth the old lady, "Make a great chest and put the two into it, and cast them into the sea. Let them go whithersoever the wind carries them." It was done even as the old lady said.

The two half-sisters are on the sea now. There they have been for four weeks.

¹ či]. This is a rare and highly interesting example of či standing alone, used in its original sense of "anything." Commonly with the negatives *na*, *ne*, *nai*, or with *kek*, *kek-komī*, *na . . . kek*, or with the prohibitive *mā*, či stands for "nothing" (lit. "not anything"), and hence has come to bear this meaning even when used without the negative.

kurké. L'atiás i raikani rānī te kabnt sas-lī. Lakō čeros sas. Biadás bita kānī tā¹ kek pōrī. Sō keka² 'vīás i bita kānī bīant dikás top skī³ dai, tā dikás top'skī uglimen bibī. "Dai, sō sī akáia uglimén koya sī tusa?"

Yek kurkō niserdás. L'atiás i raikani rānī bita pāndili čuri⁴ ar' peskī poči. Piradás lā. Dikéla 'prē o moxtō. Čindīás bita xev ar'ō moxtō i čuriása. Čidás peskō vanjúštō 'rol i xestyár. Čindīás pāpalē te kel i xev bāredér. Kedás lā bāredér. Čidás o šerō aról 'kand, te dikél kai sas-lē. Dikás pūvyá. Talé gyas tā pukadás i vaveriáki, "Dikóm pūvyá." O pānī jala bitedér tā bitedér. O bavál pūrdiás len pošē pūvyá. Odói sas-lē kuši divesá, postē kedás i xev buxli⁵ dosta te jan avrt o dūr.

Avrt gilé, tā mukdē moxtō, tā 'prē o pūrō 'drolanō⁶ drom. L'atilé šuči grānza. Aré gyas i bita kānī te dikél savō tan sas. Avrt 'vīás i bita kānī tā pukadás peskī dakī, "Aua, sī dosta pūs, tā šukō tan, 'ven aré!"

Aré gilé o trin. P'ukadás i bita kānī i bibiáki, "Jā tā gard tut ar'ō pūs!" 'Jā gyas. Bita kānī učerdás pūs 'prē latī. "Dáia, beš tuya odói, java máia te mayá xobén tukī."

Gyas i bita kānī opré pūrē droméstī. L'atiás filišin. Gyas kī
The fair lady found that she was pregnant. Her time came. She gave birth to a little croptail hen. As soon as the little hen was born she looked upon her mother, and she looked upon her ill-favoured aunt. "Mammy, what is this ugly creature with thee?"

A week went by. The fair lady found a little penknife in her pocket. She opened it. She looked at the chest. She cut a little hole in it with the knife. She thrust her finger through the opening. She sawed away again to make the hole larger. She made it larger. Then she put her head through to see where they were. She saw fields. She went down and told the other girl, "I have seen fields." The water grows shallower and shallower. The wind blew them close up to the land. There they were for a few days until she made the hole wide enough for them to pass out.

They went out, leaving the chest, and walked up an old by-lane. They found an empty barn. The little hen went in to see what sort of a place it was. Out she came and told her mother, "It is well, there is plenty of straw and the place is dry, come in!"

The three entered. Quoth the little hen to her aunt, "Go hide thyself in the straw." She did so. The little hen heaped straw over her. "My mammy, sit thou there, I am going to beg food for thee."

The little hen went up the lane. She found a great house. She went to it

¹ *tāj*. *Tāj*, where in Eng. we should use "with," and one might expect the instrumental in Romani, is a very common W. Gyp. idiom, e.g., 'Vióm akai tā či, "I came here with nothing."

² *sō keka*] = "as soon as." See note 1, p. 47.

³ *top'skī*] = *top peskī*.

⁴ *pāndili čuri*]. From *pānd*. "to fasten"; lit. "clasp knife."

⁵ *buxli*]. See J. G. L. S., New Series, vol. ii. p. 28, note 27.

⁶ *'drolanō*]. From *andrōl*. Cp. Pasp. *andralunō*, "internus."

filišin tā kūrdas o hūddár. Avr̄t 'vyas o lovindákerō te dikél kon sas odói. Dikás i bita kānī tā kek pōri. Či na keserdás trušul latī. Aré gyas. P'andíás o hūddár.

Kūrdás i bita kānī hūddár pāpalē. Avr̄t 'viás lovindákerō. Xoči bita kānī, "Wontsáva mē xoben mē dakī." Aré gyas o lovindákerō pálē k'ō rai t'i rānī. "'Doi sī bita kānī tā kek pōri tā manjéla peskē dakī." Opré 'čas o rai t'i rānī tā 'vilé k'ō hūddár. 'Dói sas i bita kānī. "Wontsáva mē xoben mē dakī." Gilé 'rē 'kanđ, kedilé xobén tā andilé les avr̄t tā čidé les 'prē lakō dumō.

Ak'i bita kānī jal'p'ski.¹ 'Viás kī grānza 'kanđ. "Ši man xobén tukī dáia; dē mī uglimen bibi bita te xol, tā te garavél pes."

Odóva xobén kedás i trinéyī trin divesá. Ō xoben sas kedō 'kanđ. Ak'i bita kānī jala pāpalé kī filišin. 'Yas o xobén 'jā-sār 'yas les o vavér čeros. Andíás les keré peskē dakī.

Ō xobén sas kedō pāpalé. I dái pukadás i bita kānīákī. "L'atáva mē xobén, dáia." Gyas i bita kānī kī filišin. Junélas sō wontsélas yoi o lovindákerō 'kanđ.

Ō puro rai tī pūri rānī rakerdē vaverkénsa te vartasén lā kai jalas.

Gyas peskī i bita kānī i xob'nása. "Ši man xobén, dáia. Dē mī uglimen bibi bita te xol, tā te garavél pes."

and knocked at the door. The butler came out to see who was there. He saw the little croptail hen. He took no heed of her. He went in ; he shut the door.

The little hen knocked at the door again. Out came the butler. Quoth the little hen, "I want food for my mammy." The butler went in, back to his master and mistress, "A little croptail hen is out there, a-begging for her mother." The master and mistress rose and came to the door. There was the little hen. "I want food for my mammy." They went in then, they gathered victuals together, and they brought them out and fastened them upon her back.

Here is the little hen setting off. Now she has reached the barn. "I have brought food for thee, mammy ; give my ugly aunt a little to eat, and let her hide herself."

That food lasted the three for three days. Now it was finished. The little hen goes again to the great house. She got victuals just as she got them before. She brought them home to her mother.

Once more the food came to an end. Her mother told the little hen. "I will find food, mammy." She went to the great house. The butler knew what she wanted this time.

The old master and mistress told each other that they would watch where she went.

Away went the little hen with the victuals. "I have brought food, mammy, give my ugly aunt a little to eat, and let her hide herself."

¹ *jal'p'ski] = jala peskī*, accent of rapid speech.

Ak'o purō rai t'i purī rānī jana pala bita kānī te vartasén lā kai jalas. Diké lā te jal ar'i purī grānza. Ačilé i gīga. Bičadé ō lovindákerō te dikél arđl i xestyár. Dikás raikanī rānī tā bita kānī poše lati, tā xonas. Pukadás i reskī. Talé 'vyas ō rái tā gyas aré grānza tā rakerdás lasa. Nai dikás i duméškeri kek. Garadít sas-lī pūsésa. Lilé i rānī tā bita kānī ar'i gīga, tā 'prē gilé kī filišin.

Sas tārnō rái ar'i filišin. Sō¹ 'vīás i rānī kī filišin dikas lā; kamdiás lā; romerdás lā. Līnt sas i uglimen rānī tā bičadī keré. Čas i bita kānī peskē dasa. Kek lovó na šiš kinélas lā.

Odói šomas mē, tā dikóm lā, tā bošadóm lejí. Peserdé man kuškés.

Okē sár te man te pēnd.

Now the old master and mistress were following the little hen to watch whither she went. They saw her go into the empty barn. They stopped the carriage. They sent the butler to look through the window. He saw a fair lady and the little hen beside her, and they were eating. He told his master. His master alighted and went into the barn and spoke with her. He saw nothing of the hunchback. She was hidden in the straw. They took the lady and the little hen into the carriage and drove up to the great house.

The young master was there. As the lady came to the great house he looked upon her; he loved her; he married her. The ugly lady was caught and sent home. The little hen stayed with her mother. No money could buy her.

I was there, and I saw her, and I played the fiddle for them. They paid me handsomely. That is all I have to tell.

V.—NIKOLAUS MIHAJLO DER KLEINE

Von FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPOHL

WER vor 40 Jahren den Banat durchstreifte, der hörte wohl den Namen von 'Kis Mihajlo' im Munde der Ungarn. Dieser war der in weiten Kreisen bekannte Wojwode oder Zigeunerfürst der ungarisch-banater Zigeuner. Er stand bei allen Stämmen des Banats und auch bei den serbischen Zigeunern in grossem Ansehen. Seinem Urteil unterwarfen sich gutwillig alle Zigeuner. Als Sohn eines Banater Wanderzigeuners im Jahre 1810 geboren, nahm er viel an den damaligen Unruhen teil und kämpfte auf ungarischer Seite gegen das österreichische Heer. Im Jahre 1848 leistete er noch Dienste im Kampf gegen die österreichische Armee als Spion der ungarischen Revolutions-

¹ *sō*. For *sár*, as in the phrases *pala-sō*, and *sō keka* above, is not unfrequently heard in this dialect.

armee. In dieser Zeit wählten ihn die Zigeuner des Banats zu ihrem Anführer. Die ungarische provisorische Regierung bestätigte ihn als Wojwode. Von da ab hiess er im Volksmund Kis Mihajlo der Zigeunerkönig. Auch die serbischen Zigeuner unterwarfen sich gern seiner Herrschaft. Sehr oft wurde er nach Serbien berufen, um Streitigkeiten unter den Zigeunern zu schlichten. Nicht nur die banater Zigeuner in Serbien, sondern auch die rumänischen Zigeuner Serbiens beugten sich gern vor seinem Urteil. Als Ende der 50ziger Jahre infolge der geordneteren Zustände den Zigeunern das Leben in Süd-Ungarn erschwert wurde, übersiedelte Kis Mihajlo nach Semendria in Serbien, um von dort aus die Gerechtsamkeit unter den Zigeunern zu pflegen. Da aber das Herüberkommen der banater Zigeuner nach serbischen Gebietsteilen von der serbischen Regierung untersagt wurde, sah sich der sonst so edle und humane Fürst Michael III. von Serbien gezwungen, den 'Zigeunerfürsten Kis Mihajlo' ausweisen zu lassen.¹ Dieser kehrte zunächst nach Süd-Ungarn zurück und schlug sein Lager auf der Kohut bei Kubin im Temesvarer Comitat (Temesmegye) auf. Jedoch war die alte Zigeunerherrlichkeit in Ungarn verblüht. Dem Druck der Gesetze nachgebend, mussten die Zigeuner immer mehr und mehr ihr Wanderleben aufgeben. Kis Mihajlo suchte nach einem anderen Lande der Freiheit. Er wanderte, beweint von den Zigeunern Süd-Ungarns, nach Nord Amerika aus.

Einer Erzählung des rumänischen Zigeunerrichters, der jetzt in der Zigeunerniederlassung bei Temes-Kubin (Untere Donau) amtiert, zufolge, hatte Kis Mihajlo die Absicht in Amerika eine neue Heimat für seine nach Freiheit hungernden Stammsgenossen zu suchen. Im Jahre 1880 traf er mit wenigen seiner Getreuen in Nord Amerika ein. Die amerikanischen nomadisierenden Zigeunerstämme erkannten zum Teil sein Königtum an und gelobten ihm Gehorsam, den sie ihm auch treu gehalten haben. So wurde Mihajlo der Kleine auch der König der nomadisierenden nord-amerikanischen Zigeuner in der Gegend von Cleveland.

Einer aus Temesvár in Ungarn mir zugehenden Nachricht zufolge, ist daselbst die Nachricht eingetroffen, dass Nikolaus Mihajlo im Januar 1910 zu Cleveland im Alter von 100 Jahren gestorben ist

¹ Serbien zählte damals 24607 Zigeuner (nach Statistik von 1866). Das heute zu Ungarn gehörende 'Banat' war von 1849 bis 1860 ein selbständiges österreichisches Kronland, was wohl die Ursache der grösseren Bedrückung der Zigeuner in dieser Zeit und der Verfügung der serbischen Regierung sein dürfte.

und dass aus vielen Teilen der Vereinigten Staaten Zigeuner gen Cleveland zu seiner Beerdigung eilten. Seinem Wunsche gemäss, sei er nach altem zigeunerischen Brauch mit grossem Pomp beerdigt worden, wobei dem Toten die seiner Würde entsprechenden Ehren noch erwiesen seien. Der mir zugehenden Nachricht zufolge, betrauern die nordamerikanischen Zigeuner in ihm mit den Banatern den weisen Richter, der alle Zeit in hingebender Fürsorge seiner Untergebenen gedachte.

Mit Mihajlo sank der letzte Zigeunerfürst ins Grab, dessen Würde jemals von einer Regierung eines Kulturstaates bestätigt und anerkannt war. Mit ihm sinkt auch das letzte Stück alter Zigeunerfreiheit und alter Zigeunerprivilegien ins Grab. Seine Getreuen beweinen in ihm nicht nur den grossen Toten, sondern auch den letzten Zeugen einstiger Zigeunerfreiheit und Zigeunerrechte.

Das hohe Alter dieses Verstorbenen zeugt davon, wie der Zigeuner trotz seiner mannigfaltigen Beschwerden und Strapazen doch sich einer guten Gesundheit erfreut. Man möchte fast sagen, die Lebenskraft dieses Volkes ist unverwüstlich, sie vergeht nicht, denn der Zigeuner verwittert im Alter. Früher waren ja Krankheiten dem Zigeuner unbekannt. Er kannte sie nur an den Kulturmenschen. Ein echter Zigeuner war so mit der Natur verbunden, dass er in ihr verwitterte und höchstens an Alterschwäche starb. Soweit liessen sie es aber, solange sie ihre Freiheiten noch besassen, in der Regel nicht kommen, sondern liessen sich freiwillig lebendig beerdigen, um so Abschied von diesem Leben zu nehmen.

VI.—ANOTHER BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

Introduction

Honi soit qui mal y pense. The following little tale is clear, to the point, in purest Romany, and — not nasty ! Their everyday talk is often much coarser. A short time ago I was sitting at the open window of the Chancery of this Legation doing ‘quarterly accounts.’ Suddenly a brazen voice under the window hammered out the following syllables, clear and distinct, like an ‘example’ from some conversation grammar : *E čibáte te xiljel mi romni!* I looked out to find a Gypsy Hammal balancing a heavy table upside down on his back, and it was

slipping, and the Rom asked the assistance of a passing gorgio, who refused him, and thus called down upon his head the above remark. The gorgio did not understand, but the Rom's feelings appeared to be relieved, and he succeeded, unaided, in adjusting the table *pe duméste*.

The story is told in the orthodox style. I mean that any one at all conversant with Romany Folk-Lore would at once recognise it as a Romany tale. It is all so clear from beginning to end that it has not been necessary for me to re-read it to my teacher, and his dictating it and my understanding of it straight away without any explanations caused us both much merriment : *but asaibnáskeri paramísi!* As an example of this dialect, it must for the present stand as one of the best specimens hitherto collected.

N.B.—Words on which no accent is written bear the stress on the last syllable. Enclitics are hyphened.

E MUXTÍSKERI PARAMÍSI

1. *Isine jek čhavo, isi-da les jek daiori. Jek dies, dúi dies, ko trito dies pe daiáke*: ‘*Dále-če, tu kadžas te vakjeres e muxtískere romnjáke kána kadel man* (scil. bulje).’

2. *Vakjerghjas e muxtískeri romni*: ‘*Beljáke, te vakjeres leske te avel ko phus, ta me othe kadžav.*’ *Liljas pes i dai, geli-peske.* O čhavo phučel: ‘*Sar-če néne, so vakjerghjas?*’ ‘*Vakjerghjas, Sínko, te les tut beljáke ko phus, ta te džas othe, kadel tut* (scil. bulje).’

3. *Liljas pes o čhavo, liljas-da jek gono, háide háide ko phus. I xoraxni e muxtiske*: ‘*Róma, dža-ta káríg o phus, na geljan slgo ta dikh, čorde-li les, tharde-li les, ovi ame nána džanas.*’ *Liljas pes o muxtis, háide háide ko phus. Dikhljas e čhaves.* ‘*Abe so žares athe?*’ o rom phenel. O čhavo phenel: ‘*Ake liljom jek gono ta te lav xari phus, ta te buxljavarav telal o kaxnja.*’ O muxtis phenel: ‘*Lačes!*’

STORY OF THE MUFTI

1. There was a boy, and he had a mother. One day, two days, on the third day he said to his mother: ‘Mother, you will go and ask the wife of the mufti when she will become mine.’

2. The wife of the mufti said: ‘Tell him to come to the straw in the evening, and I will go there.’ The mother betook herself and went. The boy questions: ‘How then, what did she say?’ ‘She said, Sinko, that you should betake yourself in the evening to the straw, and go there, she will become yours.’

3. The boy betook himself, and he took a sack, away away to the straw. Said the Turkish woman to the mufti: ‘Husband, go off to the straw, be quick and go see whether any one has stolen or burnt it without our knowing it.’ The mufti betook himself, away away to the straw. He saw the boy. ‘And what are you waiting here for?’ the man says. The boy says: ‘Behold I have brought a sack, in order that I may take a little straw to spread under the chickens.’ The mufti says: ‘Good! ’

4. Blevelilo. Gelo-peske o muxtis. I romni phušel: 'Sar o phus? Arakljan-li dékes?' 'Arakljom jekhe ēhaves gonesa, phus lelas, ta te buxjarel telal o kaxnja.'

5. Pále o čavo: 'Šunes-li, dále, pále te džas ki muxtiskeri romni, te phučes la, savi rat kadel man.' Pále gel i dai léskeri. 'Mo čho phenghjas te vakjeres savi rat kades les.' 'Vákjer léske, beljáke te avel te ēhivel pes ándi fúrni.' Gel-i-peske i romni. 'Ake, Sinko, phenghjas beljáke te džas, te ēhives tut andi fúrni, kadel tut.'

6. Žarel la. Kána i romni e muxtiski: 'Dža ta dikh káríg i fúrni, ta thar la, ta t'uxtjav te pekav o maro.' Liljas pes o muxtis háide háide ki fúrni. So te dikhel? Te ēhivel o kaš ándi fúrni, te šulavel o muxtis, del thai arakjel e ēhaves. O muxtis phenel: 'Abe so ródes athe?' O čho phenel: 'Ake merlnav i fúrni ta te kerav sar te furnjá me-da-ni.' O muxtis phenel: 'Lačes!'

7. Pále dísilo. Pále o čavo pe dáiške: 'Ače dále, dža, vákjer e muxtiskere romnjáke, kána kadel man.' Pále gel i dai: 'Mo čho phenghjas, savi blel kades les.' 'Vákjer léske, beljáke, te avel ko vudar, kaphandav jek šelo andar o vudar, kamukhav o agor, te dikhel. Som alo, te dolep o agor e agorésa, te tsídel, právo maškar me čangénde kamavel.'

8. Phánel, i romni e muxtis ki čank e šelésa. Xevljardjas o vudar, muklijas o agor e šeléskoro. Hékje okotar o čavo gelo!

4. Evening came. The mufti went (home). His wife asks: 'How was the straw? Did you find anybody?' 'I found a boy with a sack, he was taking straw to spread under the chickens.'

5. Again the boy: 'Listen, mother, go again to the wife of the mufti and ask her which night she will give me.' Again his mother went. 'My son has said that you should tell him when you will become his.' 'Tell him to come in the evening and put himself into the oven.' The woman went away. 'Behold, Sinko, she said you were to go in the evening and put yourself into the oven, she will become yours.'

6. He awaits her. Now the wife said to the mufti: 'Go off to see to the oven, and light it, and I will come out and bake bread.' The mufti betook himself away away to the oven. What does he see? As the mufti is throwing the wood into the oven, and sweeping (out the old ashes), he hits against something and finds the boy. The mufti says: 'And what may you be looking for here?' The boy says: 'Behold I am measuring the oven, that I too may make an oven like your one.' The mufti says: 'Good!'

7. Again daylight came. Again the boy says to his mother: 'See, mother, go, ask the wife of the mufti when she will become mine.' Again the mother went: 'My son has said, what evening will you become his.' 'Tell him to come in the evening to the door, I will tie a string to the door, I will leave the end of it that he may see it. As soon as he has come, let him pull from end to end.' . . .

8. The woman binds the mufti's leg with a string. She bored a hole in the

Doldjas o ugor, tsídel, tsídel o šelo. So te dikhel ! Čhitjas po vas maškar e muxtískere čanya. O čhavo phenel : ' Haŋ ! Doldjum-li tut ? ' O muxtis phenel : ' Abe so manges mánadar ? ' ' Thogh-jum bási. Me phenav kai sinjan do-peléygoro. Ol phenen kai sinjan jekhe aresa.' O muxtis phenel : ' O bási si toro : do-peléygoro sinjom.'

9. Pále o čhavo : ' Ače dále, dža vákjer odolke lubnjáke koja blel kadel man.' ' Te vakjeres léske dži rati te avel aŋglal o vudara, te žarel ; me k'ikljav, kadav les.' Geli i dai. Phušjas o čho : ' Sar če néne ? ' ' Vakjerghjas, beljáke, te džas ko vudar ; oi k'ikljol, kadel tut.'

10. Blevélilo. *Liljas pes o čhavo, háide háide ko vudar. I romni bičhalghjas pe romes panje. Liljas pes o muxtis, džal. So te dikhel ! O čhavo térdjol ko vudar. ' So ródes athe ? ' ' Ake dikhav ; dexinjom te vudara, ta mangav te kerav mánge-da asalka.' ' Lačes !'*

11. Gelo o muxtis, panje. *Phuterel o vudar i romni, vikinel e čhaves. Dinjas la áygali, e romnja. ' Adžar athe, te les akavka dšlgo kaš ; o muxtis gelo panje ; tamam kaavel te phuterel o vudara, tu te des léske pišta ; " brē, so ródes athe ! " ov kadal, ta kazanakjel. Karódel karódel, naští karakjel.' Liljas e čhaves andre, náŋgili, tsálo rat dinjas e čhaves, sute-peske o dúi džene dži kai disilo.*

12. Alo o muxtis ándi javin. *I romni léske : ' Abe kai uljan odi blel ? ' Ov phenel : ' Aljom jekhe vudaréste, tamam dinjom*

door, and let through the end of the string. Behold there comes the boy ! He seized the end, he pulls and pulls the string. . . .

9. Again the boy : ' Listen, mother, go ask that harlot which evening she will become mine.' ' Tell him to come towards nightfall before the door, and to wait : I will come out, and become his.' The mother went. The boy asked : ' How now ? ' ' She said you are to go in the evening to the door ; she will come out and become yours.'

10. Evening came. The boy betook himself, away away to the door. The woman sent her husband for water. The mufti betook himself, and he is going. What does he see ! The boy is standing at the door. ' What are you searching for here ? ' Behold I am looking ; I have taken a fancy to your door, and I want to make such an one for myself also.' ' Good ! '

11. The mufti went for water. The woman opens the door and calls the boy. He embraced her, the woman. (She) ' Wait here, take this long pole ; the mufti has gone for water ; the moment he returns to open the door, give him a thrust ; " brē " (you will say), " what are you looking for here ? " and he will fear, and pass by the door. He will seek and seek and not find it.' She took the boy within, stripped, and was his own all the night, and the two slept till daybreak.

12. In the morning the mufti came. The wife to him : ' What became of you last night ? ' He says : ' I came to a door, the moment I was about to enter

andre, dinjas vika jek dženo, "bēē, so ródes athe," me-da-ni našald-jom o vuðar, geljom ándo phus, sutjom.'

ORADA MASAL, BURADA SALIK.

some one gave a shout “ bēē, what are you seeking here ? ” and I lost the door and went to the straw, and slept.’

O. M. B. S.

SOFIA, November 1, 1909.

NOTES.

§ 1. *Jek diés, dúi diés, ko trito diés pe dañike.]* Some of the readers may fancy they detect a special reason for the use, in this instance, of the above expression. I am inclined to think that it has no special meaning beyond mere passing of time. The expression has variants: *Jek diés, dúi diés, pañ diés; Jek diés, dúi diés, jek kurlo;* always thus used, without a verb, in simple enumeration.

§ 1. *dæle-če.]* *če* is of Bulgarian origin, and is used a lot by the Gypsies as a suffixed exclamation: cf. *Ačé, Sínko! Tu-če, chai,* and below *Sar-če néne.* I must for the present plead almost entire ignorance of colloquial Bulgarian, and do not therefore know to what extent many of these Romany exclamations are used in the language of the country. *Néne* is Bulgarian for mother, also *mámu* (Voc.). Thus they use *néne, mámu, dále, dóle.*

§ 1. *e muxtískere romnjíke.]* Generally when a word ends in *s*, that *s* is felt to be the *s* of the oblique cases when the noun is declined, and thus they do not say *e muxtíeskere.* Cf. *törgevtsoske*, from *törgevtsos* (Bulg. *törgevets*). *Muxtis* is a Turkish word, romanified (Turk. *musti*), and the accent, such as it is, is already on the last syllable in the nominative, but where this is not the case, as in many loan words not of Turkish origin, but ending in *-os, -is*, the accusative receives the *Oxitonierung*; thus acc. *törgevtsos*.

§ 1. *kána kadél man* (scil. *buljé*.)] From this it appears the well-known expression can be used by man or woman, which becomes intelligible when one bears in mind that one of the many meanings of the verb *dara* is ‘to strike.’ *Buljé* is used almost invariably for *mindzé*, and has exactly the same meaning as the latter.

§ 2. *Beljáke.]* This form is the usual one in the Sofia dialect for the locative of other dialects, such as German Gypsy *brévrje*. The nominative, unknown to Paspati’s Gypsies, is here *lél* in the singular, *beljá* in the plural.

§ 3. *na gelján stgo ta dikh, čordé-li les, thardé-li les, ovi amé nána džands.*] The meaning is clear (see translation), but the logic of the construction is, from an English point of view, doubtful. *Na gelján stgo* is probably a dependent clause ushered in without a conjunction, as in the German *Gehst Du Morgen hin, so, etc., and,* frequently, though not here, *ta* has the force of *te*. The genius of the dialect demands that *ta* should frequently be used in combination with *te*, where the meaning ‘and’ is out of the question, and where it simply renders ‘in order that.’ See below, *phus lélas ta te buxljarél telál o kaxjyi*, i.e. ‘in order to spread it,’ etc. The meaning then is: ‘if you do not go quickly (*lit. have not gone quickly*), we shall not even know whether they have stolen it or set light to it,’ but between these two sentences is thrust in, in the most disconcerting way, the imperative *ta dikh*, for the sake of vividness.

§ 4. *araklján-li dékes?]* *Déko*, ‘any one,’ is one of the few words in the language that is not oxitonised in the accusative.

§ 5. *saví rat kadél man.*] *Rat*, ‘night,’ is undoubtedly feminine in this as in other dialects. When they say *tsilo rat*, they give no gender to the adjective *tsilo* (Bulg. *tsel, tséul*), but this does not mean that *rat* is masculine.

§ 6. *ta thar la, ta t'uxljáv, te pekáv o mayó.*] Another example of the combination *ta te*, ‘in order that.’ Cf. also next note.

§ 6. *ta te keráv sar te furnjá me-da-ni.*] One would have expected *fúrni*. *Furnjá* is accusative singular, not nominative plural. This is proved by the accent, as the regular plural of a loan word like *fúrni* would be *fúrnja*.

§ 7. *andár o vuddár.*] The force of *andár* is 'leading away from' the door.

§ 7. *te dolél o agór e agorésa.*] 'To pull, or follow up, the string from end to end': a strange expression, literally 'to seize the end with the end.'

§ 8. *phándel i romní e muxtis ki čank e šelša.*] Lit. 'binds him (*e muxtis*, accus., here the accent is appreciable) to the knee with the string.'

§ 8. *mukljdš o agór e šeléskoro.*] *I.e.* threaded the string-end through the hole she had bored into the door.

§ 9. *kojá blel.* *Kojá* is fem. of *kova*, generally used in this dialect as a relative pronoun, 'who,' 'which.'

§ 9. *dži rattí.*] *Dži* with *rat* in the locative case means 'just about nightfall.'

§ 9. *ayglál o vudará.*] *Vudarí* is in the plural, on Bulgarian analogy.

§ 9. *me kíkljáv.* For *kíkljavav*.

§ 10. *I romní bichalghjás pe romés panjé.*] *Panjé* is a locative case, like *buljé*, *rattí*, 'at night'; *disé*, 'by day'; *jevendé*, 'in the winter'; *sabatondé*, 'on Saturday'; *javiné*, 'in the morning.' They abound in the dialect.

§ 10. *dexinjóm te vudardá, ta maygáv te keráv mágge-da asalkd.*] The present tense of *dexinjóm* is not formed from a stem in *in*; pres. *déxav*, *déxes*, etc., 'to like,' 'want,' 'desire,' 'be fond of.' *Asavká*, declined like *adavká*, means 'such.'

§ 11. *adždr athé.*] The usual form of this verb, which varies almost uncannily in the various dialects of Romani throughout Europe, is here *žaráv*. Its purest form, found in Paspatti's dialect, is *udžakeráva*, *udžakerdó*. As we go West we find it turning up in the German dialect as *tšakerváva*, and coinciding in form with another *tšakerváva*, meaning 'to cover up,' which has been evolved from Paspatti's *ucárdva*, the latter being the same in the Bulgarian dialect, and appearing in the English as *coróva*. Miklosich thinks that the German Gypsy *kuntšeráva* is another form of *udžakerdva*. Its meaning is 'to wait,' 'to do,' 'to hope,' 'to miss' (a train, etc.), and 'to lend' (money). In the meaning of 'to hope,' we find it as a verb and as an abstract noun (*uxaripé*) in the Spanish dialect, the *dž* becoming guttural according to modern Spanish phonetics.

§ 11. *ov kadardíl, ta kazanakjél.*] This is the verb *nakáv*, 'to pass' (trans. and intrans.) with the Bulgarian prefix *za*, having here the force of 'by' in 'he will pass by.' The prefixes *za* and *vɔz* (*vaz*, *voz*), are much used by the Sofia Gypsies. Beyond this and the formation of a conditional tense with a particle *bi*, the verb shows no sign of foreign influence at work in its conjugation. See notes on 'O Čordilendžíš.'

§ 11. *suté-peske o duí džené.*] As I have once before remarked, this form of the 3rd pers. sing. and plur. of the past tense shows no sign of the sedentary *Mouillierung* which characterises the dialect in *sutjóm*, *sutján*, *sutjás*, etc.

§ 12. *ándi javín.*] 'On the morrow.'

§ 12. *abé kai ulján odí blel?*] *Odi* is feminine of *odóva*, which I have not yet heard. The full form would be *odía*. The variations in these demonstrative pronouns in the different dialects are numberless, but their meaning is always clear. Here we have the same root as in German and English Gypsy *odší*, 'yonder.' The translation is, 'last night.' 'This evening' might be rendered *adí blel*. *Ulján* is from *ováva*, *uváva*, and means 'what became of you.'

§ 12. *me-da-ni našaldjóm o vuddár.*] The *l* stands for a *v*, as in *bichaláva*. *Našáváva* is 'to lose,' causative of *našáva*, 'to make off,' 'run away.' In the English dialect it thus comes to mean 'to kill,' and, specifically, 'to hang'; cf. French *perdre*, and English 'perdition.'

VII.—A SWEET STREET SANCTUARY

By HERBERT MALLESON

THREE'S night and day, brother, both sweet things; sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things; there's likewise—"Sweet Street, Leeds." Milton's Yard, Sweet Street, is the exact spot. It is called Sweet Street on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, and on no other conceivable. It is Milton's Yard, possibly because over the whole neighbourhood is writ large:

'Farewell happy fields
Where joys for ever dwell. Hail, horrors!'

You go down a particularly mean street to it. You make your way with smoke overhead, mud underfoot, and smells enveloping you. It is at the heart of a locality peculiarly unsavoury and ill-favoured. Certain other members of the Gypsy Lore Society have been there, and they know that I lie not!

In Milton's Yard, bounded by the walls of a Radical Club, a blackened railway embankment, and a crazy hoarding, a crowd of Romaničels have spent the winter of 1909-10. Among them certain great-grandchildren of Ambrose Smith—Jasper Petulengro's Uncle Ambrose, I mean, not Jasper himself—for surely our Ambrose smells most sweet and 'romanly' by the old name still. In the yard stand a dozen caravans and half as many tents close-packed, belonging to Boswells, Hernes, and Youngs,—'all real old standard people, the truth of England,'—as Isaac Herne would say.

Now the curious and noteworthy thing about this camp of Gypsies in the bowels of a great city, jostled by civilisation in its dirtiest clothes, stunned by the roar and throb of engines, withered by the foul breath of the town, is that it is still a thing *nazir*—separate. It no more belongs to the town than to the Mountains of the Moon. Even the heavy man of the hod recognises the fact as he slouches by to his job. There are rents in the hoarding to which he can get his eye. He says: 'Sitha' na' in there. Ha' dost tha reckon 'em oop, mate? Are they——rogues, or——Christians?' To be a people apart where the wind on the heath blows round the tents is one thing, to be still a people apart when the smoke of ten thousand chimneys envelops you is another. That is what grips the imagination, and makes one feel that after all in Sweet

Street, Leeds—rather than in Mumper's Dingle, or on the Mountains of Wales—the mystery of the Romané begins to fairly bewilder and turn the nibbling curiosity in a man into a veritable hunger to know.

But what the sight of Gypsy tents through the gaping hoarding of Milton's Yard brings home to one, even more acutely still, is the infinite pathos of the plight of the Romané in this our day. They have wandered into odd places, but they have wandered into still odder times. Civilisation has, by degrees, chased the Gypsy out of the wastes into the lanes, out of the lanes into the suburban brickfields, out of the suburban brickfields into the yards of the city. The Gypsy has been truly run to earth. Nevertheless, he is still game. He looks rather ruffled, and bruised, and damaged by the hunt, but he still shows his white teeth to his foe, and then—and then—in these last days—down comes the Gypsy Lore Society!

For, O my brothers, are we not hunters too? Is there not something of the whoop and the halloo about our dealings with the Romané? It is quite true we wish him no ill. On the contrary, we love him, and would save him from the harrying of modern civilisation. We would love to have him out of Milton's Yard, and back again on the heath and in the hey-day of a renewed youth. Nevertheless, we are all in the chase too. His ultimate secrets are our quarry. We have run him down as he was never run down before, since old Andrew Borde gave the first chivy. We have come to the ransacking of his person, and every Gypsy Lore Journal that finds an upright and even honourable place on our bookshelves is a receptacle of stolen goods. My conscience often pricks me at the same time that my heart beats in the hour of discovery, when out of the mouth of Isaac Herne, amongst much bad Romani and glorious English, rich with quaint and happy phrase, proceeds a sentence which suddenly lays bare a feeling of his old Romany heart—a real bit of the elusive soul of the Gypsy. Then out comes the note-book, under rank pretence of writing down some Romani word familiar from youth up, and down goes instead that bit of the human soul. Then, God forgive me! a little later it appears in cold print, may be in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, or elsewhere, along with many other stolen goods. My brothers, I am often ashamed of myself, and of you—fellow-spoilers of the Egyptians!

But I know the joy of the chase. It is finely exhilarating to

pursue anything so deliciously evasive as the soul of the Romané, and who will say that we have not had a good run for the money ? Yet one almost trembles to think what would happen to us all if actually one fine day we did *achieve*—if one fine day we did actually run to earth that elusive soul, and the merry chase were done. I picture the capture of the fugitive happening in some deep shadowy glade of the New Forest. There he is up to his black curls in the bracken, sitting cross-legged, partially naked, and wholly unashamed as ever, eating his last hedgehog, drinking his last glass of beer. He looks up cheerily and courteous as always : ‘And now, gentlemen, since you have found me at last, let’s *pi a kuro lovina* together—a last drink before I am gone, before I shrivel up into a dry fact of human knowledge, and the dull earth of a scientific monograph is heaped over me by you, my dear respected *Romané Raia*. Thank you kindly for all your half-crowns, and I drink now to the werry good health of all of you, my gentlemen, and your dear little *ratvalo* book.’

I would give a good deal to know just what the Romaničel thinks of us *Romané Raia* who come ‘inquisiting of information,’ as Arthur Boswell says. Sometimes one is inclined to think that with all his delightful forthcomingness he regards us as the most gullible of gullible *gáje*. Certainly at times one is conscious that he has certain powers of defence as against us, though I question whether they have availed him much of late. It was in Milton’s Yard, Sweet Street, that the above-named Arthur Boswell, unluckiest and cheeriest of Romany souls, said to me : ‘When a man is ill and is putting out nasty talk, folk will say—‘*čiv a kusi moro ’dre his vodrus* so the *beng* won’t *let* him.’ And that’s a certainty ; for bread is God’s good grain, and it isn’t likely the old man would dare have a go at that.’ I am inclined to think that a bit of bread would be as operative under these pathetic circumstances against ‘the old man,’ as the best powers of defence of the Romané against some of the present seasoned sportsmen of the Gypsy Lore Society, but for all that, the defence is at times highly entertaining, and often for the time being disconcertingly effective. To begin with, there is the great gift of stony silence—the first precaution of any wary animal pursued. I remember one day Eza Herne inordinately begged me to secure, for the increase of his power and glory, a press notice of a certain excursion he had made into social entertaining. I did not encourage the idea, but as luck would have it, a reporter suddenly appeared on the scene,

with the usual pencil, note-book, and inquiring mind. The questions were quite indispensable to the purpose, but in spite of my assurances, first one then another of the Romané present took fright and turned the backs of their black heads upon the man of the pen. Eza was left alone confronting him; 'Young man,' he said, with an eye of ice, 'whoever you may be, I would have you know that we *must* have some reserve. I wish you good day'; and the pressman faced only an uncommunicative tent-blanket. He was an able little pressman, however, and made quite a good brick without straw, and Eza took a great pride in the whole thing when in print. But, God save the mark! his questions were a hundred times less destructive of the privacy of the Romané than half the questions we of the Gypsy Lore Society are wont to put.

Or again, as William Herne said to an interviewer once: 'I was borned at Nottingham, if you want to know; but if you arst where I was gotten—that's another matter, and I won't tell you that.' In small matters we have all no doubt by experience learnt that the Gypsy has a gift of blighting reticence, and there are things may yet call it into play as against ourselves in greater matters. For instance, there is peril in such close questionings in search of genealogies as might seem to the Romaničel to endanger that reverent silence in which he keeps the names, and often the deeds, of fathers and forefathers. That might undo us, and we may yet live to find the Romaničel turning crusty and reserved before new developments of our research.

For the second line of defence there is the delightful romancing power of the Romané; it may be consciously or it may be unconsciously used. They can adorn a tale for the telling, as they can adorn a battered screw for the *vagara*. Arthur Boswell is the best raconteur I have ever met in Gypsy tents. At intervals he has told me three separate and distinct tales of adventure, one relating to running *kanengri*, one to *puvin' graia*, and the third to the 'moving on' trouble. The *dramatis personæ* in each case were an infuriated constable and a truculent Romaničel, and in each case the dialogue was identically the same, even to the expletives, unmistakable and unforgettable in their originality. They were splendidly told tales, but they were probably pure romance. By the way, folktales must have gathered themselves together pretty much in this way once upon a time.

Or again, one day to me, Isaac Herne: 'What is the Romani

word for *month*?—Rai. Well, to tell you God's truth, there is none. There are some things as it weren't worth the dear Lord's while to give names to. There's rats and mice. They're vermin. It isn't likely the Lord Almighty would give names to them. There's pears too; *Pabos* is Apples, but the Lord wasn't likely to give a name to a pear.'

A Romaničel will never leave a space on the conversational canvas bare and reticent. His imagination flies at it rejoicing, and the picture becomes like the Venices of Turner—more Venetian than Venice itself. Of course, this romancing power is common to all raconteurs like Arthur Boswell, and all philologists like Isaac Herne, whether they sit on the lounges of the Athenæum or the straw of a Gypsy tent; but the Gypsy has it in double distilled power, and it has played havoc with the note-book of many a Romano Rai in days past. Possibly it does so in the days that are. May one be allowed to hope that it will continue to do so in days still to come?

And then there is, finally, the magnificent old power of the lie: *Perfida sed quamvis perfida cara tamen*. We all love the Romaničel, though we all know he will lie to us, fluently and with circumstance. We all know that he lies about the most trifling and indifferent matters when there is no earthly conceivable reason why he should tell anything but the truth. We know that he loves dearly at all times to play a game of hide-and-seek with us up and down through a wood of promises, excuses, evasions, and cajoleries. What we do *not* know is how far he is for the moment succeeding with us, and how far he means to succeed. What the man needs, be he *pukenus* or Romano Rai who pits his wits against the Gypsy's, is not only the power to catch the ideas the Romaničel puts out, but the power to infer also those that he is concealing from him. He hides them as he hides his tent, and skilfully puts a whole hedge of lies and undergrowth of petty deceptions between the place of his settled peace and the prying *gajjo* eyes on the road.

The Gypsy has, therefore, at the hands of Providence, like other wild hunted creatures, a considerable protective endowment, and perchance the great chase is not over yet. But who does not feel, along with the joy of handling the new quarter's Journal, also a little qualm of sadness? For one knows that every Journal adds remorselessly to our scientific knowledge, and one knows that every addition to our scientific knowledge means a fresh

inroad upon that wonderful unknown which is the secret of the beloved mystery. Every discovery which helps to classification and analysis inevitably limits that tract in which even yet it is so good to wander, because it is so like to those free wild spaces of heath and wood and hill once upon a time the home of the Romaničel, but now his no more.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1.—GYPSIES AND THE HINDŪ KŪSH

Pischel's assertion that the Gypsies 'are next of kin to the Dārds and Kāfirs' gives all accounts of these races a special importance; although even if it should be proved that Romani has been subjected to their influence, the further deduction that the original home of the Gypsies was in the Hindū Kush is not inevitable if the Piśācas, who were the linguistic ancestors of the Dārds and Kāfirs, sent colonies into the Panjāb proper, along the lower course of the Indus.¹ Moreover, Pischel considered that he was justified in drawing this conclusion 'from the evidence of language alone,' and it is on that account the more interesting to compare his results with the work of a man who believed 'qu'un peuple peut perdre, dans un temps relativement court, sa langue, tandis qu'il faut de longues successions de siècles pour que son crâne se modifie d'une façon appréciable'; and while admitting the services rendered by linguistics to ethnology, desired 'qu'elle se contente de sa sphère et qu'elle n'ait point la prétention de vouloir résoudre des problèmes ethnologiques sans l'aide des autres disciplines.'

Such was the opinion of Charles E. de Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, who in *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch* (Paris, 1896), not only gives an account of his own researches, but also summarises the publications of his predecessors in the same study. On pages 387-8 he prints in a table the cephalic indices of twenty-three races measured during his journeys. This table is here reproduced with the addition of a column of 'types' collected from other parts of the book. The types are thus defined:—

I. North of the Hindū Kūsh :—

(1) 'Le type éranien qui paraît être le résultat du croisement du type *Acrogonus* qui, d'après M. de Lapouge est ubiquist, et de *H. Europaeus* et peut-être aussi d'un homologue de *H. Arabicus* (élément sémitique), se compose des Galtchas ou Tadjiks des montagnes et des Tadjiks de la plaine.'

'Le type éranien . . . présente les caractères suivants: taille moyenne ou au-dessus de la moyenne; corps vigoureux, souvent trapu, cage thoracique large; cheveux lisses, châtaignes ou noirs, rarement blonds; yeux foncés, souvent clairs; peau blanche; villosité du corps peu développée, à l'exception de la poitrine. L'Éranien a le crâne relativement peu volumineux et peu élevé, comparé à celui du

¹ See Grierson, *The Pisāca Languages of North-Western India*, London, 1906, pp. 4, and 190. Grierson's conclusions have, however, been traversed by Professor Sten Konow in his paper on 'The home of Pisāci' (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, lxiv., pp. 95-118. Leipzig, 1910). Sir George Robertson's theory of the origin of the Kāfirs is that the present dominant races of Kātiristan are mainly descended from the ancient Indian population of Eastern Afghanistan, who refused to embrace Islam in the tenth century, and fled for refuge to the mountains. See *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, London, 1900, p. 157. See also Von Sowa's *Die Mundart der slowakischen Zigeuner* (Göttingen, 1887), pp. 1-7 for a list of points in which Romani resembles, or differs from, the languages of the Dārds and Kāfirs.

Mongol; il est franchement brachycéphale et souvent hypsicéphale (indice céphalique, 85).'

(2) '... les Sartes des grands centres agricoles du Turkestan russe constituent le type de transition entre les Éraniens et les Turco-Tatares.'

(3) 'Le type turco-tatare, un composite du type *Acrognous*, de *H. Asiaticus* et de *H. Europaeus* comprend les Kachgariens, les Tarantchis, les Usbeks, les Kara-Kalpaks, les Turcomans, les Kirghis-Kazaks ou Kirghis de la plaine et les Kara-Kirghis ou Kirghis des montagnes, appelés aussi Bouroutes. Ce sont les *Touraniens* de certains auteurs en opposition des Aryens.'

'Le type turco-tatare tient le milieu entre le type éranien et le type mongolique; il se rapproche de l'Éranien par la couleur de la peau, des cheveux, la fréquente abondance de la barbe; il rappelle le Mongol par les contours du torse, les pommettes souvent saillantes, les yeux parfois quelque peu obliques, les oreilles grandes et saillantes, la petitesse des mains et des pieds et le corps presque toujours glabre. ... Selon l'ordre dans lequel nous les avons énumérés plus haut, les caractères éraniens ou les caractères mongoliques dominent.'

(4) '... le type mongol, se compose de *H. Asiaticus* dans ces deux variétés ... Il comprend ... les Kalmouques et les différents colons chinois de la Dzougarie: Mandchoux, Sibos, Solones et, enfin, Doungânes.'

'Le type mongolique comprend deux variétés dont l'une est brachycéphale et l'autre dolicocéphale. C'est son faciès qui est surtout caractéristique: visage eurygnate, crâne très volumineux, yeux fortement obliques, distance entre les deux commissures internes des yeux considérable, oreilles grandes et saillantes, barbe très clair semée, cheveux gros et raides, peau absolument glabre, etc.'

II. South of the Hindū Kūsh:—

(1) 'Le type de l'Hindou de l'Hindou-Kouch représenté par les Khōs du Tchitral, les habitants du Kafiristan, les différentes tribus Chins, les Yéchkouns ... Ce type se compose de *H. Europaeus*, de quelques éléments de *H. Arabicus* (peut-être aussi d'un homologue de *H. Mediterraneanus*) et des aborigènes foncés de l'Himalaya occidental.'

'Le type hindou de l'Hindou-Kouch est facile à déterminer: taille au-dessus de la moyenne; corps souvent souple et élancé; cheveux ondés, bouclés, noirs, presque jamais blonds; yeux foncés; couleur de la peau semblable à celle des habitants du midi de l'Europe; barbe abondante; corps très velu, particulièrement au tibia. Ce type est franchement dolicocéphale.'

(2) '... les Baltis, ces derniers intermédiaires entre le type Hindou de l'Hindou-Kouch et le type suivant.'

(3) 'Le second type [le type mongol] comprend les Ladakis, les Tchampas et les Tibétains proprement dits. Ce type se compose également de *H. Asiaticus* dans ces deux variétés.'

'[Le] type mongolique du Sud ... est presque identique à celui du Nord, sauf l'indice céphalique.'

'Nous avons intentionnellement omis les autres Hindous montagnards (tels que Paharis, Gaddis, etc.) souvent trop mélangés d'éléments dravidiens et négroïdes.'

INDICES CÉPHALIQUES ET CÉPHALOMÉTRIQUES DE TOUTES LES SÉRIES

Dolicocéphales vrais

TYPE	PEUPLADE	INDICES ¹
Hindous Montagnards et Afghans .	20 Paharis	69·29 (71·29)
Hindous de l'Hindou-Kouch .	20 Pandites de Srinagar . . .	69·88 (71·88)
Hindous Montagnards et Afghans .	27 Koulous-Lahoulis . . .	70·38 (72·38)
Hindous Montagnards et Afghans .	20 Cachemiris	70·52 (72·52)
Hindous de l'Hindou-Kouch .	82 Baltis	72·75 (74·75)
Hindous Montagnards et Afghans .	10 Afghans-Khaibers . . .	72·81 (74·81)
Hindous de l'Hindou Kouch .	44 Dardous (Chins) . . .	73·83 (75·83)
Mongols vrais	36 Ladakis	75· (77·)

¹ 'Après avoir pris l'avis de notre maître, Paul Broca, nous avons retranché deux unités pour les Dolicocéphales et une unité et demie pour les Brachycéphales, de l'indice céphalométrique, pour obtenir l'indice céphalique.'

Sous-dolicocéphales

TYPE	PEUPLADE	INDICES
[Gypsies] 13 Bohémiens du Ferghanah ¹ . .	77·73 (79·78)

Méaticephales

Mongols vrais 8 Doungânes de Kouldja ² . .	78· (79·50)
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Sous-brachycéphales

Éraniens 15 Darwâzis	81·43 (82·93)
[Turco-Tatars] 12 Kachgariens	82·23 (83·73)
[Éraniens] . . . . .	. | 22 Parsis de Bombay . . . . .	| 82·38 (83·83)
Éraniens . . . . .	. | 60 Tadjiks . . . . .	| 82·80 (84·30)
[Turco-Tatars] . . . . .	. | 8 Tarantchis (de Kouldja) . .	| 83·11 (84·61) ³

Brachycéphales vridis

Mongols vrais . . . . .	. | 8 Mandchoux (de Kouldja) . .	| 83·41 (84·91) ⁴
Turco-Mongols [Turco-Tatars] ⁴ . . . . .	. | 73 Usbegs . . . . .	| 83·52 (85·02) ⁵
Turco-Mongols [Turco-Tatars] . . . . .	. | 26 Kara-Kirghis . . . . .	| 83·97 (85·47)
[Turco-Tatars] . . . . .	. | 6 Kara-Kalpaks . . . . .	| 84· (85·50)
Turco-Mongols [Turco-Tatars] . . . . .	. | 50 Kirghis-Kaïzaks . . . . .	| 84·35 (85·85)
Turco-Tatars éranisés . . . . .	. | 20 Sartes [à Turkestan (ville)] . .	| 84·38 (85·88) ⁵
Éraniens . . . . .	. | 58 Galtchas . . . . .	| 85· (86·50)
Mongols vrais . . . . .	. | 4 Kalmouques . . . . .	| 85·39 (86·89)

Kâfirs are not included in the table, though long descriptions of them are quoted from Robertson's article in *The Geographical Journal* (Sept. 1894). Ujfalvy, however, states that they are more dolichocephalic than the Dârds, and a man whom he measured had a cephalic index of 65·50.

As regards the cephalic index, the Gypsies of Ferghana occupy a position between the Hindû tribes to the south and the Eranians to the north of the Hindû Kûsh, neither of whom they approach closely, and are flanked by Mongols who, as platyrhinians, cannot be near relations. It is possible that hatred of *Gâjos*, and *Gâjos'* hatred of them, stronger, perhaps, among the castes of the East than in Europe, and the resulting endogamy, will have kept these Asiatic Gypsies pure in race however corrupt their tongue ; and that the superiority of skull-measurements over vocabularies and phonetic equations as a test of nationality is exemplified by the fact that their cephalic index differs only insignificantly from that of Pittard's Dobrodja series of 837 men and 424 women, the geometrical average of which is (78·73).⁶

The coincidence is remarkable, and *quantum valeat* goes to prove that the Gypsies are not 'next of kin to the Dârds and Kâfirs' however many tricks of speech they may share with them, and that there is as little reason to regard them as natives of the Hindû Kûsh as of Mount Gype.

A very full report of his measurements appears in tabular form in M. de Ujfalvy's *Le Kohistan le Ferghanah et Kouldja* (Paris, Leroux, 1878).⁷ The 'Bohémiens (Mazang)' were represented by five males,—Aviz Mahad, Nouroukoul,

¹ 'Des tribus *Loui* et *Mazang*.'

² Les Doungânes . . . sont un résidu de *H. Asiaticus*, dans sa variété dolicocephale avec le type *Acrognus* qui, dans ce mélange, ne l'a pas emporté. Les Doungânes paraissent être les proches parents des Ladakis. [Note on p. 477.]

³ These indices céphalométriques are misprinted in the original and have been corrected here.

⁴ Although Ujfalvy states that *Turco-Mongol* and *Turco-Tatar* are not the same thing, he seems to use them indifferently.

⁵ See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 40.

⁶ The value of Ujfalvy's results is somewhat lessened by careless printing or careless arithmetic. The average of the cephalic indices which he published in 1878 is (80·20), and

Baba Djane, Mansour Bai and Igane Birdé—all born at Khokand: and the 'Louli-Bohémiens' by seven males,—Kérim Koul, Khindjagoi, Baratvoi, Samine, Igân Birdé, Nour Mohamed and Alsrrl Koul—and one woman (Ougol Djâne)—all of whom were born 'dans la steppe près de Marghilan.' The average heights and cephalic indices are given below, Pittard's European figures being added for comparison :—

	TRIBE	HEIGHT	INDEX
Pittard (male)	Balkan	1·649	78·25
" (female)	"	1·532	79·67
5 male	Mazang	1·712	77·69
7 male	Luli	1·777	82·09
1 female	Luli	1·68	79·55

Gypsies are mentioned occasionally in the course of the book. At Karmân (p. 93) several families of Lulis were living in white tents,—'ce sont des nomades qui fabriquent des tamis, des plats en bois, etc., et qui apprivoisent des faucons et les dressent pour la chasse': Near Aravân (p. 99) his companion Mr. Müller found seven tents inhabited by Lulis from Kashghar: and it is recorded (p. 155) that the Gypsies are the only nomads in Kashgharia. At Marghellân, where the anthropological measurements were made, the female Gypsies refused to be photographed even when money was offered to them (p. 90). The most complete account of central Asiatic Gypsies occurs, however, on pp. 70-1, where they are described among the races which inhabit Ferghana :—

'On distingue des Bohémiens Louli et des Bohémiens Mazangs. Les derniers sont devenus sédentaires, tandis que les premiers mènent une vie errante comme leurs frères d'Europe. Les deux tribus diffèrent assez l'une de l'autre; je pense d'ailleurs que les Mazangs, devenus presque Musulmans, se sont mélangés avec les Sartes.¹ Ils sont beaucoup moins foncés que les Bohémiens de l'Europe, tandis que les Louli sont aussi foncés, sinon plus, et d'une taille superbe, bien au-dessus de la moyenne.

'Le Bohémien Mazang a le front haut, un peu fuyant, les bosses sourcilières prononcées, la dépression, séparant le nez de la glabelle, profonde; les sourcils arqués et fournis; la bouche petite, les yeux droits, la face ovale, les lèvres fines, les dents petites et saines, les cheveux ondés, noir et châtains; la barbe abondante et noire; la couleur de la peau est blanche avec un reflet jaunâtre; les yeux bruns ou gris; le nez long, arqué et effilé; le cou faible; l'embonpoint moyen; la taille au-dessus de la moyenne; les membres proportionnés; les oreilles moyennes et aplatis. Les Mazangs sont un fort beau type, ils se distinguent même avantageusement des Tadjiks par une plus grande finesse et élégance dans la structure générale du corps.

'Le Louli a le front haut, large, un peu bombé; les bosses sourcilières très-prononcées; la dépression profonde; les sourcils très-fournis, arqués et souvent croisés; les yeux droits, d'un noir de jais; la bouche moyenne; les lèvres un peu grosses et sensuelles; les dents moyennes et très-blanches; la face ovale; le menton fort; les oreilles moyennes et peu saillantes; les cheveux ondés ou frisés, noirs; la barbe très-abondante et d'un noir d'ébène; la peau très-velue, olivâtre; le cou fort; le corps très-vigoureux; les membres forts; les extrémités moyennes; la taille très élevée. Ceux que j'ai vus à Marghellâne m'ont fait l'effet de véritables athlètes. Les Louli émigrent, dressent de petites tentes en toile blanche et s'occupent des travaux de vannerie, de retamage, etc., absolument comme leurs frères de l'Europe. Parmi les femmes, on rencontre quelquefois de fort beaux types.'

not (79·73) as he stated in 1896; and the diameters of the skull of one male Luli are given as 196, 158, which would result in an index of (80·61) and not (81·61) as printed. Moreover, his series was too small, and one male Luli had the exceptional cephalic index of (89·77). By leaving him out of account the average cephalic index for males of this tribe is reduced from (82·09) to (80·81).

¹ On p. 63, he mentions that, in the opinion of certain Russians, the 'Touroucs' (another Ferghana tribe) are a mixture of Sarts and Gypsies.

2.—TRACES OF GYPSY SETTLEMENTS IN ENGLAND

In the parish of Hevingham, or Heveningham, nine miles north of Norwich, there is an expanse of 180 acres of furze, ling, and bracken called Buxton Heath. Here there are settled a number of people who are commonly called 'the Heath Gypsies' by their neighbours. I paid them a visit in August 1909 to see whether there were, or were not, any grounds for this name, and the following is a bare statement of the facts, which seem to me to be at least suggestive, and perhaps may be of interest.

They live in an isolated group of tumble-down clay houses, numbering perhaps twenty in all, of which two are inns.

Their occupations are broom-making, the material for which they cut on the heath, and poultry-farming. They also do a little as dog-fanciers, and occasionally the men travel for odd jobs of harvesting and the like. The women work as much as, or more than, the men, and *none* of them are agricultural labourers, though 90 per cent. of the Norfolk rural inhabitants are.

They mix as little as possible with any one except their own party, being seldom seen even in the village of Hevingham, a mile distant. They marry among themselves. Their surnames are mainly Medlar and Gibson.

In appearance they are generally dark and tall. But I think they are not *markedly* Romany to the eye, though I fancied I saw a resemblance in some cases.

In their general outlook on life, and some of their sayings, they seemed strikingly Gypsy: polite, secretive, hospitable, and with a reputation for occasional bursts of particularly unrestrained revelry.

In conversation with a dozen men in an inn-parlour, I was told by one of the Medlars that they were the offspring of some of the Gypsies who used to camp on the heath in old time. He told me also that they were the owners of the heath, and had refused to sell the sporting rights to Lord de Ramsey, the neighbouring landowner. They gave me free leave to go and have my lunch on the heath, and invited me to a day's snipe-shooting.

Medlar also said that 'the speech was all wore out,' and that 'there were funny things in Buxton Heath if people only knew it, and that there were people close by where we were sitting, who could fill my hat with sovereigns if they liked.' This sounds characteristic, and was *volunteered*.

They bear, it must be confessed, a bad reputation among their neighbours, and I should much like to know if they are credited with any occult powers of *dukkerin'*, the *bongo yak*, and the like. Mr. W. J. Birkbeck writes to me that he sees them 'constantly driving their market carts to Norwich on market days, when they are nearly always on the wrong side of the road, and often much the worse for liquor'; and that it is so rare as to cause surprise on the local bench, when there is *no* case from Buxton Heath before the magistrates for assaults, poaching, or drunkenness!

This seems to be all that I could learn about them, and possibly it does not amount to much: but there are, in my opinion, sufficient grounds for at any rate tentatively adding this settlement to the others recognised in England, such as those at Thorny Hill or on the Malvern Hills (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. i. p. 331).

These grounds may be summarised thus:—(1) The persistence of the name 'Gypsy' as applied to them; (2) their own account of their origin; (3) their manner of life; (4) their homogeneity and marked difference from the neighbouring people.

Possibly some East Anglian *Romano rai* or some other reader of the *Journal* may be able to shed further light on this interesting question.

I was told a short time ago of a settlement of 'Gypsies' at May Hill, Tainton, or Teinton, Gloucestershire. They were stated to be under the domination of witchcraft and superstition in a marked degree, but my informant only knew of them by hearsay. Has this settlement been identified? D. M. M. BARTLETT.

3.—TRANSITIVE USE OF THE VERB 'TO BE'

Miklosich, ii., subdivision viii., under the heading 'Subjectlose Sätze,' p. 23, seems to throw some light on the difficulty I met in accounting for the dative accusative instead of the nominative case in two passages from the Romani text of my article on *Ládere Sinte* (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 2-14), viz. p. 11, note 4, *Muro pē hi-la ano Amérika*; and p. 12, note 3, *Hiles bango*. Miklosich knows of few such examples:—*tokke hi čirikles?* literally, 'est ne tibi avem?' The verb 'to be' would appear to be felt as having a transitive meaning. In Urdu, Miklosich states, this is a regular construction. BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH.

4.—ARCHDUKE JOSEPH OF AUSTRIA AND THE GYPSIES

In *The Private Life of Two Emperors*. London, 1904. Vol. i., pp. 164-5, the following account appeared:—

'With regard to Archduke Joseph, the Gypsy Archduke, there is no doubt that without him the outer world would still have been left in ignorance of the incalculably rich mine of Tsigane music. He is only distantly related to Emperor Francis Joseph, being the senior member of the house of Hapsburg, which has been settled for more than one hundred years in Hungary. His father's entire life was spent there, where he held the office of Viceroy, and it is there that Archduke Joseph himself was entirely brought up, and where he has spent his whole existence.'

'At an early age he was attracted to the Gypsies by their music, and it was this that led him to think of their welfare, and to devote himself to the study of the characteristics, the history, and the origin of these mysterious nomads. Until he took them under his protection, they were regarded more or less as pariahs of Central and Southern Europe, the hand of every man being against them, and the authorities and people at large combining to subject them to persecution of the most cruel character. Their gratitude to the archduke, when he obtained better treatment for them, knew no bounds, and was shown, among other instances, in a notable manner, during the Austro-Prussian war, when Joseph was at the head of a division of Magyar troops.'

"Our retreat," so the archduke tells the story, "before the advance of the Prussian army, immediately preceding the battle of Sadowa, led us to camp one night in the neighbourhood of a town in Bohemia. I was lodged in a peasant's cottage, when about midnight I heard the sentry at my door hoarsely challenging some new-comer. My aide-de-camp entered, and reported that a Gypsy wanted to see me in private."

"On my asking the dusky visitor in Romani what was the matter, he told me that the enemy was approaching to surprise us."

"The outposts have not heard anything suspicious?" I remarked.

"No, your Imperial Highness," he replied, "because the enemy is still a long way off."

"But how do you know this?" I asked.

"Come to the window," replied the Zingari, leading me forward to the narrow glazed opening in the rough wall, directing my gaze to the dark sky, lighted by the silver rays of the moon.

"Do you see those birds flying over the woods towards the south?"

"Yes, I see them. What of it?"

"What of it? Do not birds sleep as well as men? They would certainly not fly about at night-time thus had they not been disturbed. The enemy is marching through the woods southwards, and has frightened and driven the birds before it."

"I at once ordered the outposts to be reinforced, and the camp to be alarmed. Two hours later, the outposts were fighting fiercely with the foe, and I was able to realise that my camp and my division had been saved from surprise and destruction only by the keen observation and sagacity of a grateful Gypsy."

The archduke spent a large sum of money, some years ago, in endeavouring to turn the Gypsies from their nomadic life, and to induce them to settle down, in order to devote their time and energies to the practice of the wonderful art of working metal, which they possess in so marked a degree, instead of roaming aimlessly about, sometimes thieving as is unfortunately their habit. He built a number of villages for them in the district surrounding Presburg, and organised Gypsy settlements. But the scheme proved a failure. The Tziganes, true to the instincts that they have inherited from countless generations, abandoned the comfortable houses, the fields and blossoming gardens, with which they had been provided by their imperial benefactor. They refused to till the soil, and commenced once more their interminable wanderings.

H. T. CROFTON.

5. BALKAN GYPSIES

The Hon. George Keppel, in the section on Asia Minor in his *Journey across the Balcan*, vol. ii. p. 332 (1831), when near Adala on the river Hermus, says : 'On the left-hand side of the road we saw twenty black tents pitched in a straight line, with two flags, one white and the other red, fixed at the right flank. These formed an encampment of gipsies, which had stationed itself there to welcome, with a band of music, a bride who was to pass in that direction on the way to her future husband, an inhabitant of the neighbouring village. I was not so fortunate as to see the procession. . . . Gipsies are to be seen in every part of Turkey. I constantly fell in with them in the course of my journey. The largest encampment I saw was at Shumla [Bulgaria], where they were assembled to the number of some thousands. The appearance of their women is always most striking in a Mahometan country, where such rigid notions are held of female decorum. Nothing can be more strongly contrasted than the uncovered face, the upright carriage, the fearless, and almost fierce demeanour of a well-formed gipsy girl, with the veiled features, shuffling walk, and timid, downcast look of a round-looking female of the Turkish race.'

'The gipsies conform to the prevailing religion of the country in which they may chance to be. Thus, they are Christians in Wallachia and Moldavia, and, generally speaking, Mussulmans to the southward of the Balcan. Their creed, however, sits loosely upon them, as they follow it no further than it accords with the habits of their tribe ; consequently, those who profess the Mahometan faith are not acknowledged by the more rigid Osmanli, who hates them as infidels, and dreads them as magicians. All the expert executioners of Constantinople are supposed to be of gipsy origin. "There are in the world," say the Turks, "seventy-two religions and a half" : the fractional part of this number they assign to the Tchinganee.'

I do not think such vast gatherings of Gypsies could now be found, but I have, in the course of many long journeys in the Balkan peninsula, seen much of the race. I am, however, mainly studying Serbs and Albanians, and in consequence the description which appears in my *Through the Lands of the Serb* is quite short and popular. I have of course seen them dancing round their camp-fires, heard their pipes and tom-toms, and had my fortune told ; and I was naturally fascinated by them. But I realised at once the extreme difficulties of studying them. Apart from filth—which I am accustomed to, as I lead the life of the people in native huts, and have nothing further to learn in that direction—the Gypsies are so barred and despised that if I were to associate regularly with them I might cut myself off from my other people.

In 1907 I was Commissioner for Montenegro at the Balkan States Exhibition at Earl's Court. The authorities, unaware of local etiquette, arranged that all the Serb and Montenegrin natives, including a band of Servian Gypsies, should lodge in the same house. The Montenegrins were simply furious at being told off to sleep in the same house as the *crni Ciganini* (black Gypsies), and I had to get them other quarters. These Gypsies had not been out of Servia before, but two days after they had been established in Earl's Court, I found the two children playing happily in the gutter with three English children and a fox-terrier, as though they had been there all their lives.

On the other hand, Gypsy freedom does not want its admirers. I was in a diligence with the Prince of Montenegro's brother-in-law when we passed some black Gypsies on the march. 'There go the happiest people in the world!' said he.

When I asked in Montenegro why Gypsies were so much disliked and despised, I was told mysteriously that it was because there is a curse upon them. I asked why they were accursed, and was told 'It is because they are the accursed descendants of Vuk Branković.' Vuk Branković, son-in-law of the Servian Tsar Lazar, deserted to the Turks with twelve thousand men on the field of Kosovo, thereby giving the victory to the Turks, and overthrowing—perhaps for ever—the great Servian Empire. Kosovo was fought in June 1389. One of the many Servian historical ballads gives the curse thus: 'What askest thou of accursed Vuk? Cursed be he and he that begot him! Cursed be his stock and his seed! He betrayed the Tsar at Kosovo, and led away twelve thousand men.' But of whether there were Gypsies among this army we have no historic record. It is not impossible.

In the Balkans there are two classes of Gypsies—the sedentary and the nomad. The sedentaries have their forges—they are all smiths—outside the bazar always, and live in separate quarters from the rest of the people. I had among my exhibits at the Balkan States Exhibition a complete set of every kind of implement made by a Gypsy smith of Podgorica, some of which were bought by the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford. In Albania the settled Gypsy *maghyp* is much insulted if he is called *Gabel* (wandering Gypsy), the *crni Ciganini* of the Serbs.

A Balkan Gypsy, as often as not, does not trouble about a tent. A couple of poles leaned against a bush with a bit of sacking flung over them, or even the lee-side of a bank or bush, and no other covering, are enough in summer. Dancing bears and human beings huddle up in a heap. Sometimes they have monkeys with them too. I once saw a circle of Gypsies squat round a fire waiting for the pot to boil. As I drove past they turned to stare at me, and I saw that one of the company was a big baboon dressed in a petticoat.

A troop of black Gypsies on the march is incomparably picturesque. The men, often stripped to the waist, with nothing on their muscular breasts but bandoliers of cartridges, wear a revolver and a long sheath-knife thrust into the scarlet sash, and swing past, rifle on shoulder, with the long silent stride of a lion. Their shag of black hair falls often to their eyes, which sparkle from under it, and their teeth gleam as white as a dog's. The women follow with their pack-beasts and children (who are sometimes stark naked), dark-skinned women, with their coal-black hair often plaited in a thick tail that hangs either side of the face, and clad in crimson or orange or bright-flowered stuffs. All—men, women, and children—are incredibly filthy. So filthy sometimes that one keeps the wind side of them.

Edward Brown, in his *Brief Account of some Travels* (1673), states that he had a Gypsy guide at Prishtina in Kosovo vilayet, and that he and his party 'travelled in the night till we came to a gypsies hous among the hills, where we were well accomodated.' I should doubt that it was a Gypsy house. Certainly now no out-lying Gypsy houses are to be found, all the settled Gypsies are in the towns.

They generally obstinately refuse to speak their own language to a stranger. Some who have spoken Serb to me, have declared that they know no other tongue

though, from a distance, I have heard them speak another to each other. A South Albanian gentleman tells me that he counted seventeen Albanian words in the Anglo-Romani vocabulary in Borrow's *Lavengro*. The Gypsies I know always profess the religion of the place they are in—the religion, that is, of the majority of the population. In Turkish territory they tell you they are Moslems; in Servia many say they belong to the Orthodox Church, and so forth; but people have often vowed to me that they are really snake-worshippers, and sometimes carry large snakes with them. They wear the local costume, but generally with more brilliant colours. The Gypsies on Turkish territory are, I believe, polygamous; one boasted to me in 1908 that he had thirty-two children. I did not see them though. It is often said of the wandering Gypsies that they live quite promiscuously and recognise few, if any, forbidden degrees. This may not be true, as one race invariably accuses another, that it dislikes, of having bad morals.

They go in for a lot of magic spells. Both the guides I have travelled with (Albanian and Montenegrin) are highly Christian, and have a perfect terror of magic. They believe in it of course, and think it is produced by the direct influence of Beelzebub, Belial, etc.; and both, with the best of intentions, have always done all in their power to preserve me from the malign influence of the two above-named gentlemen. The study of magic, when with them, is therefore hard. But one must travel, in such wild places, with an honest and respectable man. I once came on a Gypsy woman squatting by a fire on the mountain-side when riding up country in Montenegro. She at once, as usual, wanted to tell my fortune, and be prepaid. She held what looked like a lump of resin in her hand in which she said she could read my fortune. I wanted to examine it, and refused to pay unless she showed it me. She obstinately refused. In order to prove the thing told truth, she said she could see in it that I had come from a far country, and that I was unmarried. My dress and my ringless hand sufficiently showed this, but my Montenegrin guide was so much impressed that he was alarmed at her power. As she would not show me the charm I left her.

The Gypsy punishment for infidelity (*J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii. 356) may have been picked up in the Balkan Peninsula, for a similar penalty is enjoined by the old Serb enactments of 'Tsar Stefan Autocrat of Servia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Wallachia, Albania, and other Countries. Laws established by the grace of God in the year 1349.' In these statutes Servian customs were put together and codified for the first time, and No. 22 is to the effect that 'A noble outraging a married woman shall have his hands and nose cut off. A married woman guilty of libertinage, shall have her nose and ears cut off.' (*Ami Boué, La Turquie d'Europe*, 1840). In Montenegro this custom was in force until quite lately. A husband was at liberty to cut off the nose of his wife if he suspected her of infidelity. There are still women living who have been thus punished. My guide regretted that the Prince had forbidden it! Stoning to death was also a punishment, and it is recorded that a youth and an unmarried girl were thus executed as late as the end of the eighteenth century—she being found to be with child by him—near Cattaro, Dalmatia. The tradition of it still remains. A Montenegrin woman said to me of the notorious Queen Draga, the modern Messalina, 'She ought to be under the cursed stone-heap,' meaning that shooting was too good for her.

Balkan Gypsy music varies a good deal according to the country. You hear more fiddling—sometimes very good—in Servia for example, and more pipes and tom-toms in the outlying parts of Turkey-in-Europe. In the summer of 1908, at the festival at Devich Monastery not far from Djakova, a Gypsy band played all the time. One instrument was a short cylinder of earthenware with a piece of hide stretched on one end. This was struck with the flat of the left hand and tapped with the fingers of the right:—bang, tap-tap, bang tap-tap. A marked one, two, three rhythm for hours and hours with pitiless iteration until one in the morning. There was a big drum and two fiddles and a pipe. The

scale with intervals less than a semitone is not at all peculiarly Gypsy but is common to all the Balkan peoples. It is also in use in the music of the Orthodox Church (see Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Church*, Catholic Truth Society, 1907). Among the Albanians, the most isolated of all the Balkan peoples, the music is a mass of minor tones—small intervals which no West-European throat could correctly follow. The ballads of Montenegro are all sung thus—a minor recitative which, till one is accustomed to it, seems to begin nowhere and leave off anywhere. Except by means of phonograph records, by which I have collected some Albanian and Montenegrin music, it is quite impossible to study it. As soon as it is transcribed into our musical notation it is half gone. There is no means in our notation of writing less than a semitone. Therefore all so-called printed Gypsy music is an adaptation, not a reproduction. For example, the music of a Montenegrin ballad when arranged for the piano, though preserving a certain originality, is a wholly different thing from the same ballad sung unaccompanied by a native peasant.

The Gypsy dancing girls in Albania are sometimes very handsome and good dancers. They have a very bad reputation and are said to be mostly prostitutes. Ezzad Bey, the man who recently became famous by announcing to the Sultan the order for his deposition, kept a large number of them at Tirana. When you pay Gypsy dancers they are usually streaming with sweat after the violent exertions they make, and they stick the coins in the sweat on their foreheads. Ezzad's dancers were said to expect gold always.

The Gypsies frequently figure in Balkan legends and ballads. One bariak (tribal division) of the tribe of Nikaj in North Albania traces its origin thus.—A certain Nikola, the ancestor of the tribe, had a daughter who was very ugly and had only one ear. He was therefore unable to find her a husband and she had an illegitimate child by a black Gypsy. Nikola, making the best of a bad job, kept the child, and from him descend the Tsuraj who are small and dark and reputed great thieves. Whether the tale was made to fit the facts I do not know. It is generally accepted by the people.

In ballads Gypsies are usually smiths, and get the worst of it and are knocked about. Here is a passage, for example, from a ballad which relates how Miloš of Drobnjak kept his honour clean all round. I took it down at dictation in Montenegro in 1905 :—

'Miloš cried from his sick bed : "Andjelija, my dear sister, go thou below to the stable. Lead me out my bay horse. Take him to Suljo the Gypsy. Let him give the bay four new shoes. I will to the wide Brda to seek my wedded love."

'And the sister at once obeyed her brother. She took Miloš' bay and led him to Suljo the Gypsy and spake to him thus : "Come hither, Suljo, and shoe me the bay!"'

'And Suljo answered her : "I will not. I will not shoe thee the bay till I have kissed thy face!"'

'Straightway the sister went back with the steed and said to her brother : "Suljo will not shoe me the bay till he has kissed my face. I will not obey a black Gypsy and I have brought thy steed back with me."

Miloš goes, with the horse unshod (which apparently makes no difference) and has many adventures too long to transcribe. On his return

'—he turned his horse to Suljo, the Gypsy, that he might shoe the bay. And when Suljo saw him he was sore afeared. He took his cap in his left hand and his hammer and tongs in his right and came to shoe the bay. But Miloš swung his sword and struck the Gypsy. Though he struck him but lightly he clove him in twain. And thus spoke Voyvoda Miloš : "Wilt kiss my sister now, O Suljo?"'

My South Albanian friend knew the legend that Gypsies stole the fourth nail at the time of the Crucifixion and says that it is common throughout the Balkan Peninsula. He doubted the theory that the Albanian Gypsies came from Corfu,

and believes that they or at any rate part of them arrived, at some time or other, from Hungary. They use several Hungarian words—even those who say that they have been for many generations in Albania—and they call the stringed mandoline-like instrument which they play a 'hungar' or 'magyar.' He inclined rather to think that the Gypsies went *from* Albania into Corfu. He said that all manner of extraordinary things were believed about them by the Albanian peasants, for example that they live on carrion, and open graves to eat the corpses.

M. EDITH DURHAM.

6.—A GYPSY LOVE-PHILTRE

Maurus Jókai's novel, *The Yellow Rose* (translated by Beatrice Danford), contains a passage which is interesting as an addition to Gypsy plant-lore. The story tells of an innkeeper's daughter who has lost her lover's affection, and wonders how she is ever to regain his love, when

'Suddenly the girl remembered about a gipsy woman, who had once told her fortune for some old clothes, and, out of pure gratitude, had said this to her as well, "Should your lover's heart grow cold, my dear, and you wish to make it flame again, that is easily managed, give him wine mixed with lemon juice, and drop a bit of this root called 'fat mannikin' into it. Then his love will blaze up again, till he would break down walls to reach you!"'

She proceeded to follow the Gypsy's advice, but the administration of this *Atropa mandragora* as a love-philtre had by no means the desired effect, and her lover's life was with difficulty saved.

That the mandrake has long been credited with the power of reviving a man's drooping spirits is testified by William Turner. In his *Herbal* (1562) he says:—
 'The iuice of Mandrag / dronken in the quantite of a scruple in honied wyne / draweth furth Melancoly and fleme by vomitynge / after the maner of Helleborus. But if a man take to muche of it / it will kill hym.'

FREDERICK C. WELLSTOOD.

7.—A GYPSY TREATMENT FOR ERYsipelas

One quarter of a pound of pig's flick—no salt in it.

So many (say $\frac{1}{2}$ of a pound) of elder leaves.

The same quantity of violet leaves.

Boil the flick in a saucepan, and let it simmer.

Put the leaves in, and strain it.

This cured Mrs. H. Sandy of Clevedon after she had tried bottles from the doctor, and various ointments, without success. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE.

Dec. 8, 1909.

8.—GYPSIES IN FRANCE

Extraits analytiques des Registres des Consaux de la ville de Tournai 1431-76, publ. par A. de la Grange (*Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, tome 23.—Tournai, 1893).

P. 2. '23 janvier 1431. Les Egyptiens, de passage à Tournai, demandent des secours.—On leur accorde deux rasières de blé, deux tonneaux de cervoise et 40 sols.'

P. 97. '11 décembre 1442. D'aucuns Egypciens qui requièrent estre recueilliéz en la ville, et de leur faire aucune aumosne.—On ne les laisse point entrer ne passer par la ville.'

E. O. WINSTEDT.

9.—SOLD TO THE DEVIL

There are, I am told, various tales of *Romane daid* who *bikend* their *kokeros* to the *Beng*, but the only 'well-authenticated' instance of this Faustian bargain of which I have had detailed information was given me by Gilbert Boswell. It related to Ada, wife of Tobias Boswell, who was much beloved in the tents of Egypt, but whose mysterious way of suddenly becoming possessed of large sums of money excited suspicion that she had allied herself with the *Beng*. One day her pocket would be empty, but the next day she would come home and exhibit handfuls of 'golden sovereigns and five-pound notes,' but for all that she was never happy. Where the money came from no one was ever able to find out, but on certain days Ada would say 'I must go and see my old *râni* to-day,' and when she had paid this mysterious person a visit she always came back with *dosta* of *lûva*. Sometimes, however, the old *râni*, who was supposed to be a *chorihani*, came to see Ada, and more than once attempts were made to find out where she lived; but after turning some street-corner she would always disappear suddenly, and in her place would appear some other person or a dog or a cat. This went on for some time, but one day Ada came to Athalia Boswell's tent and said that her (Ada's) time was nearly come. She took from her pocket a paper, which proved to be a receipt for a certain sum of money she had just paid for a piece of ground in which she could be buried 'at her father's feet.' Tobias Boswell, her husband, had just bought her a fine new dress to wear when she *dukerd* the *gájos*; also five grand flags, 'all silk,' which were to be hoisted around her tent. 'Hathie,' she said to Athalia, 'it's a beautiful dress, but I shall never wear it, and them flags 'Bias has bought will be of no use to me. If I do wear that dress, it will only be when I'm buried in it.' A few days later, about four o'clock in the morning, a sound like the galloping of a *grai* was heard outside Athalia Boswell's tent, but there was no *grai* anywhere near. 'Algar,' said Athalia to her husband, 'poor Ada's gone!' At the same time a neighbouring *vardo*, in which other *Romanichal foki* were sleeping, shook 'like as if it was going to be blown over,' but there was not a breath of wind. Then Tobias Boswell, only half-dressed, rushed out of his tent, crying out that his wife was dead. She had sprung out of bed, run round the inside of the tent, and died directly Tobias caught her in his arms. There were several families and parties of *Romanichal foki* encamped near by, and it transpired that at four o'clock that morning each one of them had 'had a sign' of Ada Boswell's death.

A less detailed story, also told by Gilbert Boswell, concerned an old Gypsy woman in Scotland, who *bikend* her *kokero* to the *Beng*, 'all but the tip of her little finger.' One day, when she was encamped in a lane near a brook, a *rai* (the *Beng*) was seen coming towards her tent. She cried out 'Here's the *Beng* come after me,' and ran through the brook. When the *rai* came to the brook-side he suddenly disappeared, 'leaving a puff of smoke behind him.'

W. A. DUTT.

10.—GYPSY LEGENDS

From *Légendes Religieuses Bulgares*. By Lydia Schischmanoff. Paris, 1896.

(1.) All the nations beg gifts of God, and, according to the way they accept the gift He apportions, they are stamped with a characteristic :

p. 286. Puis arrivèrent les Tziganes : 'Pourquoi êtes-vous venus, Tziganes ?' leur demanda le Seigneur.

'Nous sommes venus pour que tu nous donnes quelque cadeau.'

'Et que voulez-vous ?'

'Comme cadeau, nous voulons le pouvoir.'

'Tant pis ! D'autres ont pris le pouvoir !'

'Oh ! quelle misère ! C'est ce que nous espérions avoir !' dirent les Tziganes.

'Allons, ayez la misère, vivez d'aumônes, et que votre misère vous nourrisse !'
dit le Seigneur.

(2.) p. 118. St. Gregory, son of an ancient king of Egypt, cursed his subjects, and sent them wandering ; they became 'les tziganes.' St. Gregory drove them seawards with the help of St. Basil. St. Gregory parted the sea with a staff and the subjects were all immersed, except a very few men and women whom Basil left out. 'L'eau se réunit de nouveau, mais les tziganes surnagèrent et furent changés en corneilles. C'est pour cela que les tziganes fêtent et révèrent beaucoup Saint Basile ; c'est parce qu'il ne les a pas tous poussés à la mer et qu'il en a laissé quelques-uns pour faire souche. Et c'est ainsi que la corneille est d'origine tzigane. Most of the legends in Lydia Schischmanoff's book are taken from *Recueil de folklore; science et littérature*, ed. by Dr. Ivan Schischmánov and D. Matov. Sofia.

LUCY BROADWOOD.

11.--A FAR-TRAVELED BAND IN SWEDEN

When visiting Opphem yesterday (February 11, 1910) on business connected with my new farm-buildings, I passed about mid-day my smithy, where a giant son of Vulcan was hammering away lustily, heaping up mountains of nuts and bolts. I paused to meditate, when suddenly I was brought to consciousness by a meek voice which asked whether I had any kettles to mend. The voice issued from a black-bearded face under an impenetrable shock of jet-black hair, and was accompanied by evasive glances from dark, glistening eyes. Its owner wanted also advice from 'the consul' about an intended visit to England.

I charged the man at once with being a Gypsy, which he denied stoutly, admitting nevertheless that he knew some words of Romani. He belonged to a camp of three tents at the railway station, which I had not noticed when I arrived at dawn : but having to meet my builder there a few minutes later, I took advantage of the opportunity to look into one of them. Here there was no denial of Gypsydom, the nomads freely owned up, telling me that though they had spent twenty years in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, they originated from the South of France, Toulouse in fact. They became more and more friendly when I addressed them alternately in French and German, which latter they spoke almost as fluently as French, while their Swedish was somewhat broken. In three minutes I had hundreds of shrill offers to tell my fortune, or buy my old clothes, appeals for charity and other petitions. But I had to obey the whistle of the arriving train and hurry to meet my builder.

When twilight came the builder went off, and I walked down to the station for a half-hour's relaxation in the tents. I enclose a copy of the notes I jotted down hampered by failing daylight, by intolerable smoke, by several degrees of frost, and by driving snow-dust which the tent could not keep out—hampered also by the din of a copper cauldron in the experienced hands of my first acquaintance, now playing his part as a full-blooded Gypsy.

The leading woman was named Catharine Moldava (Moldava, Catharine, as she gave it in the French way), fifty-two years old, born at Paris. The men of her tent were Kakahaška Fluskovitzu, forty, and Bousdokou Čukano, thirty-six. There was also a boy of seven, Pourtsalise, who played an accordion with great skill. Moldava had spent the last twenty years chiefly in Sweden, with occasional peeps into Norway and Denmark. But, besides her native country France, she knew also Germany, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Hungary and the Balkans, even Saint Petersburg. Her French was quite pure and her German very good, but her Italian and Spanish were incomplete, her Norwegian and Danish poor, and her Russian came with difficulty. Her Hungarian and South Slavic tongues I was unfortunately unable to judge.

When I went home to Linköping by the last train at 9.25 p.m. the fires were still glimmering brightly in the camp through fast-falling snow, but I had no time left to renew my visit.

VOCABULARY

ā, Engl. 'far'; ā, Fr. 'balle'; ē, Engl. 'met'; ē, Engl. 'mate,' Fr. 'blé'; è, Engl. 'bare,' Fr. 'mère'; ī, Engl. 'bee'; ī, Engl. 'miss'; ò, Engl. 'more'; õ, Engl. 'morrow'; û, Engl. 'Bruce,' 'juice,' Fr. 'ruisseau'; ou, Engl. 'moon,' Fr. 'Toulouse'; j as y in Engl. 'yes'; š, Engl. 'shop'; č, not ch in Engl. 'child,' which is a double sound; ž as s in Engl. 'measure.'

bål, hair.	mouj, mouth.
béră, beer, small beer.	năk, nose.
bérđja gôtř, trousers.	pí, to drink.
čásř, watch.	píri, kettle, cauldron.
čávř, boy.	pourně, foot.
čéi (bári), girl (unmarried).	răxđmí, coat.
číri, sky.	rőj, spoon.
čúř, knife.	rőm, married man.
dánd pâghě, tooth (? teeth).	rőmni, married woman.
gáđ, shirt.	rőmání, Gypsy language.
gán, ear.	róvelř, stick.
jág, fire.	sélčevá, wood.
jákă, eyes.	sjhõn, moon.
jív, snow.	stõghí, cap, hat.
kášt, wood (dry), firewood.	šerö (bökärskö šerö), head [sheep's head].
kéră, (top-) boots.	tsérhă, tent.
körö, (tin) bottle, pail.	vást, hand.
lándö, (watch-) chain.	věž, wood (growing).
máłjö, fish.	zoulóumă, straw.
moudáraskö máłjö, poison.	

HARALD EHRENBORG.

12. MAGNUS THE TINKER

For those who believe in a very early immigration of Gypsies into Europe, the following quotation will have interest. Waldemar (King of Sweden 1250-1278, m. Sophia of Denmark, d. 1286) and Magnus (Ladulås, King 1275-1290) were sons of the Regent Birger (Jarl) who died in 1266. Magnus was father of Birger (b. 1280, King, 1290-1319) whose edict was discussed in this Journal, vol. iii., pp. 113-115.

Then Gamble Rym Krónikes Första Deel. J hvilken Svenske Konungars bedreffler ifrån ahr MCCXXII och till MCDXXXIX beskrifves (utgifven af Johannes Messenius; tryckt af Chr. Reusner) J Stocholm, Anno. MDCXVI (skrifven 1320 af okänd författare).

(Konung Waldmar) (Drottning Sophia) (Hertug Magnus)
sid 18.

'Drotningen bar och wider them hack,
The gäto henne siällan giort til tack :
Konungen war stoltz och fager,
Och Hertugen war något suart och mager :
Ty kallade hon honom ketzla bôther,
Tå war han både om händer och fôter
Skapter wäl å alla lidhi,
Och halst å tocht och goda sidi :
Hans broder kallade hon Erich Alzenckte.'

TRANSLATION

The Old Rimed Chronicle, 1st Part, in which the Swedish Kings' gesta from the year 1222 until 1439 are described (edited by Johannes Messenius; printed by Chr. Reusner) In Stockholm, anno 1616 (written in 1320, author unknown).

(King Waldemar) (Queen Sophia) (Duke Magnus)

pag. 18.

The Queen had against them grudge ;
They seldom won her approval :
The King was lordly and fair,
And the Duke was somewhat swarthy and meagre
Therefore she called him kettle-mender,
Though he was both about hands and feet
Shapen well in all limbs (*lidhi*=Germ. *Glieder*),
Especially as to discipline and good behaviour.
His brother she called Eric Nothing-at-all.

HARALD EHRENBORG.

13. BÚI'S BOOTS

Noah and Oscar Young and I were seated in a *kičema* in Preston impudently discussing Búi Boswell's few virtues and many vices, or rather, peculiarities. 'Biggest owld liar on God's earth,' Noah stated emphatically, and in proof of this, retold one of Búi's favourite yarns. This, of course, is not printed here as any reflection on Búi's truthfulness, but merely as one of the picturesque flowers of a Gypsy's fertile imagination.

'I was a-stoppin' by C—— for de fair dere, Noar, an' I 'ad five wery fine mares all in foal. An' on de mornin' of de fair I says to my Saváina : "Saváina," I says, "I'll just a-go over to de fair," I says, "an' buy anuder mare in foal, an den I shall 'arve six."

'So I went over to de fair, an' bought a big black mare off'n a very despec'able farmer, Master Pearson.

'I was deturnin' wid dese here six mares in foal, an' you knows where de owld 'olla tree is by de cross-roads, Noar ; a man rushed out'n dere. "Your money or your life," 'e says. "I arn't got no money," I says, "leastways, exceptin' fifty pounds wud of five-shillin' pieces into my shoes."

'Den up com'd de hangman. "Dis man was a-tryin' to rob me, Master Clark," I says. "Yes, I knows 'e was, Mr. Simpronius Bohemius Boswell," 'e says, "I 'eard 'im."

'An' I goes on, an' I sees my Saváina a-top of de big 'ill a-waitin' for me. "So you've come back, my Bowi," she says. "Yes, my Saváina," I says.

"Come along o' me," I says, "we'll just a-go an' 'arve a glass o' beer." So we goes into de big Publick, an' I orders a drop o' beer for me an' my Saváina. "I arn't got no money to pay for it, Master Johnson," I says. "But I knows you 'arve, Mr. Simpronius Bohemius Boswell," 'e says. "War'n't I a-tellin' you as I arn't a-got none to-day," I says. "Mr. Simpronius Bohemius Boswell," 'e says, "you always 'arves plenty of money, so don't a-go a-tellin' me as you arn't enough money to pay for two glasses o' beer." Dereupon off I takes one shoe, an' empties a hundred crowns onto de table ; den off I takes de hoder shoe, an' empties anunder hundred crowns onto de table. "Dere den, Master Johnson," I says, "dat'n'll buy all de beer you 'arves on de premises." An' so it would.'

Would any mathematically inclined reader, who possesses such a cumbersome piece of state silver-work as a 'waggon-wheel,' care to calculate the holding capacity of Búi's boots ?

T. W. THOMPSON.

14. GYPSY NAMES

In the *Life and Thoughts*¹ of Eliza Brightwen a few pages are devoted to the gypsies who encamped on Stanmore Common (near Bushey on the borders of Middlesex and Hertfordshire) in and about the year 1865.

Though Mrs. Brightwen was a religious philanthropist, anxious to read and pray with her protégés, she had a kindly tolerance for their moral short-comings which enabled her to write, 'whatever their sins may be in the way of thieving and falsehood, gypsies have many bright qualities . . . it was a real regret to me when . . . some of our neighbours combined and made it illegal for them to camp on our common.'

Mrs. Brightwen learnt no word of the language, but she was interested in the 'out-of-the-way' names of the gypsy children; she notes Algernon, Ahasuerus and Plato among the boys, and Trinity, Levise, Centina, Cinnaminti, Cinderella, and Leviathan among the girls, the last being called after a ship, because her father 'thought it wor a pretty name.'

M. EILEEN LYSTER.

2 March 1910.

15. ZIGEUNER IN DER EUROPÄISCHEN TÜRKEI

Einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Statistik des Zigeunerwesens in der europäischen Türkei gibt der bulgarische Oberstleutnant Herr Richard von Mach in Konstantinopel in seinem, in der von General-major C. von Zeppelin herausgegebenen Sammlung, 'Die Heere und Flotten der Gegenwart,' erschienenen Werk, *Die Wehrmacht der Türkei und Bulgariens*.² Er teilt uns daselbst mit, dass in der europäischen Türkei laut amtlicher Statistik der Militärbehörden 810,000 Türken, 260,000 mohammedanische Bulgaren (Pomaken), 880,000 mohammedanische Albanier, 40,000 mohammedanische Serben und 90,000 mohammedanische Zigeuner und verwandte Völker wohnen. Letztere sind die Dönmés (zum Islam übergetretene Juden) und die mohammedanischen Wallachen. Der Zahl nach betragen diese nach Gopčević 5000 Dönmés und 4800 mohammedanische Wallachen. Diese von den 90,000 abgezogen ergäbe 80,200 Zigeuner mohammedanischer Religion. Die christliche Bevölkerung ist hier nicht angegeben, da ja nur die mohammedanische Bevölkerung der europäischen Türkei (mit Ausnahme der von Konstantinopel) wehrpflichtig ist. (Die christlichen Untertanen sind in Friedenszeiten vom Heerdienst befreit.) Die Zigeuner stellen also, da die gesammte mohammedanische Bevölkerung 2,080,000 Einwohner zählt, ca. 1/25 der gesammten mohammedanischen Bevölkerung und, da die in Konstantinopel wohnenden 500,000 Mohammedaner nicht wehrpflichtig sind, ca. 1/19 der theoretisch der Wehrpflicht unterworfenen Mohammedaner (mit Frauen und Kindern).

Interessant ist aber auch das Verhältnis der Zahl der Zigeuner zu den anderen Bewohnern mohammedanischer Religion der europäischen Türkei. Es wohnen dort fast zehn mal so viel, mohammedanische Albanesen, die ja immer in der europäischen Literatur eine Rolle spielen. Im Verhältnis zu den Serben mohammedanischer Religion, sind sie zwei mal stärker und zu den Bulgaren stehen sie im Verhältnis von 1-3½. Betrachtet man nun die Türkei nach den einzelnen Völkerschaften, so muss man bekennen, dass die Zigeuner einen *bearbeitenswerten Faktor* des türkischen Lebens bilden. Man versteht es fast nicht, dass ein Volk, welches in einem Lande einen so grossen Prozentsatz ausmacht, bei den Betrachtungen, die

¹ Eliza Brightwen, *The Life and Thoughts of a Naturalist*. Edited by W. H. Chesson, with introduction and epilogue by Edmund Gosse. Lond. 1908.

² R. von Mach, *Die Wehrmacht der Türkei und Bulgariens*, mit einem Vorwort des Generals der Infanterie C. v. d. Goltz, Berlin, A. Schulz, 1905.

in der Literatur über dieses Land gemacht werden, so wenig berücksichtigt wird. Bei jeder anderen Nation würde ein Volk, das so zahlreich auftritt, in der Literatur andere Würdigung finden. Vielleicht war es bis jetzt der Mangel an einer sicheren Statistik, welche die Literaten veranlasste bei ihren Schilderungen der Türkei, die Zigeuner, die sie nur hin und wieder zerstreut fanden, unbeachtet zu lassen. Hoffentlich trägt dann diese amtlich festgestellte Ziffer dazu bei, zu zeigen, dass die Zigeuner nummerisch eine hübsche Zahl der Einwohner der europäischen Türkei stellen und wird ihnen daher dann in Zukunft mehr Interesse und mehr Beachtung in der Literatur über die Türkei geschenkt, so dass man auch bald mehr über die Eigenart der mohammedanischen türkischen Zigeuner erfährt.

Erwähnt muss werden, dass ausser diesen mohammedanischen Zigeunern noch christliche Zigeuner vorhanden sind, deren Zahl verschieden angegeben wird. So gibt der bekannte Ethnologe *Dr. Hugo Grothe* in seinem 1903 erschienenen Werk *Auf türkischer Erde*¹ allein die mohammedanische Bevölkerung *Macedoniens* mit 900,000 Seelen an. Er fügt dann eine Statistik der Gesamtbevölkerung bei, worin er die verschiedenen Statistiker und deren Angaben über die Verbreitung der nichtmohammedanischen Zigeuner nennt. Demnach weichen die Angaben sehr von einander ab. Meinhardt zählt 35,000, Nicolaides 4,388, Gopčević zählt 28,730, Peucker zählt 38,000 Zigeuner. Grothe meint, dass man in Wahrheit die Zahl der nichtmohammedanischen Zigeuner der europäischen Türkei, vielmehr *Macedoniens*, auf 30,000 schätzen müsse. Ueber die Verbreitung der *mohammedanischen* Zigeuner äussert er sich nicht.

Von europäischen Journalisten ist die Meinung verbreitet worden, dass die Zigeuner mit den Banden *Macedoniens* viel zu tun hätten. Diese Angabe scheint mir falsch zu sein. Die Zigeuner sind zum grössten Teil Mohammedaner, wie aus obiger Statistik hervorgeht und daher turkenfreudlich gesinnt. Die christlichen Zigeuner aber, die also 1/4 der ganzen Zigeunerzahl der europäischen Türkei ausmachen, sind sehr friedliebend und halten sich vom politischen Leben fast ganz zurück.²⁾ Trotzdem die grösste Zahl der Zigeuner sich seit dem 15. Jahrhundert den Mohammedanern angeschlossen hat, ist eine direkte Assimilierung an die türkische Nation noch nicht gelungen.

F. W. BREPOHL. Wiesbaden.

16.—THE MASHA'ILIYYAH OF EGYPT

Dr. Wiener points out to me that in the *Histoire des sultans mamlouks, de l'Égypte, écrite en arabe par Taki-eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi, traduite en français . . . par M. Quatremère*, tom. 1, partie 2 (Paris, 1840), p. 4, occurs a footnote (No. 5) attempting to identify the *Masha'iliyyah* with the Gypsies. It runs:—

‘Suivant le témoignage de Makrizi (*Description de l'Égypte*, tom. 1, man. 797, fol. 405 r°), ce mot ارباب النور [‘possessors of the light’] désigne les hommes appelés autrement مشاعلية [Masha'iliyyah]. M. Silvestre de Sacy a parlé des *Maschaïlis* (*Chrestomathie arabe*, tom. 1, pag. 201, 202); je dois aussi entrer, à cet égard, dans quelques détails.

‘L'histoire de l'Égypte, à l'époque des deux dynasties des Sultans mamloûks, fait mention d'une classe d'hommes appelés *Maschaïlis* مشاعلی, sur

¹ Dr. Hugo Grothe *Auf türkischer Erde*, Berlin, Allgemeiner Verein für deutsche Literatur, 1903. Grothe schätzt auch die mohammedanischen Wallachen auf 5000 statt wie Gopčević auf 4800. Die Differenz ist allerdings unbedeutend.

² Vergl. auch meine Schrift ‘Die orientalischen Christen und die junge Türkei,’ Segefeld 1910.

l'origine desquels les écrivains orientaux ne nous donnent aucun détail, et qui remplissaient exclusivement des professions les plus ignobles. Eux seuls étaient chargés de curer les puits, les bains, les fossés, les latrines, et, en cette qualité, ils payaient au fisc un redevance (Makrizi, *Description de l'Égypte*, t. 1, m. 797, fol. 63 v°; Abou'l-mahâsen, man. 663, fol. 83). Au rapport de Soiouti (m. ar. 1568, fol. 209 v°), un kadi de Fostat, dont la mule était morte, fit venir les Maschaëlis

المساعلية pour emporter l'animal, et le jeter hors de la ville. Ils exerçaient

les affreuses fonctions de bourreaux ; et leurs talents, en ce genre, ont mérité le triste avantage d'être continuellement cités par les historiens de l'Égypte (Makrizi, m. 673, f. 459 r°; Abou'l-mahâsen, m. 667, f. 83 v°; Ebn-Aias, m. 595 A, t. II.

f. 154 v°, 159 v°, 162 v°, 188, 189 r°; *Mille et une Nuits*, t. II. p. 182, 183). On

lit dans l'*histoire d'Ebn-kadi-Schohbah* (m. ar. 687, f. 66 r°) ضربت رقابهم

وطيف برأسهم مع المشاعلية ‘On leur coupa le cou, et leurs têtes furent

promenées par les Maschaëlis.’ Au rapport d'Ahmed-Askalâni (tom. II., man. arab.

687, fol. 155 v°) un émir ayant été condamné à avoir la langue coupée, un Maschaëli

chargé d'exécuter l'arrêt, le fit avec peu de rigueur **رفق به المشاعلى عند قطع**

الجان. Non seulement ils exécutaient les sentences capitales ; mais, lorsqu'un

homme était condamné à se voir promené ignominieusement dans les rues, cloué sur une planche que portait un chameau, les Maschaëlis marchaient devant le criminel, en criant : *Voilà la juste punition de ceux qui se révoltent contre l'autorité du sultan* (Ebn-Aias, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, manuscrit ar. 595 A. t. II., fol. 25). Ils faisaient le métier de crieurs publics (man. 673, fol. 381 r°, 456 v°,

man. 595 A, tom. II., f. 103 v°, 146 v°, 248 v°). Nous les voyons dans une circon-

stance, chargés de parcourir la ville durant la nuit, et de faire entendre, à haute

voix, une défense adressée à tous les habitants de sortir de leurs maisons avant le

jour (m. 595 A. t. II., f. 14). C'étaient eux, qui lorsqu'un traité de paix avait été

signé, en proclamaient l'annonce dans tous les quartiers de la capitale. . .

D'après ces fonctions que remplissaient les Maschaëlis, et qui sont complètement analogues à celles qu'exercent encore aujourd'hui dans l'Orient les Bohémiens, j'avais toujours pensé que les deux noms désignaient une seule et même classe d'individus.’

After a discursus on the word **مشعل** (*mash'al*) from which they are named, proving that it is a ‘sorte de réchaud, auquel on adapte un long manche, et que l'on emplit de bois résineux, pour servir à l'éclairage public,’ which also serves at times as an instrument of torture, being heated and clapped on the criminal's head, he states that the Gypsies of Turkey still use it, and that it forms their particular attribute. In addition to its public use they have converted it to a private use as a bird-trap. From it he thinks the term ‘nawar’ may be applied to them, since it is the plural of **نور** (*nûr*) which means ‘light, fire.’ He next

suggests that the chief executioner (*sayyâf*, or **جلاّد** *jallâd*) at the court of each of the Khalifs was a Gypsy : and continues :—‘D'un autre côté, il existait en Égypte, à l'époque de la dynastie des Fathimites, une race d'hommes appelés *Rémadis* **رماديس**, qui montraient les mêmes goûts, les mêmes inclinations, que l'on observe chez les Bohémiens. Nous apprenons de l'historien des Patriarches d'Alexandrie que, dans une circonstance, les Rémadis avaient volé les poutres qui formaient la charpente d'une église du Caire (manuscrit arabe, 140, page 92). Pendant une fête, qui eut lieu dans cette capitale, les Rémadis, au rapport de Makrizi (*Description de l'Égypte*, tome 1, man. 797, fol. 164 v°), parcouraient les rues de la ville, montrant des figures, des ombres chinoises, faisant toutes sortes de boufonneries et de récits grotesques, qui réjouissaient extrêmement la multitude, et même les hommes élevés en dignité. Comme, parmi les tribus

arabes, je n'en trouve aucune qui ait porté le nom de Rémadis رماديس, comme, d'ailleurs, le métier de bateleur est un de ceux que les Bohémiens exercent, dans l'Orient, d'une manière exclusive, on peut, si je ne me trompe, regarder les Rémadis comme faisant partie de ce singulier peuple. Aujourd'hui, encore, au Caire, les Rémadis font le métier de chiffonniers.

'Les Almés, ou danseuses publiques, sont encore, aujourd'hui, des Bohémiennes. Je crois donc pouvoir présumer que cette joueuse de tymbales, si célèbre, dont parle Makrizi, et qui avait donné son nom à un terrain voisin du Caire, appartenait à la même nation.'

As the Mamluk dynasty began to reign about the middle of the seventh century one would be glad to recognise the presence of Gypsies in Egypt so early. But, I fear, more evidence is required than mere identity of trade before it can be accepted as proof. Jugglers must have juggled and dancers danced, streets must have been swept, proclamations proclaimed and heads cut off, thousands of years before the Gypsies ever set foot in Egypt : and doubtless, the professors of those mean trades formed a single class, in accordance with the caste system of the east. But that does not prove that that class was formed of Gypsies, especially as the Gypsies everywhere have adopted and not infrequently monopolised trades which must have existed prior to their advent.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

4 April 1910.

17.—A SWISS CHRONICLER ON THE 1418 BAND

Though the sixteenth century accounts, on which Bataillard chiefly relied for his information about the band of Gypsies who visited Switzerland in 1418, are losing their value now that the city chronicles, from which they were drawn, are gradually being printed, I venture to quote one which was unknown to Bataillard and other researchers. Its author was Heinrich Brennwald who lived from 1478 to 1551 A.D., and wrote a *Schweizerchronik*. He was father-in-law to Stumpf, the earliest of Bataillard's authorities for the Swiss visit except Justinger ; and since Stumpf is known to have used Brennwald's chronicle it seems probable that his account of the visit, which very closely resembles Brennwald's, was mainly drawn from that here given.

'Anno domini 1418, diser zit kam gar ein seltsam volk gen Zürich, derglich domals in disen landen nüt me gesehen war. Die wurdent uf 14,000 geschetzt : wib, man und kind. Die leitend sich vor der stat uf den platz ; da belibend si 6 tag ; si sprachend, si werind us kleinen Egipten und von Igritz, mifstend also 7 jar im ellend um ziehen und bliss würken. Si hielten christenliche ordnung, trugend vil gold und silber, aber arme kleider. Und als dise 7 jar verschinend, ffrend si wider heim in ir land. Dis volk ward von den iren mit gelt verleit, das si an keinen dingen mangel hetind, bezaltend, was si geassend und trunkend. Aber demnach het sich aber ein lumbenvolk zusammen geschlagen, züchend im land um, sprechend, wie si vor dem soldan nüt mogind über mer kommen, stelend, was inen werden mag und tünd der welt gar grossen schaden. Diser aller ist nie keiner in Egipten kommen. Das sin die Ziginer, und werind all zum mindsten henkens wert.'¹ The six days' halt and the statements about Little Egypt and Igritz, the seven years' pilgrimage, their Christian behaviour, their wealth and their poor clothes, are all borrowed from the *Chronik der Stadt Zürich*.² But Brennwald may be the first to give the number 14,000 and to distinguish between this band and all later comers. Unfortunately one cannot be certain until all the earlier sources are made available : and there are still some which have not been used by Gypsylorists.

¹ Heinrich Brennwalds *Schweizerchronik*, herausgegeben von Rudolf Luginbühl (Band i. of the *Neue Folge of Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*. Abteilung i. : Chroniken, Basel 1908) Bd. i., pp. 495-6.

² J.G.L.S., New Series, iii. 79.

For example the editor of Brennwald refers among other authorities to Ruppert, *Chroniken der Stadt Konstanz*, S. 174 (1430). It is to be hoped that some other member will publish the passage, to which I have not access, especially as no visit to Konstanz in 1430 seems to be known.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

18.—THE FATE OF KASIM PASHA

Soon after my return to Constantinople I visited Kasim Pasha, the village I mentioned on p. 182 of vol. iii. of this journal. Alas! the young Turks had broken down the houses—*phaglē kerdē e kherā*—and the colony has been dispersed. It was as though they were nomads and had decamped! All the tin huts had disappeared. It was quite uncanny—like a dream! A whole village of several thousands gone!

I inquired of a passing Turk the cause, for I could see nothing of the *gav* I had known—nothing but a clean white field of snow. He volunteered to show me where a few families still live there. I followed him, and soon dark forms stood round me in the snow. Suddenly I heard a shout, and the crowd which had now gathered made way to let pass my friend of seven months before, him who treated me to wine and cheese on the heap of refuse. He was out of breath with running, but he seized my hand and shouted, ‘May God give you health! We are brothers! How are you? Well? May God give you health, my brother!’ He then took me into a restaurant and gave me coffee. Afterwards we adjourned to another and I stood him wine, and he introduced me to a friend of his, a Christian or Greek Gypsy, who had lately returned from Rumania, and brought with him a Rumanian wife of *pâš-rat* ancestry, who had been learning Romani for two months, and spoke it fairly well.

My old friend, who is a *xoraxai*, but ‘as clever as a Christian,’ proposed that I should accompany him home, which I accordingly did. His hut was of wood and tin, very miserable and draughty and wet. But he caused rugs and carpets to be spread out, and taking off my Russian goloshes I made myself comfortable in front of a glowing basket of charcoal. His young wife is very beautiful, and was nursing a pale-looking child, a *čhei*, *ta oi sa rovelas, rovelas*. The parents were both darker than the child, but the mother looked as pure as a Madonna. My friend called in his young sister, a rather developed *čhei* of about twelve or thirteen years, dressed in red bloomers and red bodice, with a yellow (the orthodox Romany yellow) *dikhlo* on her head.

The Christian *Rom* above-mentioned played the *gavalji* (a species of hautbois), and another the *darilja*, which consists of two little drums struck with wooden spoons. Another girl was brought in, also gaudily dressed, and the two began to dance, all the assisting crowd clapping their hands in unison. More wine was brought, and two glasses were handed to the girls, who gulped them down, and began to dance more furiously than ever. The dance was a variety of the usual Turkish *danse du ventre*—more than usually lascivious. After a time, when the movements were at their height, the two *čheia* threw themselves on their knees in front of me, and continued to dance with the upper part of their bodies and arms and fingers, at the same time thrusting their faces nearer and nearer mine, and using their black eyes with great effect. I then did what was expected of me: I took pieces of money, and licking them, stuck them on the foreheads of the girls, who immediately got up, and handed the money to the pipe-player as soon as it showed signs of becoming loose.

When I left it was getting dark. A crowd of children begged for money, but my host got rid of them, and accompanied me some way home.

The linguistic results of the afternoon are:—

(1.) This colony speaks, as I have said already, the nomad dialect:—*kerdōm, in* for *na, ninai* for *nanai, in dikhłóm* ‘I have not seen,’ etc.

(2.) I suspect that Paspati failed to notice the aspirated consonants *kh*, *ph*, *ch*, *th*, because they do not exist in his native Greek. They are as developed here as in Sofia—*chei*, *phut*, *kher*, etc.

(3.) For 'tell fortunes' they use *darikeráv*!!! According to Miklosich it first appears in Germany, I believe. Can it be, as Pott suggests (i. 440), *dür-kerav*, the *t* being the same as in *čumidav*?

(4.) When drinking, the formula for wishing health appears to be '*Sastipé te del tut o Del*'!

BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH.

19.—ROMANY COSTUME OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It is strange that though Borrow several times gives full descriptions of the dress of Gypsy men, he never, so far as I can remember, describes that of his feminine friends. Certainly, on the occasion of his first meeting with the Gypsies he mentions the only garments that Jasper's mother happened to be wearing, a scanty bodice and a petticoat: but that would seem to be rather an undress than a dress costume. Jasper's finery at his visit of ceremony to Borrow and Isobel in the dingle is carefully described: but of his wife we learn only that she 'was also arrayed very much in the Roman fashion.' Her hair was braided, and she wore earrings and a necklace—not a very liberal allowance of raiment according to any fashion.

That a Gypsy woman's costume at the time did not usually consist of a petticoat or an earring is shown by the more satisfactory description given by Howitt in his *Rural Life in England* (London 1838, p. 243):—

'Their costume is unique, and pretty uniform,—scarlet cloaks, black velvet bonnets with large wide pokes trimmed with lace; a handkerchief thrown over the head under the bonnet, and tied beneath the chin; long pendant earrings, black stockings, and ankle-boots.'¹

In the same chapter Howitt notices the death of a Gypsy king in the summer of 1835 in Bestwood Park, Notts. He was conveyed to Eastwood, and his relatives wished him to be buried in the church like most of his ancestors; but they had to be contented with the churchyard.² He mentions the Lovell, Boswell, and Kemp gangs as those which chiefly frequented the midland counties. Is there a Gypsy family of the name of Kemp? I cannot find any traces of them. Or has he confused other travellers with Gypsies? At Carlton, Suffolk, 'William Kemp, a travelling man,' was buried on Sept. 21, 1726: and there are still travellers and showmen of that name, since one of them, hailing from Birmingham, had a stall in St. Giles' fair at Oxford last September, and afterwards enfolded me in a beery embrace when he met me again in Stratford mop. But neither he nor his wife showed any signs of or laid any claims to Romany blood. Still William Kemp, the harlequin and comedian, danced a morris from London to Norwich in 1599, and morris dancing was frequently performed by Gypsies in olden days.³ William was a member of the same troupe of actors as Shakespeare, and was accused of amplifying the parts assigned to him. Is it possible that he was a Gypsy, and that we owe the few apparently Romani words which have been noticed in Shakespeare's works to him?

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ See also Townsend's description quoted in *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 125.

² See Groome, *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 117, for the burial of two Boswells there in that very year. But neither of them was buried in the summer.

³ Cf. *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 80.

NEW SERIES

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

OCTOBER 1910

VOL. IV

NO. 2

: CONTENTS :

ARTICLES BY

- Dr. Henri Bourgeois
Bernard Gilliat-Smith
Dr. A. Kluyver
Geheimrat Prof. E. Kuhn
Prof. R. A. S. Macalister
Prof. Leo Wiener
Reviews
Notes and Queries

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. FRANZ NIKOLAUS FINCK. Von Geheimrat Professor Dr. ERNST KUHN	81
II. ISMAELITES. By Professor LEO WIENER	83
III. NURI STORIES (<i>Continued</i>). Collected by Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	100
IV. TEXTES EN ROMANI RUSSE. Translittérés et traduits d'après le <i>Tsyganski Yasyk</i> de P. ISTOMIN [K. P. PATKANOV]. Par M. le Docteur HENRI BOURGOEOIS	121
V. UN GLOSSAIRE TSIGANE DU SEIZIÈME SIECLE. Par M. le Docteur A. KLUYVER	131
VI. A THIRD BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE. O ČOR. Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH	142
REVIEWS	151
NOTES AND QUERIES	155

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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began with the number of July 1888 and ended with that of April 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several copies of Vol. III. at the original cost of £1, and also most of the numbers of Vols. I. and II. at the original cost of 5s. for each number.

The New Series of the Journal began with the number of July 1907, four numbers and a supplementary index-number making a volume. Three such volumes have been issued, those of 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1909-10. A limited number of copies can still be obtained at the subscription price of £1 for each volume, but they are sold only to members of the Gypsy Lore Society, and not to the general public. Single parts cannot always be supplied; when copies are available for sale to members the price is 5s. each, with the exception of the index-number of Vol. I., for which only 2s. 6d. is charged.



Photo by ERWIN RAUPP, Berlin.

F.N. Finck.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. IV

OCTOBER 1910

No. 2

I.—FRANZ NIKOLAUS FINCK.

Von ERNST KUHN.

MIT Franz Nikolaus Finck, gestorben zu Berlin am 6. Mai 1910, ist wieder einer der wenigen deutschen Gelehrten, welche sich in neuerer Zeit mit dem Zigeunerischen gründlicher beschäftigt haben, von uns geschieden.

Geboren am 26. Juni 1867 zu Krefeld als Sohn eines Fabrikbesitzers hatte Finck sich anfänglich dem Militärstande gewidmet, war dann zu linguistischen Studien übergegangen und hat im J. 1894 den Doctorgrad erworben. Nachdem er sich in Irland praktisch mit dem Neuirischen bekannt gemacht, habilitierte er sich 1896 in Marburg, um nach einem längeren Aufenthalt in Transkaukasien 1903 als Privatdocent für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft nach Berlin überzusiedeln, wo er im J. 1909 zum außerordentlichen Professor ernannt wurde. Vielseitig interessiert und mit einem seltenen Sprachtalent ausgestattet hat er in einer ansehnlichen Reihe von Schriften in erster Linie das Studium des Keltischen und namentlich des Armenischen erheblich gefördert, daneben aber auch dem Baltisch-Slavischen, Georgischen, Polynesischen, Grönlandischen, den Bantusprachen und den Problemen der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft seine Aufmerksamkeit zugewandt.

Dem Zigeunerischen ist Finck gegen den Schluss seiner
VOL. IV.—NO. II.

F

Studienzeit in Marburg näher getreten, indem er 'jede Gelegenheit mit Zigeunern in Verkehr zu treten ausgenutzt hat'—mit welchem Erfolge, das zeigen schon die dankenswerten Ergänzungen, die er zu R. von Sowa's Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner in einer Recension im Anzeiger der Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum 43 (1899), 331-5 veröffentlicht hat. Es folgte das Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner (Marburg, 1903). Der Vorzug dieser Schrift besteht darin, dass sich in ihr die Beobachtungen eines phonetisch wie grammatisch geschulten Gelehrten mit der lebendigen Praxis auf das innigste verbinden. So bietet sie in der vielleicht ein wenig zu abstract gehaltenen Grammatik wie in Texten und Glossar ein absolut treues Bild der wirklichen Sprache, wie es frühere Darsteller nicht zu geben vermochten. Eine kleine Ergänzung zu den Texten gewähren die: Zwei Lieder der deutschen Zigeuner, die Finck in den Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademie 1906, p. 544-8 mitgeteilt hat.¹

Über Finck's Arbeiten das armenische Zigeunerisch betreffend² habe ich mich in diesem Journal (New Series) 2, 67-74 des näheren ausgesprochen. Zur Bearbeitung der ausschliesslich Armeniern zu verdankenden Materialien war in Anbetracht der sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten Finck wie kein anderer geeignet und er hat sie mit seiner üblichen Sorgfalt vollzogen. Seinen Versuch, das armenische Zigeunerisch scharf vom europäischen zu trennen und ihm eine Sonderstellung anzugeben, glaubte ich freilich zurückweisen zu müssen und ich denke, dass namentlich auch eine genauere Untersuchung der neuerlich bekannt gewordenen syrisch-zigeunerischen Sprachproben im wesentlichen die Richtigkeit meines Standpunktes ergeben, anderseits aber auch das, was an jener Ansicht immerhin zutrifft, deutlicher wird erscheinen lassen. Die in Haupt's Kataloge veröffentlichte Abhandlung verdient wegen der lehrreichen Vergleichungen mit dem Prākrit besonders hervorgehoben zu werden. Dazu kommt noch der kurze Bericht

¹ Von dem Liede: *ai bāro dēwel ho me kerdóm u.s.w.* ist auch bei den württembergischen Zigeunern, wie ich von Engelbert Wittich erfahre, nur mehr die eine von Pischel und Finck gleichmässig gegebene Aufangsstrophe bekannt—ein charakteristischer Fall für das Hinschwinden der alten Überlieferungen.

² Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner in den Mémoires de l'Académie de St.-Pétersbourg, Classe historico-philologique, 8^e Série, T. 8, No. 5 (1907).—Vgl.: Die Stellung des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen im Kreise der verwandten Mundarten in dem Antiquariats-Kataloge von R. Haupt in Halle No. 9 (1905), 3-15 und: Die Grundzüge des armenisch-zigeunerischen Sprachbaus in diesem Journal (New Series) 1, 34-60.

über einen Vortrag Finck's in der Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 18, 127 f., in dem die Bemerkung zu beachten ist, welche die armenischen Lehnwörter auch des europäischen Zigeunerisch der Zeit vor dem 11. Jahrhundert vindiciert.

An zwei wichtige Aufgaben, die seiner warteten, hat Finck nicht mehr herantreten können: die Darstellung der Zigeunerdialekte für den Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und die Revision der Frenckelschen Übersetzungen aus dem Neuen Testament im Auftrage des Missionsbundes für Südost-Europa. Möchten beide Bearbeiter finden, die Finck seines wissenschaftlichen Erbes nicht für unwürdig gehalten hätte.

II.—ISMAELITES¹

By LEO WIENER

IN his Ethnography of Hungary, Hunfalvy has a chapter on the Ismaelites,² which runs as follows:—

In Hungary there lived, under the very first Arpád kings, not only Christians, but also Mohammedans and Jews. Of the Jews we shall speak later in another place—this race is still to be found in the country and is of great importance there; of the Mohammedans we must speak now, because they are no longer to be found as a considerable part of the population.

The Mohammedans were called *Ismaelites*. The first mention of them is made under Ladislaus I.: they were merchants, whom the Hungarians wished to convert to Christianity. Article ix. of Ladislaus' law of the year 1092 reads as follows: 'The merchants, who are called Ismaelites, are to be removed from their abodes and transported to other villages, if after their baptism they return to their ancient customs; but those whom the courts find not guilty may remain in their old abodes.' It is hard to tell what the law intended by this transportation and what kind of a punishment it was supposed to be; so much is certain—the Ismaelites were to be converted. The same was had in mind by the injunctions of Koloman, which betray an even greater intolerance. 'If an Ismaelite is caught eating meat during fast, even though it be pork, or washing himself after the Ismaelite custom, or carrying out other Ismaelite usages, he is to be sent to the King, and the accuser gets his reward from the property of the accused person.'—'We order each Ismaelite village to build a church and provide it with everything necessary. As soon as the church is built, one half of the inhabitants of the Ismaelite village are to emigrate and settle in another place, but the remaining half must live in the same laws and in the same Church of Christ with us.' Here, too, the purpose of the emigration is dark, but obviously it was intended as a punishment. Again, the conversion is to be attained by force. 'An Ismaelite

¹ While searching for medieval lore I have come across several important gynsiological facts, which I communicate, in spite of my previously expressed inability to devote myself especially to such investigation.

² Paul Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, Budapest, 1877, p. 218 et seq.

must not marry his daughter to a member of his tribe, but only to a member of our (*i.e.* Magyar) tribe.' 'When an Ismaelite has guests or invites one to be his guest, they must eat nothing but pork.' Since the accuser was rewarded, one can imagine to what annoyances the Ismaelites were subjected.

To what race did the Ismaelites belong? We know that the Magyars had in their former seat been neighbours of the Volga Bulgarians, and that these Bulgarians were Mohammedans by religion. It also must be remembered that the Magyars had been neighbours of the Khazars and that in their early seat a tribe of the Khazars, the Kabars, had united with them. Now the Khazars partly confessed the Mosaic and partly the Mohammedan faith. Therefore it is very likely that the Mohammedans or Ismaelites of Ladislaus and Koloman were partly Bulgarians and partly Khazars, and at the same time we learn from the above laws that some of these Mohammedans devoted themselves to commerce, while others attended to agriculture in the Ismaelite villages.

The end of these laws, namely the conversion of the Ismaelites, was not attained. A hundred years later we find them in Hungary, partly as merchants, partly as agriculturists, and the Hungarian Ismaelites attend the schools of their co-religionists in Asia.

When an Arabian author, Yakut, was sojourning in Aleppo, in 1220, 'I saw,' he said, 'a great crowd of Bashkirs, whose hair and face was very brown and who belonged to the sect of Abu-Hanifa. I addressed one of them and asked him about his country and manner of life. He answered as follows: "Our country is beyond Constantinople, in the land of a nation which lives among the Franks and calls itself Hungary. Although we are Moslems, we obey their King. We live at the border of this country in about thirty villages, of which each is of the size of a small town. But the King of Hungary does not allow us to surround them with stone walls, because he is afraid we might rise against him. We are surrounded by Christians on all sides. We speak the language of the Magyars, dress like them, serve in their armies and fight with them against all their enemies." Upon being asked how the Bashkirs could have accepted Islamism among the Christians, he answered: "I have heard from several of our old men that anciently seven Moslems came to us from Bulgaria and settled among us. They taught us the falseness of our religion and showed us the straight, true road of Islam. By the grace of God our hearts were opened and we all became Moslems. We come here to learn the laws of God. As soon as we return to our home, we shall be received with honours and shall be intrusted with the affairs of faith." I asked him also why they cut their beards in Frankish fashion, to which he replied: "Those who among us bear arms, cut their beards and dress in Frankish manner, but not so the rest."'

The Arabian author calls the Hungarian Ismaelites Bashkirs and properly distinguishes them from Hungarians or Magyars. But from that oral tradition that seven Bulgarian men converted the Hungarian Bashkirs to Islamism it follows that the Bashkirs, like the Chuvashes, had then been subject to the rule of the mighty Volga Bulgarians, and, as by the testimony of the language, we had included the Chuvashes among the ancient Khazars, so we may, from Yakut's statement, count the Magyar Bashkirs as belonging to the same nation, and consider them as remnants of the Khazars. Thus the Hungarian Moslems (Ismaelites, Mohammedans) of the thirteenth century were descendants of the original Bulgarians and Khazars, who by degrees united with the Magyar people.¹ Moslem merchants may, like the Jews, have passed through Hungary later and may have

¹ 'It is supposed that the Bashkirs are Turkish Finns. Strahlmann thought so because they were blonds; Pallas, however, considers them brown. Ahlqvist, too, found that only those who did not know the Bashkirs could consider them as Tatarized Finns. Their Language does not differ from the Tatar, for they under-

settled there, but agriculturists who filled whole villages or small towns could have originated only from the older, more numerous settlers.

What the *Anonymus* says of the Bulgarian leaders Bila, Bocsu and Heten, who during the reign of Grand Duke Taksony had come from the country of the Bulgars (*de terra Bular*) with a large retinue and had settled at Pest, may contain some recollection of the Volga Bulgarians. However, the account of the *Anonymus* obviously refers to a new Bulgarian immigration from beyond the southern Danube, which took place in the time of Saint Stephen, when the Greeks had broken the might of the Bulgarians. Perhaps the Heten of the *Anonymus* coincides with those seven (Magyar *hét*) men who, according to the account of the Hungarian Ismaelite in Aleppo, had long ago converted their ancestors to Islam. But that the *Anonymus* really puts the Bulgarians, who later emigrated from beyond the Danube, in the time of Taksony, is clearly proved by their settlement *Pest*, which is a Slavic word and means 'brick oven,' and is equal to German *Ofen*. The Bulgarians settled there were therefore of Slavic origin, and so could have come only from beyond the Danube, and not from the Kingdom of the Volga Bulgarians.

Since the Ismaelites were partly merchants and partly agriculturists, it is highly probable that among the merchants were found Mohammedans of other nationalities. Capital is ever in motion, and the capitalist always goes wherever he can earn most. The very stringent laws of King Ladislaus and King Koloman had not succeeded, as we have seen, in destroying the agricultural Ismaelites in the first half of the thirteenth century. Much less easily could they interfere with the commerce and the enrichment of the Ismaelites. In some ways they accommodated themselves to Christian usages. Thus, for example, the Ismaelites of Nyir invoked the ordeal of the hot iron at Grosswardein.¹

Just as nowadays attacks are made on the Jewish capitalists, so in the days of Andrew II. they arose against the Ismaelite and Jewish moneyed men.

In the year 1232 King Andrew swore in the Forest of Bereg, anent the reformation of the country, that in future he would employ neither a Jew nor an Ismaelite or a Saracen (*weder einen Juden noch einen Ismaeliten oder Sarazenen*) as representatives of offices of the chancery, finance, salt monopoly or taxation, nor would he ally them with other representatives, and that he would offer a public office to no Jew, nor Ismaelite or Saracen. He, on the contrary, pledged himself to distinguish them externally by special signs from the Christians. Nor would he suffer that a Jew, Ismaelite or Saracen, should take or keep a Christian servant, and just as little would he allow marriages between Christians and Jews, Ismaelites or Saracens. As a guarantee of strict adherence to his vow, the King would appoint a zealous Christian magnate, who at the request of the bishop in

stand one another very well; the Chuvashes, on the contrary, do not understand the Tatars, and vice versa. The Bashkirs now live between the Volga and the Ural, that is, on the left bank of the Volga, in the former seats of the Pechenegs and Utzes (Cumanians), while the Chuvashes occupy the right bank of the Volga under the same geographical latitude.'

¹ 'The *Regestrum de Várad*, 1201-1235 renders the 38. judicial sentence as follows: "The Nyir Ismaelites, Elias and Peter, come before Judge and Ispan Bank and Herald Bola and, basing their claims on the testimony of others, accuse John, Kosta, and Miko, denizens of the village of Salamon, of theft. The latter were burnt by iron (*predicti Joannes, Kosta et Mikon combusti sunt*), i.e., they were guilty." The 41. sentence runs: "The Nyir Ismaelites, Elias and Pentek, come before Judge and Ispan Bank and Herald Bola and, also basing their claims on the testimony of others, accuse the subjects of the village Ispan Martin of Vámos (follow ten names) of theft. Egidius and Benedict took the iron for themselves and for others and were freed." Egidius took it for the accused inhabitants of Vámos, and Benedict for those of Tapolcza.'

whose district Jews, Pagans, or Ismaelites were living, would make an inquest and would take away the Christian slaves and wives from them and would punish them by confiscating their property, while the King would condemn them to slavery.

It was probably less this royal vow and the new regulation against them based upon it than the changed conditions of the land, in consequence of the Mongolian invasion, that destroyed the existence of the Ismaelites, for under Bela IV. and his descendants there is no further mention of them. The merchants no doubt disappeared together with the Mongol flood; but the agricultural Ismaelites, who could not emigrate so easily, very likely accepted Christianity together with the newly arrived Pechenegs and Cumans, and thus were merged in the Magyars like the Cumans.

This account of the Ismaelites is full of inaccuracies, due to Hunfalvy's misconception of the original texts. I shall, therefore, give the Latin version of all the passages quoted or referred to by him, before passing to the criticism of Hunfalvy's chapter.

IX.—*De negotiatoribus quos Ismaelitas appellant.* *De negotiatoribus quos appellant Ismaelitas, si post baptismum ad legem suam antiquam inuenti fuerint rediuisse, a sedibus suis separati ad alias villas transferantur. illi uero qui inculpabiles per iudicium apparuerunt, in propriis sedibus remaneant.* *S. Ladislai regis decretum I., anno 1092,* in S. L. Endlicher, *Rerum hungaricarum monumenta arpadiana*, Sangalli, 1849, pp. 327-28, and in H. Marczali, *Enchiridion fontium historiae Hungarorum*, Budapestini, 1902, p. 88.

(46) Si quis Ismaelitas in ieunio seu comedione porcine quoque carnis uescencia, uel in ablucione aut in quolibet sue secte facinore deprehenderit, Ismalite regi deputentur. qui uero eos accusabat, de substancia eorum partem accipiat.

(47) Unicuique uille Ismaelitarum ecclesiam edificare, de eademque villa dotem dare precipimus. que postquam edificata fuerit, media pars uille Ismaelitarum uillam emigret, sicut altrinsecus sedeant, et quasi unius moris in domo, nunc nobiscum in una eademque ecclesia Christi in diuina unanimiter consistant.

(48) Ismaelitarum uero nullus audeat filiam suam iungere matrimonio alicuius de gente sua, sed nostra.

(49) Si quis Ismaelitarum hospites habuerit, uel aliquem in conuiuio erogauerit, tam ipse quam coniue eius de porcina tantum carne uescantur. *Decretum Colomanni regis ab Albrico compilatum* (about the year 1100), in Endlicher, l.c., p. 366, and Marczali, l.c., p. 108-109.

(24) Comites camerarii monetarum, salinarii et tributarii, nobiles regni nostri sint: ismaelite et iudei fieri non possint.¹ *Andree II. regis decretum I.*, 1222, in Endlicher, l.c., p. 415.

XXXI.—Monete et salibus ac aliis publicis officiis Iudei et Saraceni non preficiantur. *Andree II. regis decretum II.*, 1231, Endlicher, l.c., p. 432; also Marczali, l.c., p. 141.

(1) Iudeos, Sarracenos siue Ismaelitas de cetero non preficiemus nostre camere, monete, salibus, collectis uel aliquibus publicis officiis, nec associabimus eos prefectis, nec in fraudem aliquid faciemus, propter quod ab ipsis possint opprimi Christiani.

(2) Item nec permittemus in toto regno nostro Iudeos, Sarracenos uel Ismaelitas prefici alicui publico officio.

¹ Comites Camere, Monetarij, Salinarij, et Tributarrii, nobiles Regni (sint), Hysmehelite et Judei fieri non possint. Marczali, l.c., p. 141.

(3) Item faciemus, quod Iudei, Sarraceni seu Ismaélite, de cetero certis signis distinguantur et discernantur a Christianis.

(4) Item non permittemus Iudeos, Sarracenos siue Ismaélitas mancipia christiana emere, uel habere quocunque modo.

(5) Et promittimus per nos et successores nostros constituere singulis annis et dare Palatinum, uel alium de iobbagionibus nostris, quem uoluerimus, fidei christiane zelatorum, quem faciemus iurare, quod mandatum nostrum secundum ista fideliter adimplebit ad petitionem episcopi, in cuius diecesi sunt, uel erunt Iudei, pagani, uel Ismaélite ut Christianos extrahant a dominio¹ et coabitacione Sarracenorum: et, si qui inuenti fuerint contra hec Christiani cohabitantes Sarracenis, uel Sarraceni mancipia christiana habentes, item Christiani Sarracenorum uel Sarraceni Christianorum quomodocumque mulieribus copulati siue ab specie matrimonii, siue alio modo, bonorum omnium publicacione tam Christiani, quam Iudei, uel pagani multentur, et nihilominus in seruitutem Christianorum per regem perpetuo deputentur. *Andree II. regis iuramentum de reformando regno in silva Bereg præstitum*, 1232, in Endlicher, l.c., pp. 436-37.

(38) Ismaélite de Nyr, Elias et Peter, coadiuantibus aliis, impeciere Ioannem Costam, et Mikoum de villa Salomonis de latrocinio, iudice Bank comite, pristaldo Bola. predicti Joannes, Costa et Mikon combusti sunt.

(41) Ismaélite de Nyr, Iliaz et Pentek, coadiuantibus aliis, impeciere iobagiones Martini comitis de villa Uamus, de latrocinio, scilicet Egud, etc. . . . pro iis omnibus Egud et Benedictus, pro se ipsis et aliis portato ferro, iustificati sunt. iudice Bank, pristaldo Bola. *Regestrum de Varad*, 1201-1235, in Endlicher, l.c., pp. 649-50.

Hunfalvy makes Mohammedans of the Ismaelites, though there is not a single reference to this in the passages quoted. All we know is that they were not Christians, but if we are to take the statement in the law seriously, 'if an Ismaelite is caught eating meat during fast, even though it be pork,' they could not have been Mohammedans, because as such it would never have occurred to them to eat pork on any day. Nor is the supposition correct that 'they (the Mohammedans, or Ismaelites) were merchants.' What the law of 1092 says is this: The *negociatores*, whom people call Ismaelites, are to be removed, etc. The *negociatores* are those who are legislated against, and 'whom people call Ismaelites,' is merely in apposition to *negociatores*, to explain the popular name *Ismaelites*. Now, in the early Middle Ages a *negociator* was not exactly a merchant. This term included tradesmen, pedlars, artisans; and a peasant bringing the surplus of his field to market was also denominated a *negociator*. It is hard to understand what misgivings the author had about the removal of the Ismaelites to other villages: the punishment consisted in tearing them away from their surroundings, and the Government's purpose was to bring them into contact with Christian surroundings, as is evidenced by Koloman's law of sending half the village away, after the villagers have built a church.

Proceeding from the conviction that the Ismaelites were Mohammedans, Hunfalvy goes on to identify them with the Khazars and Bulgarians—an entirely gratuitous assumption, which is based on no fact whatsoever, and still more amazing is the statement that 'some of the Mohammedans devoted themselves to commerce, while others attended to agriculture in the Ismaelite villages.' The only explanation for this assumption is that they lived in villages. We are told that they were *negociatores*, but nowhere is any reference made to their agricultural pursuits. On the contrary, we have the negative inference that they were not farmers. If the Government was to punish them by transferring them to other villages, their connection with the soil must have been of the very feeblest. There would hardly have been any punishment in being transplanted to new, unoccupied land, whereas the Government would have been put to great inconveniences in settling an agricultural element in a village that was already occupied by farmers. It is, in all likelihood, this difficulty that made the author ask in perplexity what punishment there could have been in transferring them to unoccupied land. Consequently the further declaration that 'the laws of King Ladislaus and King Koloman had not succeeded in destroying the agricultural Ismaelites in the first half of the thirteenth century,' is without foundation, as there were no agriculturists to destroy. There were Ismaelites in the village of Nyir who appealed to the law, and the fact that they did so at a time public feeling ran so high against Jews and Saracens (*or* Ismaelites!) that the King had to promise to enforce all kinds of restrictions against them, indicates that the Ismaelites were the least offensive of the foreigners and that they, in all probability, were not Mohammedans.

The Bashkir story must be taken with a grain of salt. There are so many contradictions in it that no deductions whatsoever can be made from it. The original of the story is not accessible to me, and so I shall base my argument on Hunfalvy's translation. If the foreigners who in Yakut saw in Aleppo were Bashkirs, they correctly stated that they spoke the language of the Magyars, as it is generally assumed¹ that the Bashkirs and the Magyars were one and the same originally. In the thirteenth century the Bashkir country in eastern Russia was called Great Hungary by

¹ I base my statements on the excellent article in the *Enciklopedičeski slovar'*, sub *Baskiry*, q.v.

the travellers, and Yakut may have had in mind that country rather than Hungary. The Bashkirs in Russia were converted to Islamism in 1313, but Mohammedanism had penetrated to them earlier and, as the Volga Bulgarians, their neighbours, had been Mohammedans before them, they probably received their religion from them. The accounts of the Arabian geographers are so full of contradictions and their ethnography is so weak that it is not easy to identify the peoples they mention. They frequently quote from earlier authorities without observing the inapplicability of their statements to events of their own time. In any case, it is very suspicious that there is not another source confirming Yakut's account, and that all Hungarian historians are silent on so important a fact as the presence of Bashkir Mohammedans in their country. But let us suppose that Bashkirs, differing from Magyars, were actually settled in thirty villages on the border of Hungary, what reason have we to see in them the Ismaelites of Ladislaus and Koloman?

Neither can we take the Hungarian accounts of the Ismaelites at their face value. There is a mixture of ideas in them, due to a misconception of facts in the light of religious prejudice. While it was not uncommon to speak indifferently of Ismaelites and Saracens, the latter term was used far more frequently in reference to Mohammedan nations. We have seen from the German Bible paraphrase that the Ismaelites were the merchants who bought Joseph, as is stated already in the Old Testament, and that they were identified with travelling merchants and tinkers, *chalsmide*. There is no reason to see in the Ismaelites of Ladislaus' laws anything but our Gypsies. The terms *negociatores* and *Ismaelitae* fit them perfectly. In my previous article I have pointed out the identity of Karlovingian *mango* with old French *maignen* 'tinker,' and now a confirmation of my deduction is found in a gloss of possibly the ninth century, in which the Mangones are mentioned as a kind of brokers and are vulgarly called *mangani*: '*Mangones lucriones qui in mercatibus faciendis quasi mediatores hinc inde sua lucra conquirunt qui uulgo mangani appellantur.*'¹ This adds another proof to the correctness of the description in the Bible Paraphrase and identifies the *chalsmide* with the *mangones*, *maignens*, 'tinkers.' On the other hand it explains why the *negociatores* were settled in villages—they carried on all kinds of ..

¹ Phillips' Glossary, in *American Journal of Philology*, vol. vi. (1885), p. 452.

petty trades, and, of course, may have risen to greater importance as merchants and tradesmen.

We have such numerous references to sedentary Gypsies, before their attested arrival in 1417, in Hungary and the adjacent countries, that not a shadow of a doubt is left as to their long-continued sojourn there. I can give here only such accounts of them as are obtainable from printed books. The archives of Hungary, Germany, and Italy would unquestionably yield far greater returns.

In Croatia the Gypsies carried on all kinds of trades in the fourteenth century, and we have special references to butchers.

Anno 1397—8 januarii. Zagrabiae. Cives Grechenses, qui manu armata aream capituli invadendo domos canonicorum succenderunt, arcem episcopalem et eccl. cathedralem invaserunt, plures canonicos eorumque consanguineos et familiares verberaverunt, occiderunt etc. per Johannem zagr. episc. excommunicantur.

Among the excommunicated citizens is also :

Nicolaus carnifex, *Cigan* dictus. *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae, metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*, collegit J. B. Tkalčić, Zagrabiae 1889—, vol. i. pp. 378-383 (Doc. 397).

From the Court records of Agram we get a number of litigious Gypsies, like the Ismaelites of Nyir in Hungary :—

Anno 1382—29. aprilis. Item idem Petrus octavo die hoc atestabit, quod consors Pauli [c]arnificis carnes suas potentialiter recepisset, per Mykus, Johannem et Cyganum.—*Ib.*, vol. v. p. 172.

Anno 1382—23. maii. Item *Cygan* contra Gregorium juratum primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 175.

Anno 1382—6. junii. Item causa Gregorii jurati contra *Cygan* ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 177.

Anno 1383—14. aprilis. Item causa Marci Gemze contra *Cygan* ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 194.

Anno 1383—14. augusti. Item causa Petri contra *Cygan* ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 210.

Anno 1385—28. julii. Item causa *Cygan* et Anthonii literati contra Johannem filium Donati ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 246.

Anno 1385—11. augusti. Item causa *Cygan* contra Johannem Donati ad octavum diem ad pacem est prorogata.—*Ib.*, p. 248.

Anno 1385—18. augusti. Item Petrus Scornych octavo die per Dragozlaum, *Cygan* et Loter hoc atestabit, quod ipse Zekyrich non percussisset neque vituperasset.—*Ib.*, p. 250.

Anno 1385—15. Septembbris. Item Johannes filius Donati contra *Cygan* suum juramentum non depositus ut debebat.—*Ib.*, p. 251.

Anno 1386—8. maii. Item *Cygan* contra Endre Syb primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 253.

Anno 1386—15. maii. Item *Cygan* contra Johannem primo citatus non comparuit . . . Item causa *Cygan* et sui famuli contra Gregorium Angeli ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 254.

Anno 1386—29. maii. Item *Cygan* contra Johannem octavo die respondebit . . . Item *Cygan* et Endre Syb contra Gregorium voschar primo citati non comparuerunt.—*Ib.*, p. 255.

Anno 1386—8. junii. Item causa Johannis contra *Cygan* ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 255.

Item *Cygan* contra Endre secundo citatus non comparuit — Item *Cygan* et Endre contra Gregorium citati non comparuerunt.—*Ib.*, p. 256.

Anno 1386—19. junii. Item causa Johannis contra *Cygan* ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta. . . . Item *Cygan* contra Gregorium tertio citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 257.

Anno 1387—30. augusti. Item *Cigan* contra Radozlaum primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 274.

Anno 1387—6. septembri. Item *Cigan* contra Radozlaum secundo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 275.

Anno 1387—25. octobris. Item *Cigan* contra mulierem Luciam primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 279.

Anno 1387—8. novembris. Item *Cigan* contra Luciam mulierem secundario citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, 280.

Anno 1387—29. novembris. Item Matheyko carnifex, *Cigan* et Paulus contra Georgium primo citati non comparuerunt.—*Ib.*, p. 282.

Anno 1387—3. decembris. Item Matheyko, *Cygan* et Paulus carnifices contra Georgium pistorem secundo citati non comparuerunt. Item Dragozlaus, Luka et *Cygan* contra Laurencium secundo citati non comparuerunt.—*Ib.*, p. 283.

Anno 1389—19. martii. Item *Cigan* contra Crauth primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 292.

Anno, 1389—26. martii. Item Dragozlaus, Gyurkek Blanchich, Matheyko, *Cigan* carnifices . . . octavo die testificabunt super quadam terra, quam Vida mulier Paulo Leuak ut dicebant testamentaliter legasset.—*Ib.*, p. 293.

Anno 1389—11. junii. Item *Cigan* usque quindenas Petro medietatem cuiusdam vini solvere debet.—*Ib.*, p. 303.

[End of fourteenth cent.] Item *Cygan* contra Markum prius citatus non comparuit. Item *Cygan* contra Johannem aurifabrum primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 352.

[End of fourteenth cent.] Item *Cygan* contra Marcum filium Blanchich et Johannem aurifabrum octavo die respondebit.—*Ib.*, p. 353.

[End of fourteenth cent.] Item causa *Cigan* carnificis et Johannis et Marci aurifabri est ad pacem recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 356.

Anno 1418—13. maii. Item factum et causam inter Briccium, Jofan et Andream filium Petri de Tornava probi viri taliter ordinarunt, quod item Andreas primo ipsi Briccio tenebitur satisfacere de septem florenis et idem Briccius tenebitur remittere sibi totum jus suum . . . in rebus et bonis ac possessionibus contra condam *Cigan* habitum.—*Ib.*, vol. vi. p. 53.

Anno 1378—8. maii. Item *Nicolaus Cigan* contra Petrum primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, vol. v. p. 127.

Anno 1382—30. maii. Item *Nicolaus Cygan* contra eundem Gregorium secundo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 176.

Anno 1383—17. februarii. Item *Nicolaus Cigan* contra Petrum sartorem octavo die respondebit.—*Ib.*, p. 188.

Anno 1383—27. februarii. Item *Nicolaus Cigan* contra Petrum sartorem secundo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 189.

Anno 1383—3. aprilis. Item *Nicolaus Cigan* contra Marcum primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 192.

Anno 1383—24. julii. Item *Nicolaus Cygan* contra Petrum Kurch secundo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 206.

Anno 1384. Item *Nicolaus carnifex* dictus *Cigan* habuit quatuor dietas terre a Margaretha socru sua et Georgio calcariparo, tempore Laurencii.—*Ib.*, vol. ix. p. 17.

Anno 1387—22. januarii. Item *Nicolaus Cygan* et Benedictus carnifices feria sexta super eo jurabunt, quod ipsis centum et quinquaginta flor. auri propter debitum liberorum Mykech filii Franci in Laybaco recepissent...; et tandem facto ipso juramento Marcus et Margaretha soror sua medietatem dicte pecunie a die depositionis ipsius juramenti usque quindenas solvere debent.—*Ib.*, vol. v. p. 273.

Anno 1390. Item *Cigan* emit unum fundum a socru sua, tempore judicatus dicti Francisci.—*Ib.*, vol. ix. p. 50.

Anno 1392. Item *Nicolaus Cigan* vendidit (h)ortum suum Demetrio Volek, tempore judicatus dicti Johannis.—*Ib.*, p. 60.

Anno 1394. Item dedimus literas expeditorias contra *Cigan* domine Margarethe consorti Johannis filii Pauli condam judicis et Mychaeli ac Leonardo filiis eiusdem, tempore dicti Petri.—*Ib.*, p. 78.

Anno 1399. Item *Chigan* carnifex vendidit fundum suum Georgio filio Endrey de campo zagrabiensi, tempore dicti domini Mikeini.—*Ib.*, p. 107.

Anno 1400. Item domina Petronilla dedit vineam suam *Chigan* carnifici testamentaliter, tempore dicti judicis. Item idem domina Petronilla eidem *Chigan* (legavit) fundum suum tempore dicti judicis.—*Ib.*, p. 115.

Anno 1402. Item *Nicolaus Chigan* vendidit fundum suum Marco filio Churmen de Kraleuch, tempore dicti judicis.—*Ib.*, p. 125.

Anno 1402. Item domina Jelka censors Thome Isan, dedit suam quartam curie *Cigan* carnifici pro quoddam suo fenili cum additamento tredecim flor. auri, tempore predicti domini Johannis judicis. Item *Chigan* carnifex dedit suum fenile cum additamento sedecim flor. auri Jelke consorti Thome Isan pro quadam sua quarta, tempore dicti judicis. . . . Item dedimus de novo literas nostras *Nicolao Chigan* super quodam suo fenili, quia approbavit fore dictas literas concrematas, tempore dicti judicis.—*Ib.*, p. 126.

Anno 1413—28. julii. (Gregorius gener) condam *Nicolai Chyan*.—*Ib.*, vol. vi. p. 10.

Anno 1378—31. augusti. Item Bedicha carnifex per Paulum, Georgium et Mathek atestabit, quod *Nicolaus* carnifex super macellum irruisset et Benedictum carnificem ibidem vulnerasset.—*Ib.*, vol. v. p. 148.

Anno 1382—21. februarii. Item Gregorius frater Damiani contra *Nicolaum* carnificem primo citatus non comparuit. Item idem Damianus contra eundem *Nicolaum* primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 160.

Anno 1382—28. februarii. Item Damianus et Gregorius contra *Nicolaum* carnificem octavo die respondebunt.—*Ib.*, p. 161.

Anno 1382—7. martii. Item causa *Nicolai* carnificis et Gregorii ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta. Item causa eiusdem *Nicolai* contra Damianum ad octavum diem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 164.

Anno 1382—14. martii. Item *Nicolaus* carnifex secundo se octavo die super eo jurabit, quod ipsum Gregorius frater Damiani vulnerasset.—*Ib.*, p. 167.

Anno 1383—17. februarii. Item causa Cosme aurifabri et Paulas contra *Nicolaum* carnificem et Georgium ad octavum diem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 188.

Anno 1383—13 martii. Item causa Petri sartoris contra *Nicolaum* carnificem ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta. . . . Item causa Cosme aurifabri et Paulas contra *Nicolaum* ad octavum diem ad pacem est recepta.—*Ib.*, p. 191.

Anno 1383—14. aprilis. Item Johannes literatus octavo die per Barnabam sacerdotem et Petrum plebanum de sancta Margaretha hoc atestabit, quod ipsum Benedictus et *Nicolaus* carnifices et Stephanus sellator vulnerassent et verberassent.—*Ib.*, p. 194.

Anno 1383—3. julii. Item *Nicolaus* carnifex contra Marcum primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, p. 206.

Anno 1387—29. novembris. Item Dragozlaus, Luca decan, *Nicolaus* carnifex contra Laurencium primo citati non comparuerunt.—*Ib.*, p. 283.

Anno 1387—18. januarii. Item jurati ex parte Mychaelis filii Sebastiani et Marci filii Mykech filiis *Francisci Cigan* et Benedicti justiciam facere promiserunt.—*Ib.*, vol. v. p. 272.

Anno 1443—27. augusti. Martinus servitor *Johannis pellificis dicti Cygan*.—*Ib.*, vol. vi. p. 395.

Anno 1427—27. januarii. Item Friche juratus modernus directam et equalem medietatem fundi, domus et celarii, unam quartam in se continentem, Marco filio Michaelis mercatori Alemano, nostro concivi, et per eum suis heredibus, pro duodecim auri florenis vendidit perpetuo possidendam; cuiusquidem domus in dicta civitate inter domos et curias virorum providorum liberorum condam Pauli Sygeth et *Petri Chikan*, ab una, et parte ab altera domine Agnica mulieris habite, aliam medietatem idem Friche juratus pro se reservasset.—*Ib.*, vol. ix. p. 130.

Anno 1432—2. februarii. Item Marcus mercator filius Michaelis quandam domum suam simul cum fundo et celario subterraneo ac hedificiis in civitate predicta inter domos et curias Petri Horwatyn dicti et alterius *Petri Chikan* dicti.—*Ib.*, p. 236.

Anno 1433—27. januarii. Property similarly located near the property of *Petrus Chikan*.—*Ib.*, p. 247.

Anno 1435—2. februarii. Property similarly located near the property of *Petrus Chikan*.—*Ib.*, p. 288.

Anno 1438—1. februarii. Item quedam domus, fundus et hedifica in dicta civitate inter fundos et domos Thome Konich et Petri Clientis ac Iwan Poyeya habita, medianam curiam et octavam in se continens, discreto viro domino Nicolao presbitero plebano sancti Marci de Spinis, concivi nostro, per vendicionem *Petri Chikan* et Petri Budislai filii est pendenti sigillo communitatis perpetuata et confirmata.—*Ib.*, p. 320.

Anno 1442—14. decembris. Item causa Nicolai judicis nostri moderni inter ipsum et inter Nicolaum judicem ac *Andream Cyganichyn* nec non Georgium dictum Zidarych hodie in judicio presenti motam, per judicem modernum prenotatum motam, judices eiusdem cause ad primum judicium proxime occurrentes prorogarunt.—*Ib.*, vol. vi. p. 376.

Anno 1444—1. februarii. Item Dyonisius institor filius Georgii quandam domum suam ligneam simul cum fundo et celario subterraneo ac hedificiis in civitate predicta inter domos et fundos Iwan agricole dicti Chapysch et Margarethe relicte condam Mathye, ab una parte, ab altera vero Anthonii similiter agricole nostrorum concivium habitam, medianam curiam in se continentem, cum suis pertinenciis *Andree* dicto *Cyganychyn* filio Petri pro viginti duobus flor. auri vendidit perpetuo possidendam et superinde est litera sub pendenti sigillo communitatis emanata.—*Ib.*, vol. x. p. 41.

Anno 1445—27. januarii. Item *Andreas Cyganychyn* filius Petri quandam domum suam cum fundo et celario subterraneo in contigua vicinitate domus et fundi ac celarii subterranei ac hedificiorum Martini judicis, ubi condam domus Gregorii Zuholow prefuerat, unam videlicet quartam curie in se continentem, eidem Martino judici pro undecim flor. auri vendidit perpetuo possidendam et superinde eidem Martino judici est litera sub pendenti sigillo communitatis emanata.—*Ib.*, p. 50.

Anno 1448—5. aprilis. Item *Andreas* dictus *Cyganychyn* contra Iwanum Chaplych primo citatus non comparuit.—*Ib.*, vol. vi. p. 459.

Anno 1468—1. februarii. Aliam medietatem (domus) vendidit dominus *Blasius* presbiter filius *Andree Chyganych*, olim concivis nostri, in persona honorabilis domini Jacobi de Tywer decretorum doctoris, in persona eiusdem eidem inpignoratam, vendidit eidem Stephano pro tribus et media pensis denariorum possidendam.—*Ib.*, vol. x. p. 269.

Anno 1420—5. octobris. Item quia *Martinus Chikan* cum evidenti testimonio convenit quod in defensione sui Gregorium et Andream Cuseuich lesisset, ideo ipsum reddidimus immunem in facto prenotato.—*Ib.*, vol. vi. p. 88.

Anno 1446—26. augusti. Item quamvis *Thomas filius Petri Chykan* nunc habitator ville Dedych vocate, in depredacione et potentia ac in fraude manifestis taliter reppertus est, quomodo ipse unum flor. auri a quadam muliere extranea nomine Ztana de provincia Chasmensi, dominico die proximo ante festum Assumptionis beate semper virginis Marie depredative receperat, eundem flor. auri fraudulenter et deceptorie apud se retinere volens ad calceum suum in pede suo dextro habitum proiecit et abscondit; et licet idem *Thomas* pro huiusmodi suo maleficio juxta contenta privilegii nostri communis dire puniri debuisset, tandem nos misericordia dei moti ac precibus et supplicacionibus plurimorum proborum et honestorum virorum nobis pro eo sepius et instantissime porrectis inclinati, eidem *Thome Chykanych* misericordiam et graciam fecimus specialem, ut ipse *Thomas Chykanych* predicts sua maleficia defleat et eadem non renovet ac hiis similia ulterius non committat, sed se arcus ab hiis et aliis eis similibus aut dissimilibus compescat et restringet, qui si de cetero in aliquibus huiusmodi maleficiis deprehensus fuerit in territorio civitatis, mox juxta demerita suppliciis condignis penes contenta predicti privilegii nostri communis irremissibiliter punietur ipso facto.—*Ib.*, vol. vi. p. 441.

Cygan, Nicolaus Cygan and Nicolaus Carnifex are obviously one and the same person. If it should be surmised that several of the Cygans here mentioned were merely nicknamed Gypsies, this would not change the fact that there were Gypsies in Dalmatia in the fourteenth century. However, it is absurd to assume that so many persons here mentioned were merely called Gypsies, and that, too, in the middle of the fifteenth century when it was not a particular honour so to be named. On the other hand we have an illustration of the natural evolution of the sedentary Gypsies. Andreas Czyganychyn (Servian for 'son of a Gypsy') was apparently the son of Peter Cygan. He was merely named 'a son of a Gypsy,' but his son Blasius, who even took holy orders, was known only as the son of Andreas Czyganychyn. Thomas, who apparently was another son of Peter Cygan, returned to the evil ways of his ancestors, and was caught hiding a gold florin, which he had somehow obtained from a stranger, in the shoe of his right foot.

In the neighbouring Servia Gypsy masters (in horse-shoeing), bridle-makers, all of them bearing Servian names are mentioned as early as 1348. That these *Cīngarije* are really Gypsies is proved by their yearly tribute of forty horseshoes: *A se cīngarije. protomajstor Čajko. Boiko Zlatarevick. Vasil Česvēticick. Sokol Soukijasovick. Kosta Gōnšin zet. Gjurko Dimanov brat. I tri ouzdarije. An. Rad. Dobroslav. I Laltzin*

*bratři Andreja zetem ř svoim ř Kalojanjem ř. da daje vsakogodišče četiri deseti kon ř ploči.*¹

In 1387 Mircea the Great presented to the monastery of Tisman, forty families of *atigani*.² In the year 1388 the monastery of Cozia received from the same prince a gift of three hundred families.³ A document of 1428 relates a gift of thirty-one tents of *țigani* and thirteen tents of Tartars by Alexander the Good of Moldavia to the monastery of Bistrița. Of these Gypsies most bear Rumanian names, but the names Mircea and Vlad indicate that they came from Transylvania.⁴

The name *Cygan* is much older than in any of the documents quoted. In southern Italy the Greek name *τυγάνι* is not uncommon and occurs as early as 1145: *νικήφορος τοῦ τυγάνι, μοναχὴ τυγάνησσα, λέων τοῦ τυγάνη:*⁵ ó κύπος ἰωάννου τυγάνη (ann. 1269):⁶ *τὸ ἀπόριν τοῦ τυγάνου, τοῦ νικολάου τυγάνου* (anno. inc.).⁷ The name is apparently popularly connected with *τηγανον* 'frying pan,' but the feminine *τυγάνησσα*, as a name of a woman, indicates that it has the significance of an appellative. The name also turns up in the north, at Abbeville in France, in the year 1388.⁸ Among the eight échevins for that year we find Bertremieu *Tinguery*, who is also a *rewars du pain et herenc*, 'bread and herring inspector,' and also *rewars d'artillerie*; Pierre *Tinguery* is *rewars des présens de vin*. We learn nothing of Bertremieu's private occupation, but Pierre is mentioned as a blacksmith (*mareschal*), and so is also Colart *Tinguery*; another, Regnier *Tinguery*, is given as carpenter. If we now add the usual old High-German gloss *dengelaer, tengelaer* for *malleator*, 'blacksmith,' or, rather, 'coppersmith,' we have one continuous chain of derivations from *Cigan, Tigan*, extending from Greece and

¹ "And these, the *cungarije*, Protomaster Rajko, Boiko Zlatarevikí, Vasilí Pres-vétičkí, Sokoli Soukijasovíkí, Kosta, Goníši's son-in-law, Gjurko, Diman's brother, and the three bridle-makers, Aní, Radí, Dobroslaví, and Laliziní, brother of Andrej, with their sons-in-law, the Kolojanje, let them give each year forty horse-shoes." Chrysobulon of Tsar Stefan Dušan, by which he founded the monastery of St. Michael and Gabriel at Prizren in 1348 (?), in *Glasnik društva srbske slovesnosti*, Beograd, 1862, xv. p. 309.

² Hasdeu, *Arh. ist.*, iii. p. 192, quoted in A. D. Xenopol's *Istoria Românilor în Dacia Traiana*, Iasi, 1893, vi. p. 206.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. p. 121, quoted in Xenopol, *l.c.*, p. 206.

⁵ Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*, Neapoli, 1865, p. 185.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 545.

⁸ Aug. Thierry, *Recueil des monuments inédits de l'histoire du tiers état*, Paris, 1870, iv. pp. 186-189.

southern Italy, through Germany and northern France, until we reach English *tinker*, Scotch *tinkler*, and in many of these cases there is no doubt possible as to the relation of this word to blacksmithcraft. Is this merely a coincidence? I think not. In and about Abbeville copper pots and utensils for the kitchen were manufactured in the early Middle Ages, and Dinant, whose wares were famous, stood in close business relations with England. On the other hand it is remarkable that in a thirteenth century list of imports into Flanders and Bruges, which follows a strictly geographical sequence, there is made but one break in the order, to illustrate the importance of the copperware manufacture of the region then denominated as the Bishopric of Liége:¹ 'Du royaume de Polane vient or et argent en plate, cire, vairs et gris, et coivre. De l'éveschié de Liége et de là encor viennent totes oeuvres de coivre faite, et de baterie, et de grant marrien.' We are told that from Poland they import gold and silver in bullion, wax, peltry, and copper, and immediately afterwards we are informed that the bishopric of Liége and the country about produces all kinds of copper ware and kitchen ware, and large staves. If, as Bataillard has already suggested, the working of copper or bronze was introduced into Europe by the Gypsies, we at once see that from the Carpathian mountains, where copper was mined, to Dinant and Liége, where it was worked into utensils, there must have been a steady procession of Gypsies. This also explains why of all artisans, none enjoyed such protection as the makers of pots, the *kessler*, the *calderarii*. In the twelfth century, *calderarii* were free from exactions on regular market days: '*Caldarii quidquid ad festum duxerint liberi sint, usque ad finem festi, a theloneo, sed dant ruagium et portagium, post festum, quicquid emerint vel adduxerint, dant consuetudinem ut extranei.*'² The *calderarii* were considered as detached from the soil, and in the sale of land were not included among the purchasable peasants: '*Noverint itaque universi tam posteri quam presentes, quod, cum nos oppressi essemus oneribus debitorum et ob eiusdem non possemus nisi per venditionem possessionum nostrarum comode liberari, castrum nostrum in Laiterbach, nobis iure pertinens proprietatis, cum suis pertinenciis, appendiciis ac iuribus tam corporalibus*

¹ Originally given in G. A. Crapelet, *Proverbes et dictons populaires, avec les dits du mercier et des marchands*, Paris, 1831, pp. 130-134, and since frequently reprinted in historical works.

² A. Giry, *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Omer et de ses institutions jusqu'au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1877, p. 478.

quam incorporalibus universis eo iure, quod quondam pater mei, ulrici militis predicti, idem castrum cum suis attinenciis universis a Burchardo de Laiterbach comparavit, retentis nobis dumtaxat caldariatoribus, qui Kesseler vulgariter appellantur.¹

But it is in Hungary that one would expect to find the most frequent mention of Gypsies. Unfortunately only second-hand information is accessible to me here, and I urge those more fortunately situated to ransack the town archives of that region for valuable records of *Cigani*. In Szarvas and Simonyi's *Lexicon Linguae hungaricae*, Budapest, 1890, a Michael de *Czigan* is given in 1393, and a *Cziganyvaja* is mentioned in 1411 as a town or village in Szolnok, Czinár. In Zolnai and Szamota's *Supplementum ad lexicon linguae hungaricae aevi antiquioris*, Budapestini, 1902-1906, we find: Anno 1402, Benedictus dictus *Chygan*, Benedicto *Cygan*; 1410, Johannis dicti *Chygan*, Benedicti dicti *Chygan*; 1425, Benedictus *Cygan*, dictus; 1425-1454, Johannes *Cigan* dictus; 1435, Stephanum dictum *Chygan*; 1453, Thoma *Czygan*; 1470, Petro *Chygan*, etc.² The sedentary Gypsies in Dalmatia, Servia, Rumania, throughout the fourteenth century

¹ *Codex diplomaticus salemitanus*, Karlsruhe, 1882, ii. pp. 470, 471, anno 1294.

² My attention is directed by Mr. E. O. Winstedt to the following passage, which still further proves the presence of sedentary Gypsies in Hungary in the fourteenth century, if not much earlier:—

Th. v. Lehóczky. 'Beitrag zur Geschichte der Zigeuner in Ungarn' (*Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn . . . herausg. von Prof. Dr. Anton Herrmann*, Bd. iv. p. 218, Budapest, 1895).

'Im Archiv des Convents von Lelesz kam mir ein Document aus dem Jahre 1373 in die Hand, in dem der Palatin Emerich in einer Verordnung de dato Visegrád, in der Octave des heil. Martin (Lelesz, Prot. A. A. I., pag. 345) dem Leleszer Convent aufrägt, die Angelegenheit des Ladislaus, Sohnes des Dominik Zigány zu untersuchen, welcher gegen seinen Bruder Michael wegen Störung seiner Besitzungen Hene und Bezdéd aufgetreten war. . . .

'So hat auch König Ludwig der Grosse 1377 dem Leleszer Convent aufgetragen (Datum Visegrád, feria 2. post festum Concept. b. virginis, ebenda, pag. 412), die Processe des Ladislaus Zigány zu untersuchen, der sich beklagt hatte, dass Mathias Zigány und Stefan Zigány, mit ihrem Schaffner Peter Tychke, mit Peter Lengyel und andern Anhängern bewaffnet in des Klägers Besitzung in der Gemeinde *Egyházas Zigány* einbrachen, sein Tor gewaltsam erbrachen, auf seine Frau Pfeile abschossen, . . . sein Haus erbrachen und ausraubten, seine gesamte bewegliche Habe davon schleppen und trieben. . . .

[This proves they were settled, rich and noble, in the fourteenth century, and so must have been there at least as early as the thirteenth.]

'Aber hierauf deuten auch die Ortschaften gleichen Namens, von welchen die erwähnte Ortschaft *Egyházas Czigány* damals schon eine Kirche besass. . . . So bestehen und blühen im Comitat Zemplén auch gegenwärtig zwei Gemeinden *Kis-* und *Nagy-Czigány* (*Klein. u. Gross-Czigány*), von welchen sich die Tradition erhalten hat, dass ihre ursprünglichen Bewohner *Zigeuner* waren und zur Tárkányer Burg gehörten (s. Fényes Elek, *Magyar ország geographiai szótára*, i. 235). Außerdem gibt es noch eine alte Ortschaft *Czigánybocz* im Comit. Ung, *Cziganyesd* oder *Pakalesd* (alias *Patasesd*—*Cziganyesd*) und *Czigányfalva* (walachisch *Cziganyešti*) im Comitate Bihar.'

make it more than probable that there were also sedentary Gypsies in Hungary long before that date. Such were the Ismaelites. They even formed part of a motley army that in 1260 fought against Otakar, King of Bohemia: 'Quia pium pastorem suarum a lupis liberatio ouium delectat, et benignum patrem iocundum reddit cum salute prosperitas filiorum, grauis belli, quod aduersus Belam et natum eiusdem Stephanum Ungarie Reges Illustres et Danielem Regem Russie, et filios eius, et ceteros Ruthenos, ac Thartaros, qui eidem in auxilium venerant, et Boleslaum Cracouiensem, et Laczkonem, iuuenem Lansacie Duces, et innumeram multitudinem inhumanorum hominum Cumanorum, Ungarorum, et diuersorum Sclauorum, Siculorum quoque et Valachorum, Bezzenninorum, et *Ismahelitarum*, Scismaticorum etiam vtpote Grecorum, Bulgarorum, Rasniensium et Bosniensium hereticorum auctore deo gessimus, etc.'¹ This fact makes it possible to interpret Yakut's account of the Bashkirs in an entirely different way. Yakut may have known of the conversion of the Bashkirs by the Bulgarians in Great Hungary, and may have wrongly applied the story to the strangers he saw in Aleppo, or the strangers told him a plausible story for the sake of gaining his confidence. We shall assume the latter to be the case. These two points in their account seem to connect them with the Ismaelites. They fought in the Hungarian armies, and they travelled about in large crowds. It seems hardly possible that thirty villages should send out at once a large crowd to study their religion in Aleppo. Where could there have been room for so many religious teachers? Did not the Ismaelites impose on Yakut's credulity? Now, Yakut tells us that the hair and faces of the Bashkirs were very brown. Even admitting this doubtful fact that the Bashkirs are of a darker complexion than their neighbours, the oriental Yakut would not have noticed this, unless their hair and faces were very dark, 'very brown,' as the translation has it. The Bashkirs in the thirteenth century were still related to the Hungarians who, coming from a mixed Finnish and Tatar race were of lighter complexion than the true Tatars. Only subsequently did the Bashkirs in Russia become Tatarised, when possibly, though still doubtfully, their complexion may be denominated as brown. But 'very brown' is a term that fits the Gypsies exactly, and the travelling in large crowds is another

¹ A. Bocezk, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, Olomucii, 1841, iii. pp. 285-286.

Gypsy characteristic, and their pretending to profess the religion of those among whom they sojourned, and their admission that, although this was utterly distasteful to the Mohammedans, they cut their beards, to adapt themselves to the Magyars, although in Aleppo they might have allowed their beards to grow again,—all that points in the same direction.¹

At the end of the eleventh century an attempt was made to baptize the Ismaelites. No personal hatred was shown towards them, and inter-marriages were to be encouraged. From their religious training the Hungarians somehow mixed them up with those enemies of Christianity who did not eat pork and who were addicted to strange rites. They knew that the Ismaelites did eat pork, and even would keep them from eating it on fast days, but since pork was the test by which a non-Christian could be told from a Christian, they insisted that pork should form their chief diet. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the Crusades had sufficiently familiarised the Hungarians with the Saracens, whom they in some indistinct way connected with the Ismaelites, and in place of a childish insistence on their eating pork, they now began to cry about excluding all non-Christians from public offices. In 1222 the King openly promises to keep out Ismaelites and Jews. It would, then, seem that Ismaelites and Saracens were one and the same. But such is not the case. The law is merely trying to find a formula that would satisfy the popular prejudice. A year later the King swears solemnly to exclude Jews, Ismaelites, and Saracens from public offices. Five times the formula Jew, Ismaelite and (or) Saracen is repeated. Saracen is not made the equal of Ismaelite, as Hunfalvy wishes to make us believe in his translation, but is added as a third member, to make it doubly sure that all possible exclusions have been made. Were Saracen and Ismaelite the same, we should have had *Iudei et Ismaelitae seu Saraceni*, or some such phrase. As it stands, the formula does not admit of any such interpretation.

But even if only Saracens and Jews were mentioned, Gypsies

¹ Mr. E. O. Winstedt informs me that Derenbourg translates the sentence about the hair and beards of the Bashkirs, 'Ils avaient les cheveux et les visages d'un roux très vif,' that is, their hair and faces were dark brown, whereas the original text reads, شقر الشعور و الوجوه, where شقر may be any red colour, from blond to dark red. This still leaves the Bashkirs with a darker complexion than is generally associated with them. However, I am not anxious to identify the Bashkirs with the Gypsies, but only wish to show that it is possible to give a different interpretation to the passage from the one suggested by Hunfalvy.

might still be included in the very comprehensive and indefinite term *Saraceni*. When Hunfalvy says that the Mongolian flood seems to have swept away the Saracens, who are never mentioned again, he is greatly mistaken. They are constantly recurring in the Hungarian annals. Their country, Bew, is devastated by the Tatars. In 1262, a Christian is to be added to Jews and Saracens when collecting taxes. In 1385 a Hungarian coin is called the crescent denarius, from Count Saracen, the Minister of Finance of Lewis I. In 1371 King Lewis I. presents the islands of Absarus and Kersus, in Dalmatia, to his Saracen Minister of Finance. In 1428 King Sigismund presents the property of Ladislaus of Kris-talovecz to his Tatar ambassadors, Nicolaus the Saracen and Josa the Turk. In 1271 we find a Saracenus, *episcopus corbaviensis*. Saracen counts and nobles are mentioned in 1377, 1382, 1385, 1388, 1428.¹ If Hunfalvy meant to say that the Ismaelites were swallowed up by the Mongol flood he is again wrong, for we found them mentioned in 1260. The Saracens, most probably Arab merchants and financiers, in spite of the popular and religious resentment, stood high in the government service. They are never mentioned as living in villages, as bringing suit for theft, as serving in the army. If the name *Ismaelite* disappeared, it is due to the fact that on the one hand it was merged with Saracen into one indefinite term, and that on the other it began to give way to the popular *cigan*, which by the beginning of the fifteenth century in the south completely overshadows every other appellation for the Gypsies.

III.—NURI STORIES.

Collected by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, F.S.A.

(Continued from page 35)

XLVII

Ār' ūnkīmān lūjōti kūjjéni nūnānde gōrwéni. Kláréni pārdéndsánni min Guld-uyáriki, u ār' ūnkīmān. Site ăratăk. Săbăhtăn mñnde hălésăn, kundéndsăń Prótkilunkă. Mărdéndsăń kăucăne kúriákămă, pârle 'imlăsăń kăute u găre. Táni dis ār' ūnkīmān sâuiésăń nūnānde ătsántă. "Ya Dóme, nî ār' ūnkírăn gōrwéni, kăjjéni wăštsăń?" Áme cîrdēn "Nî lăherdēn, ya bâre,

¹ G. Fejér, *Index alphabeticus codicis diplomatici Hungariae*, Pesthini, 1866, sub *Saracenus*. The Codex itself is not accessible to me.

wldā ār' ūnkimān. Āmmā ldherdēn kājjéni dūwāl hujōti cārdēndi gōrwéni, u níngre min hnēnā. Āme jandēnē° kōn dēsēstā ningrénde." "Mikrén" cirde "níngre?" Gđre ābsēnkáră, lāherdēndoān māriréndi.

There came to us yesterday men seeking cows. The bedawin had taken them from Jaffa, and came to us. They slept a night. In the morning they betook themselves, and sold them to the Jews. They [the Jews] slaughtered the stolen [cattle] in a house, the thieves took their price and went. The second day their owners came to us looking for them. 'Ye Nawar, did there not come to you cows, and men were with them?' We said, 'We did not see, O brothers, nor did they come to us. But we saw that there were men the day before yesterday driving cattle and they entered [on the road] from here.¹ We know not to what place they were entering.' 'Whence,' said they, 'did they enter?' They went to them, found them [the cattle] dead.

XLVIII

Hujōti drōm erhēnā yōm-incirdōr āmákáră "Ārū sābāhtān erhēnā." Ārōm dmă, nī lāherdōmūr erhēn'. Lāherdōm Yūsifüs, lāherdōmūs erhēnā. Cirđ' āmákă inni "Hāwāză nī hrēnde", gđră ktiránkă djōti; fādi inhe°, kam bōli ātūstă. Sābāhtān dūek erhēnā." Gđrōm dmă kuriámintă, lāherdōm erhōnā nihe° mat, la jūăr wdlă ziriăte, erhōnā nī hrēnde". Wēsrōm āger - kúriăki. Mīnden hálōm u gđrōm Dōmánkă. Wēsrōm ctnăk u gārtrōm. Sābāhtān gđrēn dūdes kúriăkă. Ptrēn kírwi u mīndōm hálōm u hat drōm erhēnā.

Yesterday I came when you said to me 'Come here in the morning.' I came, I did not see you here. I saw Joseph, I saw him here. He said to me that 'The Gentleman is not here, he has gone to [visit] the monks to-day : he has no leisure, he has much work. In the morning come here.' I went to our tent, I found no one there ; neither women nor children, they were not there. I sat in front of the tent. I betook myself and went to the [other] Nawar. I sat a while and returned. In the morning we went to the sheikh's house. We drank coffee and I betook myself and here I have come hither.

XLIX

Štirdēn min hnōn', wđzärēn Hāuránăk-dēsēstă dmă u bōiōm u māumum-potre. Gđre wđštimān īdēsēstă tđrăn kăr u yégrăk. Wēsrēn īdēsēsmă wársăk. Kıldēn Hárkălăntă. Štirde min hnōn', ldgiš-kerde Hárkăle u tmálie súuă; āme wđzärēn min hnōn', drēn Hāuránătă. Cirđōm bōiōmkă "Inkun yégri." Kündă yégri kăjjákăskă tđrăn das imhltă u jăllăwtăk. Mărdēn ărátos bákrăk. Ār' ūnkimān Dōměni, kăre, ptre, sābāhtān gđre min ūnkimān. Āme răurđen năuăne dēimmă kám-kerăni. Kam bōl kărră bōiōmtă. Mīnden hălémăn; lāherdēn Dōměni.

¹ Accompanied with illustrative pointing gesture.

Ldgis-kerde wăštimăñ. Férén dme, bdgirdēn siriésăñ, gdre ndande āminkáră tmáliăñ, părdéndsañ u gdre, tîrde bőiōm u măumum-pitrăñ pêwindémma. Săbăltăñ gdren, nén āboňkáră kës u nî kdjják kôldóssăñ min elháski. Tîrde ātsántă štar u štar imhîlă. Ūnkîmăñ dî bákrăk, mărdénsăñ, kârénsăñ. Săbăltăñ râúrdēn, gdren dêintă. Ehe Dóme illi férén-săñ năsre, gdre Hárkălăntă, mánđe târăñ mas, pánjăñ năsrénde. Mîndă hálös bőiōm, gdra tillă-tmaliéskă, péndă ābsánkă târăñ gôrândelă, u gdre wăštsăñ dî nárñă mnéšmăñ; gdre năndéndsañ. Mînde hălésăñ, tirdóssăñ bőiōm tillă-tmalieskă. Tillă-tmáli tirdóssăñ elhásmañ u tîrde das štar zerđ tă-kôldre min elháski, u mînde hălésăñ wdzăre; nî mdnde ūhü dësäsmă; u dme° mînden hălémăñ, răwâhrēn dësimintă. Bőiōm pândäsmă impdr góriák bi-nîm sâr imhîlă u góru édesäsmă; wésre ūnkîmăñ târăñ mas u mre°.

We rose from there, we fled to the land of Hauran, I and my father and my uncle's sons. There went with us to that land three donkeys and a horse. We stayed in that land a year. We went out to the Druzes. The Druzes rose from there, they and the soldiers made a quarrel together ; we fled from there, came to the Hauran. I said to my father 'Sell the horse.' He sold the horse to a man [for] thirty *majidis* and a cloak. We slaughtered a sheep that night. There came to us the Nawar, they ate, drank ; in the morning they went from among us. We departed, seeking work in the villages. Much work fell to my father. We betook ourselves : we saw the Nawar.¹ They quarrelled with us. We struck, broke their heads ; they went, sent soldiers to us, they took them [*i.e.* my relatives] and went ; they put my father and my uncle's sons in fetters. In the morning we went, brought to them food, and not a man loosened them from prison. They put on them [a fine of] eight *majidis*. We had two sheep, we slaughtered and ate them. In the morning we departed and went to the villages. Those Nawar whom we had beaten fled, they went to the Druzes, they stayed three months and they were fleeing. My father betook himself, went to the governor, sent to them three horsemen, and there went with them two men from among us ; they went and fetched them. They betook themselves, my father brought them to the governor. The governor put them in prison and they paid fourteen pounds in order that they might be loosened from prison, and they betook themselves and fled ; they did not stay in that place ; and we betook ourselves and went to our own place. My father on the way bought a mare for fifty *majidis* and a cow in that place. They stayed with us three months and died.²

¹ Probably the families on whose clientèle the narrator and his friends were poaching.

² This and some other stories in the collection will be understood better when it is remembered that much of the 'administration of justice' in the Turkish empire, until the recent political changes, consisted in locking up unfortunates in jail and extorting blackmail for their release. Just as these two rival factions of Nawar did, any person A might get any other person B imprisoned with a trumped-up story and a small bribe. When B got out he could, of course, turn the tables, so the local authorities profited by both parties. Prisoners had to be maintained by their friends, who daily brought them food, as in the story.

L

Ārātōs ldgiš-kérdi júrāk pōéssān. Gál-kerde Dóme "Kékă ldgiš-kerek pōársān?" Féréndis ázră hádi, m̄ndi hálós u kúteri. Sábáhtän šká-ferd mánüs tillă; kal "Kékă ldgiš-kerek pōársān dtu? Koldör ikies Dómän-díránski ūhü kámäsmä. Inhore° ūnkítmän drū. Mnē uyáriki min dī wars, na wa ūnkítmän wälä diknáuémän imhór lāu drör ūnkítmän. Ihi wáhriür, ni nāni° wáštir, néyi bōiüs-kúriákă erhénd, u nī nirdöris na wa erhén'."

In the night a woman quarrelled with her husband. The Nawar said, 'Why dost thou quarrel with thy husband?' They struck her last night, she betook herself and fell. In the morning the chief man called [her] and said, 'Why didst thou quarrel with thy husband? Thou hast opened the eyes of the daughters of the Nawar to this [kind of] business. Thou canst not come among us. Stay away from the city for two years, do not come among us, and do not show us thy face, if thou come among us. This thy daughter-in-law, do not take her with thee, send her to her father's tent here: and if thou do not send her, come not here.'¹

LI

Gárén dmă u dáiōm (báiōm ndseri) tă-ndneris. Árén gréwár-ăskă Dómánki. Šírdă gréwáră, cárdsis báiōm. Gári dáiōm skí-kerär átústă tillă-tmáliestă. Gáră ujáldă dbuskă dī tmáli, gáre nándosis. Tmáli "ka báios ézăreski?" Gréwáră "Ünkítmän inhe°." Dáiōm círdi "Ünkíti cárdsi." Šírdă min hnón' tmáli, tírdă gréwárăs elhásma, "gáir nánek jári el-úkeri." Míndă hálós gréwáră, nándosis u áră u tírdă pünj zerď u kóláră, u párden báiōm. Ráwáhren kúriámintă, lherden dákáiomän gárék. Koldöm góriă u náuămi dákáiată. Míndă hálós bóiōm u kúldă kárák u náuări dákáiată. Láherdénis Gúld-uyármä. Gárén tírdën pünj zerď u nánden dákáá. Tírdën siriémän, sitén árátyos; sábáhtän násri báiōm génd. Mindómis pándásma, tírdöm pétsimä círiák u märdómis. Tírdöm átústă wáte, mán-dómis pándásma, u ráwáhrom. Círdă bóiōm "Ka báur?" Círdöm "Märdómis, u ha árom." Násröm dmă u bóiōm, gárén Gúld-uyártă, wésrén érhónă štar wars. Min erhóna bésáui-hröm mäcumum-díri. Nándi dī zárō u dī láci, áksän áurákí illi martri.

We went, I and my mother (my wife had fled) to bring her. We came to the sheikh of the Nawar. The sheikh arose, hid my wife. My mother went and complained against him to the governor. He came, sent two soldiers for him; they

¹ An interesting story, relating the expulsion of a member of the tribe probably for conjugal unfaithfulness.

went and took him. The governor (said) 'Where is this boy's wife?' The sheikh (said) 'She is not with us.' Said my mother, 'You have hidden [her] with thee' (sic). The governor arose from there, put the sheikh in prison 'unless you produce the woman who is with you.' The sheikh betook himself, produced her and came and paid five pounds and went free, and we took my wife. We went to our tent, we saw that our camel was gone. I rode a mare and sought for the camel. My father betook himself and rode a donkey and sought for the camel. We saw it in Jaffa. We went and paid five pounds and fetched the camel. We laid our heads and slept that night; in the morning my wife fled once more. I seized her on the road, thrust a knife into her belly and killed her. I cast stones on her and left her on the road and departed. Said my father, 'Where is thy wife?' Said I, 'I killed her and here I have come.' I and my father fled, we went to Jaffa, and stayed there four years. From there I married my uncle's daughter. She bore two boys and two girls, better than the one who was killed.

LII

Āsti Dōmēni ādesāsmā el-hándāri. Mre° mnēscān zárđk. Štálđos dārōs u ári minjī húnda édesāstā tă-móleris. Štírdi min hnónđ, rúuri árátān. Kíldi átústă gáldák: pánji júri u gáldă júri. Štírdi min hnónđ tă-kúmneris. Ldherdi gáld mánvás pištisték, nī gál-kerdi wăštis. Ári édēmă, u kóld' ábúskă málkădd u móldosis. Sábáhtān gártri kuriéstă. Hri Srýetă. Cíndi pániā, párđos páni u gárđ minjts. Húldă klárák pác̄s, pěndosis, lăherdosis mrik. Tírdos dâwátiātă u mîndă hálōs u gárđ. Diknáurdos pôriskárđ. Štírdi pôrōs u potrés, rôre bôl. Mînde hálósān, gdre, kólde málkădd, u mánđe ábúskárđ áratlyós káliák. Mărdosis, năndosis, štírde min hnónă u káréndis. Sábáhtān bésáut-hră, párđă yikák hlaſ báréski. Mînde hálōs râwâhre désăstă. Hre édesāsmă. Ndsri bários u mîndi hálōs u gári áhliskă: râsrósis pôrōs u lăherdendis kláre pándăsmă. Mărdéndis ukténdis pánvámă. Potrés röunde; kûstöténi. Párđissän muumüs ünkis; u gárđ muumüs árátān, mărdă jíri illi ndsri, u dră, tírdă siriös u sitü.

There were Nawar in that place yonder. A boy died among them. His mother carried him and came with him yonder to that place to bury him. She rose from there, went by night. A ghūl came out to her; she was a woman and the ghūl was a woman. It rose from there to eat her. The ghūl saw that the corpse was on her back, it did not speak to her. She came to that village, and dug for him a grave and buried him. In the morning she returned to her house. She was at the Jordan. She cut [crossed] the water, the water took her and went with her. A bedawi descended after her, took her, saw that she was dead. He put her on a camel and betook himself and went. He showed her to her husband. Her husband and children arose, they wept much. They betook themselves, went, dug a grave, and by the night left for her a goat. They slaughtered it, set it, rose from there and ate it. In the morning he married, took another instead of his wife. They betook themselves and went to their place. They were in that place. His

wife fled and betook herself and went to her people. Her husband followed her, and bedawin see him on the way. They kill him and cast him into the water. His sons were weeping : they were little. His uncle took them to him : and his uncle went by night, killed the woman who fled, and came, laid down his head and slept.

LIII

Bórom, ujáldi păcăs hălyom, măndōmăń děikămă u hăldă pănji Ğūzzétă. Măndă hălōs păndăsmă u ȝebri găm. Wăstis ȝudăki răuări; kăldă ȝtüstă kăutăr. Răură wăstodăń kăutăr u bdgirdă ȝudăs, u bórom ndoră. Sítă děikămă. Săbăhtăń răurdăń, lăherdă kăjjéni mădrănde dăwăřkăsmă.¹ Štirdă min hnónă, wéoră ūnktesă, pîră hătăk dif, u štirdă. Răsréndis păndăsmă kăjje tă-părănd kiyăkés. Štirdă min hnónă, kănidră păcăs, lăherdă kăjje dăuănde păcăs. Măndă hălōs bórom u ndoră. Cărtă wădiăkămă: kăjje gărtre. Măndă hălōs u štirdă. Ră-wăhră Găzzétă, lăherdă hălyom erhónă. Săbăhtăń sit' ūnkrimăń [read ūnkris] di ȝrát. Dis tărănánki² gărtiră bórom. Kăldă ȝtüstă păndăsmă ȝálăk. Gări mănerosă. Ndoră. Măndă hălōs, ár' ūnkrimăń. Tirdă sîrios u sită. Štălden săbăhtăń bórom, răurdăń u gdren hălyimkă. Mărdi ȝminkă bdkrăk u kărēn u pîrēn. Árătiyos kăutire kiyăkémăń u li'-üktilnnă kăutiră. Bórom părdă hărdăstă. Săbăhtăń ár' ūnkrimăń kăjjak. Părdă mnășmăń nîm zeră, u ndndă kiyăkémăń u li'-üktilnnăs u áră. Săbăhtăń răurdăń. Găréni klárantă: min el-kláränki gdren Căjăk-dăeștă. Wésrën erhónă ȝtar wars.

My father, my aunt sent after him : he left us in a village and went down to Gaza. He betook himself on the way, and the sun set. There was an old man going with him : a hyæna came out against him. The hyæna went with them and destroyed the old man, and my father fled. He slept in a village. In the morning going, he saw men killing a camel. He arose from there, sat with them, smoked a cigarette, and arose. The men follow him on the way to take his things. He arose from there, looked behind him, saw the men hurrying behind him. My father betook himself and fled. He hid himself in a valley : the men returned. He betook himself and arose. He went to Gaza, saw my aunt there. In the morning,³ he slept with us [her] two nights. The third day my father returned. There came out a ghūl against him on the road. It went to take him. He fled. He betook himself and came to us. He laid down his head and slept. In the morning we roused my father, we departed and went to my aunt. She slaughtered for us a sheep, and we ate and drank. By night our things were stolen and the anvil was stolen. My father was

¹ A quite unusual use of the locative for the accusative.

² Note rare declensional form of the numeral.

³ *Săbăhtăń*, like *štirdă min hnónă* and *măndă hălōs*, is often merely a meaningless stopgap, and, as here, is no definite note of time.

angry. In the morning there came to us a man. He took from us half a pound and brought our things and the anvil and came. In the morning we departed. We went to the bedawin. From the bedawin we went to the land of Egypt. We stayed there four years.

LIV

Gdrēn. Pārdā kūllmānhum waštis štar zerd, pārdēnsān giš nīm sāl zerd, u gdrēn ūhū dēsāstā el-húndāri tā-ndnān kāre min-jītsān. Wēsrēn hōt dīs pāndāsmā, das u štar u štar wēsrēn hnōnā. Mīndēn hālēmān, hūldēn uyārtā, pārdēn das kār ājōti. Tāni dīs pārdēn hōt kār; pārdēn das u štar góričk. Mīndēn halēmān u gārtrēn. Lherde klaréni pāndāsmā. Kīlde āmīntā. Cirde mnēštsān dī kār, u āratān rāurēn kāutiš. Štīrdēn min hnōnā, ārēn Rāmlētā u Lyddetā, nī lherdēn kuriōmān. Ārēn deākārā tālāsmék, lherdēn Dōmēni ērhōnā, wihwá-kerānde. Wēsrēn ūnkītsān šas dīs tā-kēš-kerde, u kārēn u rāurdēn. Mīndēn hālēmān u gdrēn Cājētā. Pārde kūl kārūstā mnēstimān imhīlā u goriētā pārde nīm zerd tā-nīngrēn Cājētā. Kūndēn kārān bi-sāl zerd u nīm, u góriān bi nīm sāl zerd. Mīndēn hālēmān u gārtrēn. Pāndāsmā kīldā āmīntā klaréni tā-mārāndmān. Pārde mnēšmān kiyākēmān u nīm sāl zerd. Mīndēn hālēmān tā-māndēnsān; hūndā-jānd; dme tīrdēn kiyākēmān pištāmantā u nāsrēn. Āratāk u dīsāk u dme rāuāne. Štīrdēn min hnōnā, lherdōsmān tmāličk, cīrdā āmīnkā "Kékā nāsrēsi?" Cīrdēn dme, "Klaréni pāndāsmā mīndēndmān, pārde kiyākēmān."

We went. Each one took with him four pounds, we took in all fifty pounds, and went to that place yonder [*i.e.* Mt. Lebanon] to bring donkeys for them. We stayed eight days in the way : there were eighteen of us staying there. We betook ourselves, descended to the town, took ten donkeys the first day [*lit. to-day*]. The second day we took seven donkeys : we took fourteen mares. We betook ourselves and returned. The bedawin saw [us] on the way. They broke out on us. They said that two donkeys were [stolen] from them, and by night we had gone and stolen them. We rose from there, came to Ramleh and Lydd ; we did not see our tents. We came to a village in the mountain, we saw that there were Nawar there, making festival. We stayed with them six days, till they prepared food, and we ate and departed. We betook ourselves and went to Egypt. They¹ took for every donkey from us a *majdi* apiece, and for the mare they took half a pound that we might enter Egypt. We sold the donkeys for a hundred and fifty pounds and the mares for fifty pounds. We betook ourselves and returned. On the way there broke out against us bedawin to kill us. They took our things from us and fifty pounds. We betook ourselves till we left them ; they go yonder : we put our things on our backs and fled. A night and a day we were fleeing. A soldier rose from there and saw us fleeing ; he said to us, 'Why are you fleeing?' We said, 'Bedawin seized us on the way, and took our things.'

¹ The soldiers stationed on the Egyptian frontier.

LV

Gdrēn dmā u tārēnēs min hnēnā Hālīlātā tā-ndnān gōrwe, nī ldherdēn hnōnā. Níngrēn húndā, sítēn klárāntā, nānde āmínkā kēš, sáli u másti, u sítēn min gār carš. Mréni siéski. Sábáhtān násrēn, gdrēn dírā pánđák, nī ldherdēn pánđās, túšrēn hālārmā. Míndēn hālémān, ldherdēn klaréni; inhe° ūnkisān gār sáli u másti, ni ldherdēn móndā. Káutírdēn dī góru min ūnkisān. Stírdēn min hnōnā, drēn pánđák injāninse° tāte; ldherdēn pánđāmā dī kāre u cárdenas gōrwánsān. Ráurēn, sítēn dériákākāmā tā-ärátrā ed-dínyā, u ăratān ráurēn, gdrēn Lyddētā. Kúndēn kádrān pūnj zerd u górwān das zerd. Gdrēn min hnōnā, gártrēn tálástā Náblusáski. Káutírdēn dī góri u gdrēn minjtsān Cájétā, wésrēn das dīs u dme ăratān ráuđni. Kúndēnsān erhónā bi-sái zerd; wésrēn erhónā wīs dīs. Gdrā mīn sárlāne zerdánki wī zerd. Míndēn hālémān u gártrēn. Náurēn kuriámintā, ldherdēn bálemān rónde, mánindmánni mréni. Kullmánhum párda báwos u tósis báisski. Gdrēn, nándēn gésúwi, 'áték, u cúknak, u piázi, u tírdēn kuriámmā u méji. Wésrēn u la gdrēn wdlā drēn.

We went I and three [others] from here to Hebron to fetch [*i.e.* to steal] cows, we saw none there. We went further, slept with the bedawin, they set before us food, rice and *laban*, and we slept without a covering. We were perished with the cold. In the morning we fled, went a long way; we did not see the road, we wandered in the desert. We betook ourselves, we saw the bedawin; they had nothing but rice and *laban*, we saw no bread. We stole two cows from them. We rose from there, came a way that the fellahin did not know: we saw on the road two donkeys and drove them with the cows. We moved on, slept in a place till night-fall, and by night we moved on, went to Lydd. We sold the donkeys for five pounds and the cows for ten pounds. We went from there, returned to the mountains of Nablus. We stole two cows and went with them to Egypt; we stayed ten days and were moving on by night. We sold them there for one hundred pounds:¹ we stayed there twenty days. There went from the hundred pounds twenty pounds. We betook ourselves and returned. We searched for our tents, we saw our wives weeping, they thought we were dead. Each of us took his share and gave it to his wife. We went, got corn, flour, and oil, and onions, and put them in the houses, and lentils. We stayed and neither went nor came.

*LVI

Min zámán dštā tillā-tmáliúki ūh' uyárméyā, u yikáki tillā-tmáli imzárrákā, bēn Kérákāki u Mdákāki. Sindā tillā-tmálios Till-uyáriki inni hū tmáli illi šárkásmék mra°, ujáldā máte pot-ruskā, illi 'hra tillā-tmáli, tā-párnd lúrñsmā. Náwā tillā-tmáli

¹ So Shákir said; but the price is absurdly high, and this part of the tale must be taken with the ordinary condiments.

férð balismā inni hi šátarék. "Ldherim inni bōl ūnktim tmálie wa inni lāu." Míndā tmálidn illi dre ūnktis min uyáriki, trásírdā ukcésän, u cíndā kélésän, u gārnáurđossän. Láji-kerde bōl. Wéser Rihámā tă-kild' ukcésän wálös; bădén gārtre u snáurde tillă-tmaliósän. Bōl párda hárstdā tillă-tmáli illi erhéndā. Ujáldā wīs sāi tmálie; háráb-kerde údésás giš illi náwā tmáli minjts. Ujáldā tillă-tmáli hārmánkárä, tīrdéndis górván lohós drdšiki átústă, támän wáte u li° cindósis, tímnd gésū illi hārmánték.

Long ago there was a king who was in this city, and a king in the east, between Kerak and Mecca. The king of Jerusalem heard that the king that was in the east was dead ; he sent people to his son, who became king, to bring comfort. The new king thought [struck into his mind] that this was a trick. 'He will see me if I have many soldiers or not.' He took the soldiers who came to him from the city, shaved their beards, and cut their garments, and sent them back. They were much ashamed. They stayed in Jericho till the hair of their beards grew ; after that they returned and told their king. The king that was here became very angry. He sent twenty thousand soldiers : they ruined that whole place where the new king was. The king sent [him] to a threshing floor, put on him the cattle of the threshing sledge, till the stones and iron cut him, like the corn that was on the threshing floor.

*LVII

Aštă kíslös tmaliánki. Míndā tmáliák dī blári, bándā pinjikéssă kálbaíresánni. Windráurđ dī lúuri u bándā sálăk siriísmă áuráskă u áuráskă, u kšaldă sálăs. Bădén bándā bláriän min salăski. Tírdă min hnēn yikák u min hnōn yikák, u măndos-sän tă-mdrde kálbaíresän. Gdră yikák, círdă tmálieskdră. Círdă tmáli in "ăhă kiyák nihore"; hárámi." Ndndă tmáliüs. Ldherdă tmáli tmálidn min díră, u bíră. Kóláră sálăs min bláriänki, ní-sakreye° kóláris. Bántrik kúui. Párdă círiák, cíndă pinjtkës bláriänki. Kúire blárie u násre. Áră tmáli. "Káti blárie?" Círdă tmáli: "Blárie inhe"; káre kálbaíresän u mănde° ýáir pinjikéyi!"

There was a barracks of soldiers. A soldier took two cats, tied their tails together. He set up two poles and tied a rope to the head of this one and that, and stretched the rope. Afterwards he tied the cats to the rope. He put on this side one and on that side one and left them to kill one another. One went and spoke to the officer. Said the officer, 'That is a thing that must not be : it is a sin.' He sent for the soldier. The soldier saw the soldiers coming from far, and feared. He [tried to] loosen the cord from the cats : he could not loosen it. It was bound strongly. He took a knife and cut the tails of the cats. The cats fell and ran away. The officer came. 'Where are the cats?' Said the soldier, 'There are no cats : they have eaten one another and nothing is left but the tails !'

#LVIII

Círdă bizótă l'illi drärék, "Áme báre hréni, potrés hréni Adämäski : ldzim hócen plémän mił kálbařémänski." Círdă illi drärék "Hakk hásturmék" u intá bizotáskă púnji plă. Círdă bizótă "Kéik áhă, báră, áhă miš bárăn báwi !" Círdă dráră, "Giš dínyă potrésni Adämäski, áhák bawár min bén giš bárárki."

Said a poor man to [one] who was rich, 'We are brethren, we are sons of Adam: we must have our money like one another [=equal shares].' Said the rich man, 'Truth is in thy hands,' and he gave the poor man five paras. Said the poor man, 'What is this, brother? This is not a brother's share!' Said the rich man, 'The whole world are the sons of Adam: this is thy share among all thy brethren.'

LIX

Gárén Cíják-désästă; párda bójom snótăk 'imlén. Mínden hálémän, rŵáhren désimintă. Min désämänski árén déákă. Kíldë ámíntă káuténi árattyös, ühř snótă mündössän u dírdă jálúwiyesän u kélésän. Sábáhtän sítën áratós génă ühř démă. Áratän snótă gárină píer cdläski; u dírék cal déită. Wésrénde dí kájjă káutárkă tă-márdos. Mánändse snótus káutári, féréndis dí dfang, úkténdis, nándéndis púubaginyétă. Slúh-kerdéndis u kotá-kerdéndis u kullmánhum kájjänki párda báwós u káréndis. Sábáhtän láherde siriös. "Ühř snótäsi Mähsnáski !" Dárom 'ázer-kerdi déik-matás u gárén tmaliéski. Nándénis ábsánkáră. Círdén "Káre snótómän ehe déik-mat." U tirdé bédäl snótăski das zerd tmaliéskáră. Tmáli párda púnj zerd u bójom párda púnj zerd. Mínden hálémän, ráurden, kílden Hálítlátă, dăwári ünktemän tillék. Míndă bénim dăwári min kóléski u tirdos áháres. Ni šírdă min atnis gáir tă-mri° láci. Bójom márdă dăwári ciriémă u tósis déik-mártăski. Káre másios. Sábáhtän párda bójom dí kár 'imlén uyáriki. Mínden hálémän, ráurden, húlden děintă. Dárom ríori béniski. Gáróm nándómis dmă u árom. Sábáhtän nándă bákrük bójom, márdénis hálýimkáră, tirden siriémän u sítën. Sábáhtän hálýom rŵáhri, áme mänden ühř démă.

We went to the land of Egypt. My father bought a dog. We betook ourselves, went to our place. From our place we went to a village. There came out against us thieves by night, that dog took them and tore their cloaks and their clothes. On the morrow we slept another night in that village. By night the dog was going to drink at a well; and the well was far from the village.

There were two men sitting [waiting] for a hyæna to kill it. They think that the dog was the hyæna; they shot it twice, brought it down, carried it to the guest-house. They skinned it and divided it, and every one of the men took his share and ate it. In the morning they saw its head. 'That is the dog of Mâhsîn!' My mother had a dispute with the people of the village and we went to the governor. We brought him to them. We said, 'The people of this village have eaten our dog.' And they paid in requital for the dog ten pounds to the governor. The governor took five pounds and my father took five pounds. We betook ourselves, we departed, we came out at Hebron. The camel that we had was a large one. The camel seized my sister by her arms and put her under him. It did not rise up from over her till the girl was dead. My father killed the camel with a knife and gave it to the people of the village. They ate its flesh. On the morrow my father bought two donkeys from the village. We betook ourselves, departed, descended to the villages. My mother was angry with her sister. I went and took her and came. In the morning my father brought a sheep, we slaughtered it for my aunt, we laid down our heads and slept. On the morrow my aunt departed, we stayed in that village.¹

LX

Áštă yikáki tillă-tmálík, báis tărănés, injéjän-hönde°. Áră yikáki Múgrăbik, círdă "Démí zárăk potrérik tă-mănuñd báir jéjän-hocănd." Círdă tillă-tmáli "Démri." Míndă hálös Múgrăbi u tóssăñ dérmăñ. Šírdă min hnóñ: tărăne járe jéjän-hre bi-dísák u nănde bi-dísák. Ldmmă tillă-hre tărăne ziriăte áră Múgrăbi tillă-tmălieskáră, círdă ubúskă "Deyim zárăk min ziriătánki." Gáră jürankáră illi gălénî, nirduhre° indéndis. Áră áurăkáră el-răhtsi, círdă tillă-tmáli "Indéyim pôtrár: 'ndémis Múgrăbiskáră." Párdásis Múgrăbi u gáră mnjts. Míndă hálös u tirdásis kúriămă u járă mănuñse. Gibóri Múgrăbi másák dtyis, u ávări côniskáră. Láheresi wésrék kríkeri. Intósis măfăttăñ, círdă "Épünjăne kúriăn kólésăñ, che díyänin nî kólésăñ." Kóldă pünjăne kúriăn u órăñ kôldóssăñ. Láherdă órămă yéjrăki u dî sábăñ in, sábăñ ik-ăger hăsîsi u yégrí-ăger sáli u másik. Kóldă óră génă, láherdă lúciăki 'allák-k'rik min siriös-wălăski. Kóldósis, wësláurđósis bítăstă u štăldă másiă u sálăs. Intá láciă. Kéri. U tírdă sábăñ-ăger mási u sál u

¹ The dog incident happened (I was assured) in the village of Beit Nettif, in the Hebron district. The point of the story lies in the fact that the fellahin would freely eat hyæna-flesh, but the most deplorable starveling would be horrified at the idea of eating dog-meat. The tragedy of the camel is a well-known type of incident in Palestinian life: camels are endowed with long memories and vengeful tempers, and the unfortunate girl had probably been guilty of some act of cruelty to the animal. It may not be amiss to warn folklorists against seeking recondite answers to the question why the Nawar did not use the camel-meat themselves. It was not because they had any horror towards a creature that had taken human life, and was therefore *tabû*. Though Shákîr did not say so, there is no doubt that his father 'gave' the dead camel to the villagers for a good price, and Mâhsîn, like the rest of his brethren, would prefer money to meat any day!

yégrík-áger tirdă hăšiš. Jándă zárō ūhū Muğrăbi găšti bōl. Mtnđă hálōs zárō u láci, kúldě yégristă. Mtnđe hálósán u ndsre. Răwáhre tillă-tmálies-déťă bővüs-kúriătă.

There was a king, his wives were three in number, they had not conceived. There came a Moor, he said, 'Give me a boy from thy sons, that I may cause thy wives to conceive.' The king said, 'I will give him.' The Moor betook himself and gave them a drug. He arose from there; the three women conceived in a day and brought forth in a day. When the three boys became big the Moor came to the king, he said to him, 'Give me a boy from among the boys.' He went to the women whom he esteemed [lit. who were expensive], they did not wish to give him. He went to her whom he despised [lit. who was cheap], the king said, 'Give me thy son; I will give him to the Moor.' The Moor took him and went off with him. He betook himself and put him in a house and went to leave him. The Moor was away a month [or] two, and came to the boy. He sees him sitting reading.¹ He gave him keys, he said, 'These five chambers open, those two open not.' He opened the five chambers, and those [also] he opened. He saw in one a horse and two lions, before a lion grass and before the horse meat and rice. He opened the other, and saw a girl hanging from the hair of her head. He loosed her, made her sit on the ground, and set meat and rice. He gave it to the girl. She ate. And he put before the lions the meat and rice and before the horse he put the grass. The boy knew that that Moor was a great trickster. The boy betook himself, and the girl, they rode the horse. They betook themselves and fled. They went to the village of the king, to the house of his father.²

LXI

Áštă tillă-tmáliăki, pôtrés diésni, u dăti ābúskă láciăki. Árdă gül, pârdă láciă. Mănde dti zirüte u gâre tă-nănănd bénisän gûlăski. Štirdă min hnónă, mîndóssan gûl u tirdóssän cálasmă. Mănde dâios, u tillă-tmáli min hálósän. Mra° tillă-tmáli, măndi dâiösän min hältis. Pârdă kúries tmáli. Mândi jâăr kúriăkámă kústotî. Tirásali-hri ărátän. Ášt' ūnkis bâgălak, mûtürdă; ptri min mûtruskî bâglik. Jéjani-hri, năndi zdrák. Mtnđă hálōs ūhū zárō bâglik-potri: štaleră sâi bâtmân pištistă. Lâmmă tillá-hră štaleră dî sâi bâtmân. Cîrdă dâiiskă "Ka barém?" "Mtnđe hálósän" cîrdi, "pârdóssän gûl." Gâră kám-

¹ A strange touch to occur in a folk-narrative of an unlettered people.

² This story is, of course, one of the universal Bluebeard type, with some borrowing from Rumpelstiltzkin. It was no doubt originally much longer, and the disconnected horse and lion episodes would then be explained by these grateful creatures turning out as 'helping animals' to rescue the young couple from the wrath of the Moor. It will be noticed, however, on the other hand, that this and the rest of the tales that are obviously folk-stories in the collection are far more coherent, not to say intelligible, than those that profess to be personal reminiscences. The reason is evident: in the former the narrator is reciting more or less mechanically from memory; in the latter he is composing as he goes along, and that (as already explained) under unaccustomed conditions.

Notice in this and some other stories an uncanny character attributed to Moors.

kern̄sti, círdă “Inkéră ðmákă láuriák elháski sāl bátmän tă-jám nánäm barém.” Kérđă ábuskáră kám-kernă láuriák sāl bátmän. Míndă hálōs u gáră baréskă. Ráură štar dís pándásmă. Dís púnjánánki infidră gálás-kuriătă. Míndă hálōs, áră ábuskáră gūl, círdă “Ka barém u bénom illi ūktirni?” Círdă ábuskáră gūl “Ha nī ūktim inhe°, árári tă-párésän?” Círdă “Áiwäh.” Férdă gálás dábismă, bágerdă síriös, tárán fálkă kérdös, u mra° gūl. Gáră hláúrdă bénis gárdik, náură baréstă, láherdóssän cálásmă, pénđóssän mrénde ibkárwáánki. Kull dís mdreri ábsánkáră bákrák min gáles-káliánki. Lámmá-hre barés el-ádi, párda bénis u barés u ráwáhră, u pánjí-hră tillá-tmáli bőres-dériătă.

There was a king, his sons were two [in number] and he had a girl. There came a ghūl, took the girl. There were left the two boys and they went to fetch their sister from the ghūl. The ghūl arose from there, took them and put them in a well. His [their] mother and the king remained alone. The king died, their mother remained alone. An officer took his house. The woman remained in a little house. By night she became thirsty. She had a mule, it made water; she drank of the water of the mule. She conceived, brought forth a boy. That boy (the son of the mule) betook himself; he carried a hundred *rotls* on his back. When he became big he carried two hundred *rotls*. He said to his mother, ‘Where are my brothers?’ ‘They betook themselves,’ said she ‘a ghūl took them.’ He went to a smith, he said, ‘Make me a stick of iron of a hundred *rotls* [weight] that I may go and fetch my brothers.’ The smith made him a stick of a hundred *rotls* weight. He betook himself and went to his brethren. He walked four days on the road. On the fifth day he broke into the ghūl’s house. The ghūl betook itself and came to him; he said, ‘Where are my brethren and my sister that are with thee?’ The ghūl said to him, ‘They are not with me; hast thou come to take them?’ He said, ‘Yes.’ He struck the ghūl with the club, broke its head, made of it three pieces, and the ghūl died. He went and raised his sister alive, sought for his brethren, found them in the well, took them perished from hunger; every day he slaughtered a sheep from the flocks of the ghūl for them. When his brother became as usual, he took his sister and his brethren and went, and he became king in the place of his father.

LXII

Áštă yikáki bizóték u yikák gánik. Baréni. [Gáni] mdrári kálie u kúneri mási; bizótáskă inhe° la móňák wdlă kēš wdlă píš. Potrës küstöténi. Gáră báruskáră tă-mángiš-keră ctnă mási. Círdă, “Yá báră, déyim ctnă mási.” Círdă bárós “Indemre°: ja min imhómki.” Círdă bizótă “Krén jám?” “Gáră [read Ja] Žehdnámtă.” Míndă hálōs bizótă u gártră; gáră Žehdnámtă. Ásti dósáriúki pándásmă. Círdi bizótáski “Krén mángék?” Círdă bizótă “Biddi Žehdnámtă.” Gári dósári wáštis. Míndă hálōs, rásră Žehdnásmă. Intísis Žehdnám muknisák, kánis-kerdă

Zerd. Míndă hálōs, răwáhřá kuriéstă : kánis-kerdă éfeni u īnni zerd káuwum-hri áhár muknisáki. Míndă hálōs, gdră, năndă móndă u kēš potrëskáră, u năndă másik u sáli u kēš-kerdă potrëskáră, u béni-kerdă tilli-kúriăk u iħra dráră u năndă cárše bōl. Tírdă kuriésmă u sar házeri bárustă türüstă illi draréyă, u besauá-hra dīs; nănde tdrän zárō ábúskáră u dī láci: u dīs 'áidáski márdă das bdkră 'áidántyos, wésră kúriismă, ibsútră, u fárik-kerdă bdkrän bizotinkáră.

There was one who was poor and a rich one. They were brethren. [The rich one] used to slaughter goats and sell the flesh; the poor man had neither bread nor meat nor drink. His children were little. He went to his brother to beg a little meat. He said, 'Oh, brother, give me a little meat.' His brother said, 'I will not give it: get out of my sight' [lit. go from my face]. Said the poor man, 'Whither shall I go?' 'Go to Hell.' The poor man betook himself and returned; he went to Hell. There was a negress on the road. She said to the poor man, 'Whither wouldst thou?' The poor man said, 'I would [go] to Hell.' The negress went with him. He betook himself and reached Hell. Hell gave him a broom which swpt gold. He betook himself and went to his house. He swept thus, and there piled up gold under the broom. He betook himself, he went, fetched bread and food for his children, and set meat and rice and prepared food for his children, and built a big house and became satisfied, and got many rugs. He put it in his house, and began to mock at his brother, that one who was rich, and married two [wives]; they bore him three boys and two girls; and on the day of his feast he slaughtered ten sheep for the feast, he sat in his house, was happy, and divided the sheep to the poor.

LXIII

Ašte dī cónék [sic], tillä-tmáliän potréni—yikák wáztrás-potri u yikák mélekás-potri. Štirde min hnónă, gđre tă-náucănd káuci. Mínde hálésän. Áštă kúštótă záraki húzák-kerdék wdták u bándóssi masísémă u gdră wáštsän. Áre émužárémă, tirdë siriésdän u síté. Kúštótă zárō năndă ékúštás u kérda tillă ágik. Sábáhtän gđre li-dger génă, ldherde kláréni cártre, tárne dériákämă. Áratän nadí-kerdă gréwáros-kláränki īnni "Gdröm wárt-keränni snótás: kwa nī kílcär muéšrän, ya klári, hōf snótă märerírsă." Snándi cóné illi káuténi; ujálde kúštótă cónás illi wdti wáštis u masísék. Láherdósis snótă, dáură dtústă tă-mdreris, kíldă éšázretă. Áră snótă tă-kílcär păctis. Dáli-kerdă ábúskáră wátás u măsisi. Blá-kerdös snótă wátás; năndă kándismă, snótă mra°. Gdră kláräntă cónă kúštótă, năndă góriák u dī góri kúštóténi păctis dáurändi. Míndă hálōs, árá tmáliän-potránkă, intóssän kúštótă góriän díyénän; ühü párda tillă-góriän. Mínde hálésän, răwáhre. Ühü tillă-góriă kündă bi-sái zerd; ehe künde kúštótă góriän bi-ním sái zerd kúll-yikă

u mīndē hălésă̄n u gēnă̄ gdre. Ldherde kłaréni nānde mnēšisă̄n kăliéni u kullmánhum pđrdă̄ báwos; mīnde hălósă̄n u kundéndsă̄n. Răwahre: kűstötă̄ cónă̄ besuúá-hră̄ u kérddă̄ ăbúskă̄ kúriă̄k u mīndă̄ hálös u wésră̄.

There were two boys, who were sons of great officers—one of them son of a vizier, one son of a king. They rose from here, went to seek for something to steal. They betook themselves. There was a small boy who bored a hole in a stone and tied it with a string and he went with them. They came into a cave, laid down their heads and slept. The little boy brought timber and made a big fire. In the morning they went further still ; they saw bedawin hidden, three in a place. In the night the sheikh of the bedawin called, ‘I have gone to loosen the dog : take heed that no one of you, bedawin, go out for fear that the dog may kill you.’ The boys who were thieves hear ; they sent the little boy who had the stone and the string. The dog saw him, ran at him to kill him, [the boy] climbed a tree. The dog came to climb behind him. He lowered¹ the stone and the string to him. The dog swallowed the stone ; it went into his throat, the dog died. The little boy went to the bedawin, took a mare and two foals that were small, running after her. He betook himself, came to the officers’ sons, gave them the two small foals ; he took the big mare. They betook themselves, and went. He sold the big mare for a hundred pounds, they sold the little foals for fifty pounds each, and betook themselves and went further. They saw the bedawin, took from them sheep, and each took his share ; they betook themselves and sold them. They went ; the little boy married and made for himself a house and betook himself and stayed.

LXIV

Āsti diésni tără̄nésni kăuténi tmaliemméni răwânde den-gízmă̄ pán̄taki ; hēd-mă̄ 'hră̄ déngiz mă̄njismă̄ pán̄taki bdgiră̄. Kîlde tără̄ne šukfăkă̄tă̄ lă̄dă̄biki. Lă̄mmă̄n kîlde dzirétă̄ mă̄njismă̄ bă̄háriki wésre minjfs. Ldherde yikáki tillă̄-ktíri wă̄rd-kerdék kálă̄ kiyákéni u ă̄háris yégră̄ki kalék. Dirdék pán̄tă̄, kerdék pán̄tamă̄ pán̄dă̄k u ă̄rék dzirétă̄ illi mă̄njismék bă̄háriki. Ăbúskáră̄ erhónā štă̄re limónë u bă̄lă̄he u nă̄hlăle. Wă̄sisi snótă̄ki ktírasă̄n kădd kă̄ră̄ski. Lă̄herdóssă̄n ktír, ktíf-kerdóssă̄n u bă̄hă̄š-kerdă̄ bítă̄smă̄ u ă̄z-kerdóssă̄n tă̄ră̄nă̄n bítă̄smă̄. Štirdă̄ min hnónă̄. Círdă̄ snótă̄skă̄ “Kumnésă̄n.” Mă̄ndă̄ snótă̄s. Mă̄ndă̄ hálös, răwáhř. Kárdă̄ diés; ühü intă̄-kerdă̄ hálös bítă̄ski u mă̄ndă̄ snótă̄s kándiski, nī wárt-kerdös ă̄văr tă̄-mra°. Să̄băhtă̄n áră̄ ktír, lă̄herdă̄ snótă̄s mrék. Muſalá-hră̄. Nă̄ură̄ ă̄tústă̄ kă̄ută̄stă̄, lă̄herdósis ă̄tún nă̄hlă̄ki. Kildă̄. Húldă̄ min ă̄tún yégră̄ki ktír u gă̄ră̄ kléri nă̄hlă̄tă̄. Kildă̄ atún nă̄hlă̄ti ktír tă̄-mner kă̄ută̄s. Nut-ă̄hř kă̄ut min ă̄tún nă̄hlă̄ki. Kildă̄ yégră̄tă̄, féră̄ ktíris dfángă̄k u kă̄iră̄ ktír. Wă̄rd-kerdă̄ kiydkës kă̄ut ktírasă̄ki. Mă̄ndă̄ hálös u ră̄ură̄. Nă̄rdös yégr kă̄riistă̄ ktírasă̄ki. Ár' erhónă̄ ; kă̄nídri bá̄lös, ni ldherdi pőis. Kal “Ātu

¹ The verb expresses the action of lowering a bucket into a well.

mikrén hrári?" Círdă káut "Mdřdōm páiür u mdřdōm snótás." Míndi hálōs kdžji, běsáui-hrōsis, u pđrdă rízkōs giš u plen u rāwáhrđ děsăstă.

There were two or three thieves who were in the army going on a ship ; when the ship was in the middle of the sea it broke. The three descended on a piece of wood. When they climbed up on an island in the middle of the sea they stayed in it. They saw a great European dressed in black clothes, and under him was a black horse. He clave the sea, made a road in the sea and went to the island which was in the middle of the sea. He had there trees of lemon and date and palm. He had a dog whose size was like a donkey [*lit. with him—a dog—with the European—as much as—of a donkey*]. The European saw them, bound them, dug in the ground and planted them all three in the earth. He arose from there. He said to the dog 'Eat them.' He left the dog. He betook himself and departed. It ate two ; the [third] raised himself from the earth and seized the dog by the throat, and did not let it loose till it died. In the morning the European came, he saw the dog dead. He became mad. He looked for the thief, saw him up a palm-tree. He ascended. The European dismounted from the horse and went to climb the palm-tree. The European climbed up the tree to take the thief. The thief leaped from up the palm-tree. He mounted the horse, shot the European and the European fell. The thief clad himself in the clothes of the European. He betook himself and went on. The horse bore him to the house of the European. He came there : his [the European's] wife looked, she did not see her husband. She said, 'Whence art thou ?' The thief said, 'I have killed thy husband and killed the dog.' The woman betook herself, married him, and he took all his property and money and went to his place.

LXV

Míndă hálōs yikáki tillă-tmálik, wěsrék erhónă. Āš' ábūskdră pótrăki. Míndă hálōs pótrōs, lăherdă mra bōiōs. Kúštöték cónă panj, u dáiōs ráuri uyáriki. Lăherde uyárak háribi, nu¹ wěsre minjts. Ráure dger, lăherde wīs dōsarék² hírib-kerdend' uyárän. Wěsláurdă dáiōs déričkámă u míndă étürwali u cíndă siriésän dōsaranki. Mándă yikák dōsarék cárirék. Wěsre műgärémă pánji u dáiōs ; ühř dōsáră cárirék minjí. Stírdă cónă, míndă hálōs u gdră tă-sáiyid-hócer. Díär-ihră kájjietă ; stírdi kdžji běsáui-hrōsis. Míndă hálōs, áră cónă, dōsáră cđriră. Sábáhtän gdră, wěsre kdžji u ühř dōsáră. Dtsák dáiōs cónaski mǎndōsis tă-súcen, u kándi ikiés. Sábáhtän lăherdă hálōs cónă, ka hrénde ikiés ! Lăherdă pánďák, ráură, minjts dī cónik, nánde ábüs-káră dérmän, tírdă ikiésmă, gárd-iħre ikiés el-'áde u zōd. Gárfră dáiiskáră, lăherdă dōsárás pánji u pánji wěsrék, péndă túrwáli u šákf-kerdössän túrwálmă, u míndă hálōs u gárfră cóniéntă.

¹ A rare case of the use of the imperative negative with the indicative mood.

² The singular form of the predicative suffix is probably used to conform to the ordinary rule that the singular number of substantives follows all cardinal numerals. Compare *dī cónék* in no. LXIII, and *dī cónik* below, line 12.

Bēsāūl-hrōssān u gārīrā uyāristā w' iħrā tħillā-tmáli uyármā u cindā siriésān ħtillā-tmaliánki.

A king betook himself, he was staying there. He had a son. His son betook himself, saw that his father was dead. He was a little boy [lit. was little the boy he] and his mother departed from the city. They saw a ruined city, they did not stay in it. They went forward, they saw that there were twenty negroes ruining the cities. He made his mother sit in a place and took the sword and cut the heads of the negroes [off]. One negro remained: he was hidden. He [the boy] and his mother stayed in a cave; that negro was hidden in it. The boy arose, betook himself and went to hunt. He [the negro] showed himself to the woman: the woman arose and married him. The boy betook himself and came, the negro hid. In the morning he went, the woman and that negro stayed. One day the boy's mother left him to sleep, and plucked out his eyes. In the morning the boy saw himself, where are his eyes?! He saw a road, departed, on it were two girls, they fetched him a drug, he put it in his eyes, his eyes became as usual and better. He returned to his mother, saw the negro, they two were sitting [together], he took the sword and made pieces of them with the sword, and betook himself and returned to the girls. He married them and returned to his city and became king in the city and cut off the heads of those kings [who had driven him out].

LXVI

Stírdēn min hnōnā, árð ūnkítmān tħillā-tmáli; lħerdā kiyákān u nāuróssān, nī lħerdā minjitsān kiyák. Mindēn hǎlémān u rāvurdēn u għrēn idēsāstā. Għarā mātumom wăštimān. Nandēn wiś dăwār kláranksi u kundénsān édēsāsmā. Mindēn hǎlémān u għartrēn. Bēsāūl-hrōm jārak min ċdēsaski. Wésrēn ūnkítmān. Għarēn Till'-uyārtā, lħerdēn Dōmēni, märde āmin-kārđ dī bákrā u kārēn u pħrēn. Árēn min hnōnā, rāvurdēn, għrēn Cújx-dēsāstā. Zārak pàrdā bárim u násrā minjits, räsrōmus pāndāsmā, fērōmis dfángāk u dīrdom bittas u mōldōmis. Tirdōm atnis wdte u násrōm. Lħerdōm jári pāndāsmā, fērōmis lāuriemā, bdgerdōm sīrius, inhros mu° cärdā, u għartrōm. Cirdom bōttemkä "Mārdómsān diytnān." Mindēn hǎlémān u násrēn. Rāwahħrēn dēsimintā u wésrēn. La għrēn wdlħ árēn.

We rose from there, there came an officer to us; he saw the things and searched them, he found nothing in them. We betook ourselves and departed and went to that place. My uncle went with us. We fetched twenty camels from the bedawin and sold them in that place. We betook ourselves and returned. I married a woman from that place. We stayed where we were [lit. with ourselves]. We went to Jerusalem, saw that there were Nawar [there], they slaughtered for us two sheep and we ate and drank. We came from there and departed, we went to the land of Egypt. A boy took my wife and made off with her. I followed him on the road, shot him, and dug the earth and buried him. I put stones over him and fled. I saw the woman on the road, struck her with a rod, broke her head, her blood covered her face, and I returned. I said to my father, 'I have killed them both.' We betook ourselves and fled. We went to our place and stayed; we neither went nor came.

*LXVII

Ásti kdjjidki, štaldik zárák pálisťa u rávrik pánddomá. Áră átuštă mufálă u párda zarés mněštis. Wázrá, kíldă siriistă mědánéki. Dáuri dários, mángări zarés min mřfaláski. Círdi "Ímcim hastér u páruwér; ni kwa° pótrum u hári ktyă mángék démri." Nirda° mřfálă. Mángără inkwár zarés. Áre giš máte tă-rají-hre minjí, nírdáhrrá° mřfálă indér zárés. Áră yikák m'fálă zeyés. "Kéi déomi tă-ndnám potrúrăn min m'faláski gárdáni?" "Hári ktya mángék démri." "Mángămi sári blári átkure° u sári blári märe° u ním sári ikiküštóte." Círdé ábúskă "Ndnáni ábúrkă." Círdă m'fálă "Ndnás ámákă minšárak." Nánde ábúskă, u štirdă min hnónă, tirdă minšári nímistă mědánéki. Círdă áuráskáră "Hláur zárés, wdlă cnámis minjí." Círdă ábúskáră "Ni cnés, dmă hláuámi zárés." Hláurdă zárés u tósis dáriskáră.

There was a woman carrying a child on her shoulder and walking on the road. There came to her a madman, and took the child from her. He fled and climbed to the top of a minaret. The mother hastened and begged the child from the madman. She said, 'I kiss your hands and your feet; do not cast down my son, and whatever you ask I will give it.' The madman would not. He wanted to throw the boy down. There came all the people to beseech him; the madman would not give up the child. There came a madman like to him. 'What will you give that I may bring your son from the madman safe and sound?' 'Whatever you ask we will give you.' 'I ask a hundred tom-cats, a hundred she-cats, and fifty mice.' He said to him, 'We will give them thee.' Said the madman, 'Bring me a saw.' They brought it to him, and he arose, put the saw halfway up the minaret. He said to the other one, 'Bring down the boy; if not I will cut it [down] on you.' He said to him, 'Do not cut it, I will bring the boy down.' He brought the boy down and gave him to his mother.¹

LXVIII

Áste dī cónik kústoténi, inhe° ábsánkă dári wdlă bōr, kúriákă-méni min hálésán. Náuri démă cóni tillik, nī lherdi ag. Áratón kánídri hálémă, lherdi ági dí-hrik. Míndi hálós u gdri tă-ndnár ag min hnóna. Kánídri winni kúriósi gúléki. Gínlă gébrik, u märdik dī bákră u tirdössnni kähryémă u gdrik tă-ndnár káumës min-sán kímnánd. Ári cóni lherdi inhe° mat erhóna gáir gúlék-potri kústoték. Péndi másia min kähryáki cóni, bárdá-kerdi pátiă illi siriisték, u míndi kústotă cónas u tirdöss kähryémă. Pánji úgli hóri, u räwáhri cóni. Ári gúlă, lherdi pótrös kähryémék; m'falá-hri; náuri déän giš, ni

¹ I almost feel that an apology is due for inserting this foolish tale! I got Shákir to translate it because it happened to be in my head. Just before the 'sitting' an Arab had related it to me as being 'the funniest story he had ever heard in his life' [!]

lherdi illi tirdi pótrōs. Ári áudētā illi cóni minj̄tsi, lherdi cóni erhónā, ári grēwáraski déik, círdi "Mángámi bēsáúi-hōcem élaciă; ābúrkă ya grēwáră das zerd." Párdi laciă u gdri. Tírdos kúriámă u bándi kápiă átústă u gdri gúlă tă-'ázimnák'rar káumēs átústă. Bágirdi kápiă cóni u bárdđ-kerdi pátiós zérdi min gúlék-kuriăki u míndi hálös u ndsri. Ráwáhri kuriistă, cárди plen illi nándóssän u círdi "ya máumă" grēwárastă, "ehe illi tórim ábsánkă gúléni." Círdă grēwáră "kácinnă hríri." Míndi hálös, sábáhtăń ári gúlă. Ári, kánídre minj̄i u ínhă gúlék. Féréndis di tárni dfang, u mǎrdéndis u tírdéndis ágma u dírde-kerdéndis tímnd bis. Míndi hálös cóni u wésri kúriismă.

There were two girls who were little, they had neither mother nor father, in a house thay stayed alone. The elder girl searched in the village, and found no fire. By night she looked in the wilderness, she saw a fire lighted. She betook herself and went to bring fire from there. She saw that it was the house of a ghūl. The ghūl was away, having killed two sheep and put them in a cooking-pot and gone to bring her people to eat them. The girl came, saw no one there but the ghūl's son who was little. The girl took the meat from the cooking-pot, filled the veil that was on her head, and took the little boy and put him in the cooking-pot. He was boiled, and the girl departed. The ghūl came, saw that her son was in the cooking-pot ; she became mad ; she searched all the villages, and did not find who had put in her son. She came to the very village where the girl was. She saw the girl there, went to the sheikh of the village, and said, 'I want to marry that girl :¹ ten napoleons to thee, O sheikh.' She took the girl and went. She put her in the house and locked the door on her and the ghūl went to invite her people. The girl broke the door and filled her veil with gold from the ghūl's house and betook herself and fled. She went to her house, hid the money she had taken, and said 'Uncle'² (to the sheikh), 'those to whom thou didst give me are ghūls.' The sheikh said, 'Thou art a liar.' The ghūl betook herself and came in the morning. She came, they looked on her, [and saw] that she was a ghūl. They shot her two or three times, and killed her, and put her in the fire and winnowed her like straw. The girl betook herself and stayed in her house.

LXIX

Áste tárénésni baréni. Díis káróssän gúl, u yikák, námos Hodédán, mándă kásrásma. Giš kásrás líhi. Štírdi min hnónă gúlă, círdi ábúskáră "Ísti tă-jăń injiréta tă-kúmnănd injír." Círdă ábúskáră Hodédán "Injame". Húlci min hnónă." Sábük-hóces injiréta u kílcă dtnis u guzél injíre kársi u címdă kwársi gúlikáră u gúlă láherdosí. Míndi hálös gúlă, ráwáhř pánji, sábákrós, kíldă kuriestă. Štírdi min hnónă, círdi ábúskă gúlă "Ísti tă-jăń muktáyéta tă-kúmnănd šáti." Círdă ábúskáră

¹ Grammatically the ghūl is feminine almost consistently throughout this story (except towards the end, where we have ínhă gúlék instead of gúlik). But this would suggest that the narrator conceived of the creature as masculine.

² A common mode of address, often used by peasant-girls to older men.

"Injame": ja ðtu"¹ sābákrōs min hnónă, gáră muktă-yétă. Káre báttih, råwáhre. Kal gállă, círdi ábúskă "Ámă káróm šúti." Círdă ábúskára Hodéðún "U dmă káróm génă." Círdi gállă "Isti tă-ján kústáskă." Círdă ábúskă "Injame." Štirdă min hnónă, párdă désták görisne° u gáră kústdstă. Kérdă tillă házmic u níngră mänjismă. Ári gállă, láherdi éházmi tillik, stáldósis gállă, råwáhri minjts. Kúll-mă råwáhri dí kddám inghúz-kersi görisnéma siriüs mänjismă. Lámmán mändă inhárus güléki cárda imhós. Hláúrđi házmi kuriismă, láherdósis mänjismă hasméki. Mindósis u ktíf-kerdósis u tirdósis égoniámă u siwárdi átüstă. Gárdi tirdi káhryă ágtă u tirdi áháris kúst u bárdá-kerdi káhryă pántă u gárdi tă-azím-keren káumës átüstă. Ásti gúlákára kústotă záraki, kóldák góniă, péndósis u kíldák báră, u cíndák iktáfes círiámă. Štaldák zárës u tirdósis kahryémă. Ári gállă, láherdi pótrus pántamék mrék, u 'hü wésrék kuriismă. Škáféri yom illi láherdi pótrus pántamă u ínhu mrék. Hálđdák 'hü min kuriiski, párda plës u kiyakés u tirdák sírios kuriismă u sită.

There were three who were brothers. A ghūl ate two of them, and one, by name Hodéðún, remained in his castle. All the castle was of iron. The ghūl arose from there, said to him, 'Rise, that we go to the fig-tree to eat figs.' Hodéðún said to her, 'I will not go; descend from there.' He preceded her to the fig-tree and climbed up it, and the good figs he ate and the bad he cast down to the ghūl, and the ghūl did not see him. The ghūl betook herself, he went, outran her, went out to his house. The ghūl rose from there, said to him, 'Rise, let us go to the melon-field to eat melons.' He said to her, 'I will not go: go thou . . .' He preceded her from there, went to the melon-field. They ate water-melons, and went. Said the ghūl, she said to him, 'I have eaten water-melons.' Hodéðún said to her, 'And I have eaten them also.' Said the ghūl, 'Rise, let us go for firewood.' He said to her, 'I will not go.' He arose from there, took a packet of needles and went for firewood. He made a large faggot and went into the middle of it. The ghūl came, saw that big faggot; the ghūl carried it and went off with it. Whenever she went two paces he pricked her in the middle of her head with the needle. When he left [off] the blood of the ghūl covered her face. She lowered the faggot in the house, saw him in the middle of the faggot. She seized him and bound him and put him in a sack and sewed it on him. She went and put the cooking-pot on the fire and put under it firewood and filled the pot with water and went to invite her people to her. The ghūl had a little boy, he loosened the bag; he took him and went out, and cut his bonds with a knife. He carried the boy and put

¹ Here Shákir broke off and refused to proceed, saying apologetically that this part of the story had bad words in it which he was ashamed to utter before me. When encouraged to go on, he pondered for a while, evidently going over the *risqué* passage in his own mind, and then resumed at a later stage of the story. The incident is interesting, as showing that these more connected stories are stereotyped in form—are, in fact, a true 'oral literature'—as has already been conjectured by Groome and others. I never learned what the offensive passage was, but probably it was to the effect that Hodéðún preceded the ghūl to the melon-field, and placed there some unclean substance which the ghūl ate, thinking it was the fruit.

him in the cooking-pot. The ghūl came, saw her son in the water dead, and he sitting in the house. She screamed when she saw her son in the water, and that he was dead. He went down from her house, took her money and things and laid down his head in his house and slept.

LXX

Āstā yikáki tillā-tmálik, ābúskā zárāki. Kull wars dtri bizōtānkárā nīm sāi zerd. Mra tillā-tmáli. Mándā pótros; kull wars fárik-keri bizotánkā nīm sāi zerd. Wársák fárik-kerdā nīm sāi zérdān. Árā yikák mangišnék, nī lāherdā wăstis ple cónā. Intósis sakói : giš hágé illi pléni ménjsán žebisméni sákóéki. Náurā cónā hătántā, nī lāherdóssán. Círdā cónā "Párdóssán ūhř bizotó." Gdrā ābúskárā, náurā átústā, lāherdósis, nándā mnéssi hátán. Kánídrrá kuriúsmá bizotásaki, lāherdā cóniák gúzeli. Círdā cónā bizotáskárā "Bésáui-kérém élaciá u par nīm sāi zerd." Nirdahrá kájjá ; kal "Wések ūktimán, pdréki góniá u mangiškerék kuriánki hót dís wă dmă démsi ābúskárā." Círdā cónā "Wézámi." Gdrá, mängiš-kerdā kuriánki hót dís, windírdā aha širš béná ikiéski nálik. Štírdā min hnóna, kámil-kerdā hótáni dísán, u párdoasis cóniá. Intá boíiski nīm sāi zerd u mtndá hálós, răwáhrrá kuríistá. Štírdā min hnóná, bésáui-hra géná dís cóni, kúlyiká nándi zárák, árósis tdrán záró bédäl-má boíos mra.

There was a king, he had a son. Every year he gave to the poor fifty pounds. The king died. His son remained ; every year he divided to the poor fifty pounds. One year he divided fifty pounds. There came a beggar, the boy saw no money with himself. He gave him a coat : all the papers that had money in them¹ were in the pocket of the coat. The boy searched for the papers, and did not find them. The boy said, 'That poor man has taken them.' He went to him, searched for him, saw him, fetched from him the papers. He looked in the poor man's house, he saw a beautiful girl. The boy said to the poor man, 'I will marry this girl : take fifty pounds.' The man would not. He said, 'Stay with us, take a bag and beg from the houses seven days and I will give her to thee.' The boy said, 'I will stay.' He went, begged from the houses seven days, coloured [tattooed] this part² blue between his eyes. He arose from there, finished the seven days, and took the girl. He gave her father fifty pounds, and betook himself and went to his house. He rose from there, married other two girls, each one of them bore a son ; there came to him three sons instead of his father who had died.

¹ i.e. vaguely, notes, receipts, or any such incomprehensible documents.

² Accompanied by illustrative gesture, pointing to the forehead.

IV.—TEXTES EN ROMANI RUSSE

Translittérés et traduits d'après le *Tzyganski Yazyk* de
P. Istomin [K. P. Patkanov]

Par HENRI BOURGEOIS

Introduction

Ces textes—trois récits en prose et quatorze petites chansons—sont translittérés et traduits du manuel de langue tzigane d'Istomin-Patkanov (Moscou, 1900). Comme l'ouvrage dont ils font partie, ils sont, pratiquement, inaccessibles aux tziganologues occidentaux ; et l'on peut dire la même chose de la plupart des publications relatives au dialecte de Russie. Celui-ci ayant cependant aussi son intérêt, nous ne doutons point que la présente publication ne soit particulièrement bien accueillie.

D'ailleurs, si on excepte la syntaxe, assez fortement influencée par la langue du pays—c'est du reste un trait commun à tous les dialectes du romani—, nos textes représentent un type linguistique très pur ; ce n'est que dans quelquesunes des chansons que l'intrusion du russe est plus notable. Mais, ce qui est caractéristique, c'est que les prépositions russes se préfixent au verbe romani, pour former—à l'exclusion de toute composition au moyen d'éléments propres—des composés répondant littéralement à l'expression russe.

Comme principe de transcription, nous avons adopté le système de l'illustre tziganologue, R. von Sowa (cf. *Die Mundart der Slovakinischen Zigeuner*, Göttingen, 1887) ; à noter seulement le Γ, γ (*gamma grec*), répondant, semble-t-il, au *ghāīn* de l'arabe, et c, le *ts* des publications anglaises.

Sowa considère l'*y*—opposé à l'*i*—comme un artifice de graphie sans application au romani. Tout bien pesé, nous avons adopté la même façon de voir, quoique, à un autre point de vue, le maintien de l'*y* aurait eu ses avantages, notamment dans les mots d'emprunt. Mais, pour ne pas créer un dualisme fâcheux, nous sommes partis du principe contraire, et avons renoncé à rendre rigoureusement l'orthographe des mots russes : *telēga* est devenu *telega*, *Fédjka*, *Fédka*, etc.

En revanche, nous nous sommes tenus strictement à l'orthographe de l'auteur dans les mots proprement tziganes, au point que nous allons jusqu'à écrire avec lui *bjeljvjeljé*. Ce mot seul suffirait à illustrer les vices du système : il vaut ce que valent toutes les adaptations de l'alphabet russe, lequel est certes celui qui se prête le moins à la transcription des langues étrangères.

La traduction a été faite directement sur le romani ; le russe n'a été pris que comme moyen d'interprétation, et nous nous en sommes plus d'une fois écartés, surtout dans les chants. Tout en la maintenant intelligible, nous avons visé à faire cette traduction assez littérale pour qu'elle pût se passer d'un commentaire.

I

1

Cačipé túke tephénáv—e-bibí mirí šukdár džinél tedrabakír :
só—pir-o-patrjá, só—tezumavél. Patjáse Devléske—kici jój lové
doreséla ak'adalésa. Deveséster dro deves láte phardí štúba
e-ranjén. O-gadjá, móro, saré—barvalipé. Buté avéna durip-
náster, e-forjáter. A sóster skedéna-pe ko jój—áke šún : jekháke

trébi e-lubanés tepritirdél (teprikerél) ke-pe, vavrvjáke—tegaljól saró čačipé pal-e-roméste, te na javéna-li láter o čavé. . . .

Sabé mán rozkedéla vavir mólo tedikháv, sir jój len čororjén obthovéla : lélé o-kúskico mom, obkérla les péskre balénca, na udikhésa, sir láte dre vastá jekháter ačela o-bengoró, mekéla les dro stakáno panjésa—bengoró odój, takí džidó. *Tranckirdjóna o-gadjá, peremérna straháter, tedikhén pro saró, pro adavá.*

A e-bibí džinél gadjéngro dilnipé—bašela lénge nálače lavá, košela len sarén romanés.

Patjána o-buznjá, déna patív lákre lavénge—začivéna lá sarjá lovéncia.

O-kák na phenélas láke tedorikír—'Perejáč, cháči-ta, rómni : poperésa, béngrini, dro baró-khér !' a jój usá na uléla-pe, kérla pir péskiro.

O-kaynítko aménde dro gáv—choljamipé : kamjá-siz lá, jékhvor, tezakedél. Avjá ko amé choladénca. Obrodiné sari štúba—niči na lathlé. E-bibí—godjavér-si, čibalí, o-čarjá geradjá, zarakirdjá řingaléngro šeró, te adjáke saró i obgejá-pe.

Pour te dire la vérité, ma tante sait habilement annoncer l'avenir, soit d'après les cartes, soit dire la bonne aventure. Le croiras-tu, de par Dieu, combien d'argent elle gagne par là ? Tous les jours, sa chambre est pleine de dames. Les femmes russes, ami, toutes sont riches. Beaucoup viennent de loin, de la ville. Mais pourquoi se rassemblent-elles chez elle ? Voici, écoute : à l'une, il lui faut attirer vers elle (ou s'attacher) son amant, à l'autre, apprendre toute la vérité sur son mari, si elle n'aura pas d'enfants. . . .

Le rire me fait éclater, une autre fois, de voir comment elle les circonvient, les malheureuses ; elle prend un petit morceau de cire, l'entoure de ses cheveux ; tu n'auras pas le temps de le voir, que, tout à coup, un petit diable est dans ses mains, elle le laisse tomber dans un verre avec de l'eau ; le petit diable est là, vivant, dirait-on. Les femmes russes tremblent, elles meurent de frayeur à contempler tout ceci.

Mais ma tante connaît la sottise des femmes russes ; elle leur marmotte de vilains mots, les insulte toutes en romani.

Les femmes russes croient, elles donnent foi à ses paroles ; elles la couvrent littéralement d'argent.

Mon oncle lui disait de ne pas dire la bonne aventure. ‘Cesse, disait-il, femme ; tu tomberas, diablesse, en prison !’ ; mais elle, malgré tout, ne cesse pas, elle fait à son habitude.

Le commissaire chez nous, dans le village, est irrité ; il voulut la prendre une fois. Il vint chez nous avec des soldats. Ils examinèrent toute la chambre ; ils ne trouvèrent rien. Ma tante est maligne, elle a une bonne langue ; elle cache les herbes, elle circonvint le chef des soldats, et ainsi tout se passa bien.

2

Na ! Na sikadjóle mánge ak'adá tumaró choladítko (forjítko) džeibé. Fededír aménde dro pólje . . . Bachtaledír-si. Adadevés

—adáj, atasjá—adój . . . dur, dur. . . . Lodása, káj—dro věš, káj—paš-o-réka. Na bistráva me péskre terné beršá, sir psirávas pirangí pal-o-paní, skedávas šukhé kaštorjá vešéster . . . Anávas ko šátro, adáj amaró sivo priphandló ko urdén. . . . O-kák sthovélas o-kóstro, rozlidzáles o-jág. Bjelvjeljé bibí keravéla o-dzeveli, bešása paš-o-jagorí, bagása gilorjá. . . . Godína ! Suté sam pro pernícu.

Pró atasjá, sir zachačírla o-khamoró, zadása andré e-sivonés—bešása pro urdén—džása pir-o-gavá. Amé bibjása, yonéncá pal-e-psiké, psirása pir-o-kherá—temangás, buténgé drabakirása, o-kák zaléla-pe gadžengre grénca—léla kófu. Mištipé !

Non ! cette vie-ci, votre vie de la ville, ne me plaît pas. Il fait meilleur chez nous dans la campagne. . . . On est plus heureux. Aujourd'hui, ici, demain, là . . . loin, loin . . . Nous passons la nuit, ici, dans la forêt, là, près du fleuve. Je n'oublierai pas mes jeunes années, comment j'allai pieds-nus chercher de l'eau, comment je rassemblais du bois sec dans la forêt. . . . Je l'apportais à la tente, ici notre cheval gris était attaché au chariot. . . . Mon oncle rassemblait un tas de bois, allumait le feu. Le soir, ma tante cuit une omelette, nous nous asseyons près du feu, nous chantons des chansons. . . . C'est charmant ! Nous dormons sur l'oreiller.

Le lendemain, dès que le soleil se lève, nous attelons le cheval gris, nous nous asseyons sur le chariot, nous allons par les villages. Ma tante et moi, avec les sacs sur les épaules, nous marchons le long des maisons, pour mendier, à beaucoup, nous disons la bonne aventure ; mon oncle s'occupe des chevaux des paysans, il fait ses profits. Que c'est bon !

3

Ne šún, so me túke rozphenáva. Gará adavá isíz. Me inkjé tekňo sómas. Skedejám-pe amé jékhvor pro tárgo, dro vavír fóro, dúr amaré gavéster. Sámas amé—štar džiné : o-dád, me pšalésa, te kakéskro čavó, o-Fédka. Sir pro bíbacht, dr'adá mólo, priavjá-pe aménege tedžás vešésa. Šukár ! O-grajá amaré priphandlé siz pal-e-chrebtrúčko, o-pšál vavré čavésa (Fedkása) liné skukáter tezsovén, o-dád saró dróm siz sutó, ačjóm-pe me jékh-džinó násuvi.

Ake, dikháva, surnjádeja, vari-kón-to brezáter pro phúv, tirdejá paš-o-dróm, maniš ná manúš, saró dro sedo balá, vipurádeja pro mánde o-jakhá, podikhjá choljamés, choljamés, e-rakírla : " Ná kinen, cháči-ta, sivoné grén :—bibachtalé avéna !" Prokhostjóm me vastésa o-jakhá—nané nikonés. Darándejom me, móro ! Ná-li, cháme, beng ! ? Merakhél o-Devel-Dád ! Džingadjóm peskirén, rozphenáva—na patjána mánge—gazdiné o-sabé.

Posandlé—te adjáke i bistirdé pal-saró, pal-adavá . . . Avjám dro fóro.

Skedení lačí siz, bari, phardí grénca. Péskre grén parudjám,

*rozbikindjám, but o-kófu lejám dr'odó devés, phardé kisiká o-lové.
Kamjámas terisjovás palé ke-pé dro gáv.*

*Džása skedenjáter, rakirása maškír péste . . . dikhás—lidzále
o-gavítko gadžó sivoné grés. . . . O-yénčto,—učipé, phabénc. So
udikhjám, móro, ne i obmejám, káj sámas trdé . . . O-dád—ko
gadžó. "Bút-li, chabi, mangésa?"—"Ná-akija, cháči, but, mre
romá!" Láv pal-o-láv, kinása jekháter e-khuré. O-gráj siz, móro,
beršénc na udikhésa. Só gožipnás, só prastabnás—sarésa
udejá-pe. Andjám amé lés kheré. Trdó jov aménde devés, dúj
. . . na chále, na pjéla o-gráj, lejá tešutjól . . . pirdál-o-kurkó,
na galejám les—o-pér léste podkedejá-pe, pašvaré vidiné-pe
avří, o-gerá les na rikírna—ačá, sir cípo. "So, cháme, za
bibacht?! Na kérla-li pro léste o-nálačo? Jav, cháme,
tepoddikháv!" Ratí, sir saré zasuté, me—ko gráj. Za-
mardjóm-pe dro khás—užakiráva. Ake, šunáva, dro paš-rát, vari-
kón-to, otpsiradjá e-pórta, podgejá ko sívo, rozčurdejá pir-o-phúv
sarí džov, saró khás, sčidjá e-cérga, bestjá pro sivonéste uklistó,
márla les gerénca—dilnánđeja o-gráj, vikhamlejá saró. . . .*

*Me, káj sómas, móro, suchtjóm teprastáv, prjámo-s ko dád.
Džingadjóm amarén, avlé—dikhéna—čučó! saró sin rozčurdenó—
trdó o-sívo takí-muló.*

*Prigejá-pe tebiknás les karacháske. Odó beršéster na lejám
tekinás e-sivoné grén—bibacht lénc. Eripirdjóm me odó-
phuréskre lavá, káj šundjóm dro věš.*

Ake i rákir, te nané pro svéto kheritkonén.

Allons, écoute ce que je vais te raconter. Ceci était il y a longtemps. J'étais encore petit. Nous nous rendimes une fois au marché, dans une autre ville, loin de notre village. Nous étions quatre : mon père, moi et mon frère, et le fils de mon oncle, Fedka. Comme pour un malheur, cette fois-ci, il nous arriva d'aller par une forêt. Fort bien ! Nos chevaux allaient, les rênes attachées sur le dos, mon frère et l'autre enfant (Fedka) s'endormirent d'ennui ; mon père dormait tout le chemin, je restai moi seul éveillé.

Voici que quelqu'un, me semble-t-il, a sauté par terre du haut d'un bouleau, il est debout près du chemin : est-ce un homme ? n'est-ce pas un homme ? il est tout en cheveux blancs. Il ouvrit sur moi de grands yeux, me regarda en colère, en colère, et il dit : 'N'achetez pas, dit-il, de chevaux gris ; ils seront malheureux !' Je me frottai les yeux de ma main . . . il n'y a personne. Je m'effrayai, ami ! N'est-ce pas, pensai-je, un diable ? Que Dieu me garde ! J'éveillai les miens, je leur raconte le fait ; ils ne me croient point, ils commencent à rire.

Ils rirent, et, ensuite, ils oublièrent tout ceci . . . Nous vinmes en ville.

Le marché était bon, grand, plein de chevaux. Nous échangeâmes nos chevaux, nous les vendimes ; nous fimes beaucoup de profit ce jour-là, nos poches étaient pleines d'argent. Nous voulûmes retourner chez nous au village.

Nous quittons le marché, nous causons entre nous . . . Nous voyons qu'un villageois amène un cheval gris. . . . Le cheval est grand, gris pommelé. Dès que

nous l'aperçumes, ami, nous en perdimes la tête, tant que nous étions. . . . Mon père dit au paysan : ‘Est-ce que tu en demandes beaucoup ?’—‘Pas tellement, dit-il, mes Tziganes !’ D'un mot à l'autre, nous finîmes par acheter le poulain. Le cheval était tel, ami, que tu n'en verras pas un pareil pendant des années. Et en beauté, et en vélocité, en tout il était remarquable. Nous l'aménâmes à la maison. Il reste chez nous un jour, deux jours . . . le cheval ne mange pas, ne boit pas, il commença à maigrir . . . la semaine passée, nous ne le reconnaissions plus : le ventre lui rentrait, les côtes ressortaient, les jambes ne le soutenaient plus ; il ne lui restait plus que la peau. Quel malheur est-ce ? pensai-je. Est-ce que le mauvais n'opère pas sur lui ? Allons voir ! dis-je. La nuit, lorsque tous se furent endormis, j'allais près du cheval. Je me jetais dans le foin . . . j'attends. Voici que j'entends, à minuit, que quelqu'un a ouvert la porte, se dirige vers le cheval, disperse par terre toute l'avoine, tout le foin, enlève la housse, monte sur le cheval gris, le frappe avec les jambes . . . le cheval devient furieux, est tout en sueur. . . .

Moi, tant que j'étais, ami, je me mis à courir directement près de mon père. J'éveillai les nôtres ; ils viennent, ils voient. . . . En vérité, tout est dispersé, le cheval gris est debout quasi-mort.

Il nous fallut le vendre à un Tartare. A partir de cette année-là nous commençâmes à ne plus acheter de chevaux gris : le malheur les accompagne. Je me rappelai les paroles de ce vieillard, que j'avais entendues dans la forêt.

Eh bien ! dis s'il n'y a pas dans le monde des lutins.

II

1

Sósa Gríša, sósa Gríša

Tu san barvaló !

Talarjénca, talarjénca

Tu san zoraló !

Ko Devél, ko Devél

Tu sovlachadján.

Pal-o-róm, pal-o-róm

Tu man na leján !

Adadevés, adadevés—

Amé barvalé.

Ataszá, ataszá

Amé—čororé.

Variante

<i>Adadevés, adadevés</i> <i>Amé chása, pjásza.</i> <i>Ataszá, ataszá—</i> <i>Náchaja bešása.</i>
--

En quoi, Gricha, en quoi, Gricha, est-tu riche ? Par les thalers, par les thalers tu es puissant !

A Dieu, à Dieu tu l'as juré ; épousée, tu ne m'as pas épousée !
 'Aujourd'hui, aujourd'hui nous sommes riches ; demain, demain nous serons pauvres.'
 (Aujourd'hui, aujourd'hui nous mangeons, nous buvons ; demain, demain nous serons assis à jeûn.)

2

*Trin ratjá me na sutjóm :
 Barí dúma dumindjóm.
 Me pro zórkica vzdikhjóm—
 Sivonés andre dejóm.
 'Uští ! sívo, rozkosmáto !
 Tu lídža miró šeró.
 Lídža mró kaló šeró
 Pro baró, pro dromoró !'*

Pendant trois nuits je n'ai point dormi ; j'ai fait de grandes réflexions. J'ai levé les yeux dès l'aurore, j'ai attelé le cheval gris. 'Lève-toi, mon cheval gris, mon cheval gris tout pelé ! Conduis ma tête, conduis ma tête noire sur le grand chemin, sur le petit chemin.'

3

*Kon arjá, pritradejá ? . . .
 Jadá sívo khinejá,
 Saré petále rozmardjá.
 Terní číj palál gejá,
 Saré petále skedejá,
 Terné čavéské otdejá.*

Qui est venu, qui l'a amené ? . . . Ce cheval gris s'est fatigué, il a cassé tous ses fers. La jeune fille est allée derrière, elle a ramassé tous les fers, elle les a donnés au jeune homme.

4

*Aj-da, miró zéleno urdó,
 Pro lačo šteto terdó,
 Bomažkénca saró obthodó !
 Aj-da, miré síve, síve jo-kalé,
 E-Devléster bachtalé !
 'Nájav, nájav rani bari—
 Začív gréské džovori.'—
 —'Kokoró na san tu ráj,
 Péskre gréské san chuláj !'—*

Eh bien ! mon chariot vert, debout dans un bon campement, tout entouré de morceaux de papier ! Eh bien ! mes chevaux gris, mes chevaux gris et mes

chevaux noirs, dont la chance ne peut venir que de Dieu ! ‘Ne sois pas, ne sois pas grande dame, verse au cheval de l’avoine.’—‘Toi-même, tu n’es pas un seigneur, tu es le serviteur de ton cheval !’

5

*Adajá e-bida
Pre mánde nakačálas
Ach, roznescástno
Čaj navjazálase.
Ach-da, tedžináv me
Jadajá e-súdba
Ach ! me na džávas
Pal túte pal-o-róm.
Ach-da, so tekeráv
Mánge mre romnjásá ? !
Bari zabótica
Dilenjásá.
Ach-da, zjavéna
Ke amé je-drevcásá
Ach ! zamangéna
Amén je-čestjásá.*

C'est là un malheur qui est tombé sur moi ! Ah ! une fille de malheur s'est cramponnée à moi.

—Ah ! si j'avais su que ce sort me fut réservé, oh ! je ne l'aurais pas épousée.

—Ah ! que ferai-je avec ma femme ? La sotte me donne grand souci.

—Ah ! ils viennent chez nous avec le petit arbre, ah ! ils nous demandent en tout honneur !

6

*Šel me vérsti, šavó, progejóm—
Njikáj pára péske na latjóm.*

*Adré Móskva me avjóm
E-romnjá péske latjóm.*

*Vzdíkh-ta, Dévlale, pir mánde :
Tebesél adá góžo paš mánde !*

*Sivonéske podmaráva
E-petále pro lavá :*

*Palatuné—sumnakuné,
Anglatuné—rupuvé !*

J'ai fait cent verstes, jeune homme, nulle part je n'ai trouvé une compagne.
 Je suis venu dans Moscou, j'y ai trouvé une femme pour moi.
 Jette un regard sur moi, mon Dieu ; que cette jolie fille soit assise à côté
 de moi !
 Nous mettrons au cheval gris des fers avec des inscriptions : ceux de derrière
 sont d'or, ceux de devant sont d'argent.

7

Kamarí telega
Kamaró urdó
O-gráj sívo
Priphandló.
Ugaljóv, ugaljóv
Míri díleni !
Te savó-si dre mánde
Baró muršipé !
Pro čorí amé džásá
Bída na darásá
E-čorjáter anásá
Baró mištípé !

A notre char, à notre chariot le cheval gris est attaché. Apprends-le, apprends-le, ma sotte de femme, combien grand est mon courage ! Nous irons en expédition de vol, nous ne craindrions pas qu'il nous arrive malheur, nous rapporterons un grand butin !

8

Te mejóm, te méjom,
Pal-o-róm na gejóm—
Chasijóm !
Te dejá-ž o-Devél,
Te dejá-ž mánge
E-romnjá :
Bi-geréngirja,
Bi-vasténgirja—
Pro phaljá.
Pro urdén tethováv,
Je-urdenéster tezláv—
Usá—me !

C'est morte que je suis, c'est morte, et non pas mariée ; je suis perdue !—Est-ce celle-là que Dieu m'a donnée, que Dieu m'a donnée pour femme ! Elle n'a pas de jambes, elle n'a pas de mains, elle est comme sur des planches. Je dois la mettre sur le chariot, je dois la descendre du chariot, toujours, moi-même !

*Moldovánje šteténder andré-dena
Baró mištipé jone ukedéna.*

Variante { *Serpijánici odój lodlé—
Baró mištipé jone ulidžiné.
Jo-kudúnici bašavéna
Góžo číke vest podéna.
Tu zašún, tu zašún, góžo čáj,
Miró gréskiro lipótimo,
Miró gréskiro lipótimo,
Mro čupnjákiro vizgótimo.
Tenašás, tenašás, čájori,
Dr'adá tjómniko ratori.
Jadá Dómna ko rošáj zagejá,
Jo-savári jubkása jój čordja,
Kališkáske savári bikindjá.
'Cháčkir, khámoro, sikedír :—
Tenašél adá Dómna duredír !'*

Les Moldaves quittent leur campement et attellent, ils emmènent un grand butin. (Les Serbes ont campé là, ils ont emporté un grand butin.) Les grelots résonnent, ils annoncent la nouvelle à la jolie fille. Ecoute, écoute, jolie fille, le bruit des sabots de mon cheval, le bruit des sabots de mon cheval, le sifflement de mon fouet. Fuyons, fuyons, jeune fille, dans cette nuit sombre. Voici Domna qui s'est insinuée chez le prêtre, elle a volé une bride et une jupe, elle a vendu la bride au visage basané. Lève-toi, soleil, plus vite, afin que Domna fuie plus loin !

*Paš-o-jág amé bešása
Jo-giljá amé bagásá
Sarí rat do zarí
Bagandjá jój, bengori.
Ak-adjáke, romále !
Ak-adjáke, čavále !
Paruvén, čingirén,
Péskri bacht ná dikhen !*

Près du feu nous sommes assis et nous chantons les chansons ; toute la nuit, jusqu'à l'aurore, elle a chanté, la diablesse. Ainsi, hommes, ainsi, jeunes gens, échangez des chevaux, fouettez des chevaux, ne tentez pas la chance !

11

Amé rakirása :
'Amé čá na dása !'
Ach-da—akakaná
Amé la otdejám.

Nous disions : "Nous ne donnerons pas notre fille !" Hélas ! maintenant nous l'avons donnée.

12

Me pro tárgo gejóm
Parudjóm, bikindjóm—
But o-kófu lejóm.

Je suis allé à la foire, j'ai échangé, j'ai vendu, j'ai fait de grands profits.

13

Ach-da, tekamés man
Kalés, malalés,
Ach-da, je-Devléster
Bachtalés !
Ach-da, pro čavéste
Kustík pharunt—
Adré léste góžo
Uphandli.

Ah, si tu pouvais m'aimer, noir, sale, ah, si tu pouvais m'aimer, moi dont la chance ne peut venir que de Dieu ! Ah ! le jeune homme a une ceinture de soie ; la jolie fille y est liée.

14

Nádža, čájori, pal-o-paní—
Poduchtílla tut e-izdraní !
Nádža, čáj, pal-o-kašta—
Pusavésa tré vastá !

Ne va pas, jeune fille, chercher de l'eau, car la fièvre te prendra ; ne va pas, jeune fille, chercher du bois, car tu te piqueras les mains.

Amadeus
Korn Jr.

Long Island Library
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IV
AV

Surfet dz ißen hine
Camphana dz ißen block
Egandrey dz ißen bract
partreareb dz ißen hellebans
vamente

tagta ißen frilinc sefael
yew maydeatu ißen frilinc
tot deror hirant ißen grise
hway ißen grine

m66

Festivis sappiungereia dz
ißen. Dopea pot

Deacon dz ißen sun
niet frilinc god in me
sagunjo dz ißen heort
prifta dz ißen vire voc
fylatis dz ißen flet
barrogorile dz ißen lang
flet

gaur marot
Gangot

fronm
hanyz ec poel
ec poete boet
Dinore
de handweder
ec kiffen

lyppu dz ißen bindis
lypse dz ißen gondis
lyrissu dz ißen kannis
lyrweat dz ißen hoc
iacob dz ißen vire
voddresch dz ißen br
lybels dz ißen mad

V.—UN GLOSSAIRE TSIGANE DU SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE.

Par A. KLUYVER.

LE manuscrit dont on voit la reproduction ci-contre, se trouve à Groningue (Pays-Bas), au dépôt des Archives de l'État; il fait partie d'une collection de papiers de famille. L'inventaire de cette collection a été dressé en 1899 par M. l'archiviste-adjoint Rutgers et publié sous le titre *Inventaire des papiers de la famille van Ewsum*.¹ Notre manuscrit y est indiqué sous le numéro 187 b (p. 28): "Clene gypta sprake, liste de mots appartenant à la langue des Bohémiens, XVI^e siècle. Une pièce." Et l'éditeur ajoute ceci: "N.B.: *a* et *b* sont en partie de la main de Johan van Ewsum."² Cette constatation a dû être facile, car parmi ces papiers il y a plusieurs autographes de ce même Johan van Ewsum, gentilhomme du pays de Groningue, qui mourut en 1570, après avoir rempli des fonctions de magistrat.

Je suppose qu'il a marqué la feuille du manuscrit de ses initiales. Car sur l'envers est écrit en majuscules *I V E* au-dessus de *A V B*. Or, Johan van Ewsum avait épousé en secondes noces Anna van Burmannia (morte en 1597): ainsi *A V B* sont bien les initiales du nom de sa femme.

Le glossaire, écrit ou transcrit avant 1570, est donc parmi les monuments les plus anciens de la langue tsigane, il mérite une place à côté de ceux conservés par Andrew Borde et par Vulcanius. Je l'ai fait imprimer dans les *Actes de la Société de Littérature néerlandaise* (1899-1900), et lorsque M. le Secrétaire de la Gypsy Lore Society m'invita à en donner une nouvelle édition, destinée aux savants étrangers, c'est avec empressement que j'ai saisi l'occasion de refaire mon travail.

Dans l'écriture du manuscrit on discerne aisément deux mains, que j'ai indiquées par le numérotage des articles: ceux de l'une sont les numéros 1-43, ceux de l'autre les numéros 44-53. Dans mes éclaircissements j'ai tâché d'établir que l'une et l'autre parties du manuscrit sont des copies: peut-être y a-t-il eu un seul original, dont la transcription fut interrompue, puis achevée par une autre personne que le premier scribe.

¹ *Inventaris van het familie-archief van het geslacht van Ewsum*. 's Gravenhage, 1899.

² Je donne la traduction du texte hollandais.

Le texte est en général assez clair; pour quelques articles j'ai dû recourir à des hypothèses que le lecteur pourra contrôler. La langue dans laquelle les expressions tsiganes sont traduites, n'est pas le néerlandais proprement dit, mais—comme c'était à prévoir—elle se rapproche des dialectes saxons qu'on parle encore à présent dans le pays de Groningue et, au-delà de la frontière du royaume des Pays-Bas, dans la Basse-Allemagne. Comme je l'ai remarqué, Johan van Ewsum était magistrat. En vertu de ses fonctions il avait à poursuivre les vagabonds alors si fréquents dans les campagnes. Si l'existence du glossaire nous fait croire que des Bohémiens se sont trouvés parmi ceux qu'il a fait arrêter, on s'attend à trouver dans leur langue un spécimen du dialecte allemand de l'idiome tsigane. Je crois que, d'une manière générale, cette attente n'est pas déçue lorsqu'on étudie le glossaire.

Dans le commentaire j'ai voulu indiquer brièvement les rapports entre les dialectes allemands modernes et les mots du manuscrit. Parmi ceux-ci il y en a plusieurs que l'on retrouve dans le dictionnaire de M. von Sowa, ou dans le glossaire que M. Finck a ajouté à sa Grammaire. En ce cas je me suis contenté d'une simple référence, tout en relevant des particularités d'orthographe. Sur d'autres formes je me suis exprimé un peu moins sommairement. Il y en a qui ne sont pas consignées dans les dictionnaires du dialecte allemand moderne, mais qui, selon la théorie de M. Miklosich, ont dû en faire partie autrefois, parce qu'on les retrouve dans d'autres dialectes dont le dialecte allemand est comme la langue mère. Ensuite j'ai fait attention à des mots qui, dans notre glossaire, ont une forme plus ancienne que dans les dialectes allemands actuels. Enfin je dois remarquer que, dans un seul cas, où le texte n'est pas clair, je me suis permis de proposer une leçon qui est en désaccord avec l'hypothèse d'une origine purement allemande. Que le lecteur veuille prendre en considération ce que je dis ci-dessous au numéro 45.

L'envers de la feuille a des inscriptions diverses. J'ai fait mention d'une d'entre elles, la seule qui se rapporte au sujet de cette étude. Trois autres sont des notes administratives.¹ Enfin on y lit le vers d'Horace *omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.*

¹ La plus longue est assez lisible: *Wessel snijwindt. Anna snywindts van hindrick lubberts 32 embder ghulden xv schellingen breeffgelt (?) Noch v. fulle daler to broke, vnd wordt noch voer xl golt ghulden aangesproken voer broeke.*—Je ne saurais transcrire les deux autres dont le sens m'échappe.

Dans le commentaire j'ai cité les ouvrages suivants sous une forme abrégée :

POTT = Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, 1844-45.

MIKLOSICH = Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und Wanderrungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, 1872-80.

PISCHEL = Pischel, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner*, 1894.

SOWA = Von Sowa, *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, 1898.

FINCK = Finck, *Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, 1903.

D'autres sont nommés en toutes lettres.

CLENE GIJPTA SPRAKE (*petit glossaire tsigane*).

On peut être tenté de rendre *clene gjipta sprake* par *Aegypti Minoris Lingua*. Mais le bon droit de cette traduction ne serait pas, je pense, à l'abri du doute. En effet, l'Égypte Mineure s'appelle en néerlandais *Clein Egypte*, mais "Clein Egypten Sprake" au sens de *Minoris Aegypti Lingua* (en anglais *Little Egypt Speech*) n'est guère conforme au langage simple et naturel. On s'attend plutôt à un adjectif, précédant le mot *sprake*. Mais en ce cas la langue ancienne évite d'exprimer *clein*, et p. e. ceux qui sont originaires de *Clein Egypte*, s'appellent *Egyptenaers* or *Giptenaers*: *Cleine Giptenaer*, au sens de *Tsigane*, ne se trouve pas plus que *Little Gypsy*. En supposant que notre glossaire soit un extrait d'un glossaire antérieur, intitulé *Gijpta Sprake*, on a pu lui donner le titre de *Clene gjipta sprake*, au sens de "petit spécimen de la langue tsigane."

1. *marum* (ou *marun*?) dat is broet (*c'est du pain*).

La forme régulière du dialecte allemand est *māro* (Sowa 51): on la lit ci-dessous au numéro 47. La forme plus ancienne *manro* (Miklosich, viii. 12) est noté par Ludolfus (a° 1691): voir Pott, ii. 440. Le glossaire de Vulcanius a *manron* (avec un *n* que M. Miklosich déclare énigmatique¹). Il est bien difficile de retrouver une de ces formes dans la leçon très claire de notre manuscrit, où le signe d'abréviation est placé sur un *u* final: on n'a le choix qu'entre *marum* et *marun*. Si l'on suppose que *marū* est une erreur pour *māru* (i.e. *manru*), la terminaison a un aspect bien étrange. Car si

¹ *Sitzungsberichte de l'Académie de Vienne*, T. lxxvii. p. 770 (A°. 1874).

l'o final est représenté quelquefois par -ou (cp. le numéro 32), *u au lieu de o ne se rencontre nulle part.* Des deux formes, *marum* et *marun*, il n'y a que la première qui ne soit pas tout à fait inconnue. Dans son traité sur *Zigeunerische Elemente in den deutschen Gaunersprachen*¹ Miklosich a déjà relevé *maro*, *marum*, *marim* comme appartenant à l'argot. Serait-il possible que cette forme argotique eût existé dès le seizième siècle ? En ce cas l'article *marum* dans notre glossaire aurait été fourni, d'une manière impossible à préciser, par un *gadžo*.

2. *ghil botter* (*du beurre*).

Cp. *khil* (Sowa 47). La transcription par *gh* n'est pas exacte. *Khil* a une occlusive sourde aspirée, phonème inconnu au néerlandais et au bas-allemand, et qu'on a figuré ici par le signe d'une consonne douce, ayant ordinairement valeur de spirante.

3. *maes dat is vlees* (*c'est de la viande*).

Le signe *ae* vaut *d*. La forme régulière est *mas* (Sowa 51, Finck 72), mais Sowa donne en outre *mās* (cp. Pischel 30).

4. *kiral dat is kees* (*c'est du fromage*).

La forme usuelle (Sowa 42, Finck 64).

5. *kanij dat issen een hoen* (*c'est une poule ou un coq*).

Par suite de la correction que le scribe a faite, l'article se trouve ici deux fois : *issen* équivaut déjà à *is een* (*c'est une*). La dernière lettre du mot que j'ai transcrit par *hoen*, ressemble plutôt à un *m*, mais évidemment il faut lire *hoen*, nom qui indique tant la poule que le coq. Je crois que le mot raturé fait paraître l'intention d'écrire *hoen* : la lettre *o*, qu'on avait omise, a été ajoutée, mais le scribe préféra écrire de nouveau le mot quelque peu illisible. Le mot *kanij* représente *kachni* (*kachnin, kachli* : Sowa 38); *ij* est un signe pour *i* ou *ï*. La forme *kanij*, sans la gutturale, est remarquable, parce que ce phonème se conserve dans le dialecte allemand.

6. *retsa dat issen ent vogel* (*c'est un canard*).

Cp. *reca* (Sowa 68). *Ent vogel* (aujourd'hui *eendvogel*) est un mot composé. *Retsa* donne la forme régulière.

7. *pappin en gans* (*une oie*).

Finck (76) a *pāpi* et *pāpin*; la forme *pappin* se rencontre aussi (Sowa 58).

¹ *Sitzungsberichte*, T. lxxxiii. p. 547 (A° 1878); cp. Kluge, *Rotwelsch*, i. 186 et 326.

8. *sogga dat issen rock* (*c'est un habit*).

La graphie *sogga* est défectueuse, la forme exacte est *tsocha* ou *tšocha* (Finck 90), *cocha* ou *čocha* dans la transcription de Sowa (15).

9. *irach hamij dat issen vambes* (*c'est une veste*).

Le mot dont il s'agit est *rachemi* (Sowa 66); la première lettre *i* représente soit l'article au féminin (*i*), soit le mot pour *est* (*hi*): voir sous les numéros 20 et 28.

10. *kiragh ha is en scho* (*c'est un soulier*).

C'est le pluriel *giręcha* (sing. *girach*, à côté de *dirach* et *tirach*): cp. Pischel 34.

11. *galeuag issen hose* (*c'est un pantalon*).

Dans cette transcription la dernière lettre est de trop, car on a voulu donner le pluriel de *choliw* ou *choluw* (Finck 69), qui se termine par *-a*, et qui, comme le pluriel *hosen* en allemand, exprime l'idée de *pantalon* ou de *culotte*.

12. *luet dat is stadij* (*chapeau c'est stadij*).

Ici l'ordre des mots est inversé; Finck (86) a *štādi* et *štādin*, et des glossaires qui ont *stadi* ou *stadin*, sont cités par Sowa (76).

13. *luvina dat is beer* (*c'est de la bière*).

Cp. *lovina*, *luvina* (Sowa 49).

14. *koestrin dat issen rinck* (*c'est un anneau*).

Cp. *gusterin*, abréviation de *angusterin* (Sowa 34).

15. *plaegsta dat issen kappe* (*c'est une cape, une capote, ou un manteau*).

Selon Finck (78) la forme usuelle est *plasta* avec *s*, mais toutes les formes, citées par Sowa (61), ont *š*, et la prononciation d'une gutturale précédant la sifflante est indiquée par une d'entre elles: *plahschta*, ce qui ressemble au *plaegsta* de notre vocabulaire.

16. *khaed dat issen hempt* (*c'est une chemise*).

La forme régulière est *gād*; mais *g*, occlusive douce, manque à peu près au néerlandais, le signe *g* y a valeur de spirante, ainsi que la représentation de *g* tsigane par la sourde se comprend. La graphie *k* se trouve aussi chez Ludolfus qui a *kade* (Pott, ii. 132).

17. *graeij dat issen peert* (*c'est un cheval*).

Cp. *grai* (Sowa 33, Finck 59).

18. *busenij dat issen sege* (*c'est une chèvre*).

Cp. *buzni*, *buznin* (Sowa 14).

19. *gerackijlij* dat issen schone maegt (*c'est une belle fille*).
Ge doit être une graphie pour l'article indéfini *je*, une.
Rackijlij c'est *rakli*, avec une voyelle intercalée (svarabhakti).
20. *hirackilo* dat issen knegt (*c'est un garçon*).
Hi, est; *rackilo* c'est *raklo* (voir le numéro 19).
21. *horom* dat issen man (*c'est un homme*).
Le ho, qui précède *rom* (homme), est une graphie défectueuse pour l'article défini *o*, ou bien on a écrit par inadvertance *horom* pour *hirom* (voir les numéros 20 et 22).
22. *hiromenij* dat issen frouwe (*c'est une femme*).
Romenij avec une voyelle intercalée pour *romni*; *hi*, est.
23. *siiukel* dat issen hunt (*c'est un chien*).
Graphie maladroite pour *džukel*, forme qui se rencontre à côté de *džuklo* (Finck 56, Sowa 29).
24. *camphana* dat issen klock (*c'est une horloge, une montre*).
Cp. *kambāna* (Finck 62; Sowa 38, où se trouve encore *gampāna*, etc.). La transcription avec *b* s'explique peut-être par les propriétés caractéristiques du haut-allemand.
25. *khankerij* dat issen kercke (*c'est une église*).
Cp. *kangeri* (Sowa 39).
26. *paeṭtraedsij* issen hillig sackramente (*c'est un saint sacrement*).
Cette forme ne se trouve plus dans les dialectes allemands d'aujourd'hui, qui ont *patersi* (Pâques) et *pačerdi* (confession): cp. Pott, ii. 347; Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches* 67. Dans beaucoup d'autres dialectes des formes plus anciennes se sont conservées: elles se rapprochent de *paeṭtraedsij* (voir Miklosich, viii. 35).
27. *tagta* issen suluer schael (*c'est une coupe d'argent*.)
Les dialectes allemands ont *tagdajo* (Sowa 78, Finck 88), la forme la plus répandue est *tachta* (p. e. dans le vocabulaire de Vulcanius, avec la même définition *patera argentea*); *tachta* a été trouvé dans un dialecte roumain (voir Miklosich, viii. 77).
28. *yruaydecka* issen suluer stot deegen (*c'est une épée d'argent*).
La première lettre *y* est l'article au féminin; *rupuay* doit être changé en *rupuny*, forme plus ancienne que le *rupeno* actuel (Sowa 71; cp. Miklosich, viii. 60). *Decka* est emprunté à l'allemand (*degen*); il n'est pas dans le glossaire de Sowa, mais *dekka* ("Degen, Säbel") est noté par Thesleff, *Wtb. des Dial. d. finnländischen Zigeuner* 26.

29. *hiranij issen jufer* (*c'est une jeune fille noble, une damoiselle*).

Hi, est; *ranij*: Sowa 67.

30. *hiraij issen junker* (*c'est un jeune gentilhomme, un damoiseau*).

Cp. le numéro précédent. Il est à remarquer que, dans l'usage ordinaire, ni *rai*, ni *rani*, n'implique l'idée de jeunesse.

31. *sastrunijprija* dat issen koper pot (*c'est un pot de cuivre*).

Sastruni est une forme plus ancienne que le *sasterni* actuel (Sowa 71; Miklosich, viii. 70 i.v. *šastir*), il signifie *de fer*. Au lieu de *prija* on attend *piri*: il paraît que *prija* est une transcription peu exacte du pluriel *pirja* qu'on a pris pour la forme du singulier. La rature qui précède a peut-être *piria*.

32. *gharou* dat issen suert met suluer gebunnen (*c'est une épée garnie d'argent*).

La transcription exacte est *chdro* (Sowa 21), avec la spirante sourde.

33. *schumije* dat issen speet (*c'est une pique*).

La dernière lettre paraît bien être *e*; il faut lire probablement *schumija*, pluriel de *schumi*. C'est ici un mot remarquable, parce qu'il manque dans les glossaires des dialectes allemands, mais Thesleff, p. 98, donne "šummi, Verteidigungswerkzeug, Spiess." L'étymologie de ce terme est inconnue.

34. *puska* dat issen vuer roer (*c'est une arquebuse ou un pistolet*).

Cp. *puška* (Sowa 63).

35. *fij latsij* dat issen slot (*c'est un château*).

Cp. *filecin* (Sowa 30). Dans les glossaires le mot se termine par *-in*, mais dans cette classe une forme en *-i* n'a rien de curieux.

36. *bareghoule* dat issen lang kleet (*c'est un habit long*).

Il faut lire soit au singulier *bari ghoulā*, soit au pluriel *bare ghoulī*. Le singulier *ghoulā* est noté par Liebich, *Die Zigeuner* 138, sous la forme *gōla* ("das Kleid"). Sowa n'a pas enrégistré cette forme, mais il a (43) *koro*, *kolo*, et *coola* comme pluriel.

37. *kijssij* dat issen budel (*c'est une bourse, un sac*).

Dans les dialectes allemands ce mot se termine par *k* (voir l'article *kisik*, Sowa 42), mais *kisi*, forme plus ancienne, est conservé presque partout ailleurs (Miklosich, vii. 84); on ne s'étonne donc pas de le trouver ici.

38. *kustick dat issen gordel* (*c'est une ceinture*).

En Allemagne ce mot n'est plus en usage à ce qu'il paraît, mais sa présence dans les dialectes balkaniques, roumains, hongrois, polonais, russes, explique son usage chez les Tsiganes allemands du seizième siècle (voir Miklosich, vii. 84).

39. *thuesnij dat issen kanne* (*c'est un broc*).

Cp. *tušni* (Sowa 81).

40. *hijræk dat issen boem* (*c'est un arbre*).

Cp. *ruk* (Sowa 70). *Hij=hi*, est.

41. *iaeck dat issen vuer* (*c'est un feu*).

Cp. *jdk* (Sowa 36).

42. *voddros dat issen bedd* (*c'est un lit*).

Chez les Tsiganes allemands le terme usuel pour *lit* est *čiben* (Sowa 17); *vodros* est noté par Miklosich (viii. 96) pour les dialectes hongrois et anglais; il est encore dans le vocabulaire de Vulcanius.

43. *sijbilo dat is naem*.

C'est ainsi que je crois devoir lire cet article—dépourvu de sens. Le dernier mot paraît bien être *naē*, ce qui représente soit *naen* (qui existe en néerlandais, emprunté du franç. *nain*), soit *naem* (nom). Or, *sijbilo* (dans l'original peut-être *sijbelo*) pourrait représenter *čibalo*, bavard, dont la forme actuelle est *čivalo*, qui signifie aussi *Bavarois*, *Hongrois* ou *Polonais* (Liebich 165): en ce cas il faudrait interpréter: "*sijbelo* c'est un nom de peuple." Mais c'est là une hypothèse bien hardie, et tout au moins le texte devrait porter *dat issen naem*: l'article indéfini serait indispensable. Une autre supposition se présente. Le terme usuel pour *nom* est *law*. Or, *law* (avec *w* bilabial) ne diffère pas beaucoup de *lau* (voir Miklosich, viii. 5), néerl. *lou* (ou néerl. = *au* allemand). Si l'on veut bien remarquer que la terminaison *-o* est représentée par *-ou* dans *gharou* (voir le numéro 32), et que *ghoule* (36) a ailleurs des formes avec *o*, une certaine confusion entre les graphies *ou* et *o* paraît acceptable et cette confusion s'explique par une prononciation de *o* qui se rapprochait de la diphthongue. Ainsi on a pu rendre la prononciation de *law* (*lou*) par *lo*. Alors l'article original serait: "*lo dat is naem*" (*lo* cela signifie *nom*), et les deux syllabes qui précèdent devraient être accolées d'une manière quelconque à l'article 42. Or *sijbe* a pu être d'abord *sijbē*

=*sijben*=*ciben*, lit. Dans cette manière de voir la leçon originale serait par exemple:

<i>voddros</i>	dat issen bedd
<i>sijbē</i>	
<i>lo</i>	dat is naem.

Sijbilo serait une erreur de copiste.

44-45. Les deux articles qui suivent, sont marqués tous les deux d'un signe, indiquant peut-être que le copiste a voulu rétablir l'ordre primitif de ces articles, et que c'est par mégarde qu'il a donné en premier lieu le mot pour *mère*, puis celui pour *père*. Le terme pour *mère* est *dai*, mais dans le manuscrit la dernière lettre n'est pas très distincte; probablement il faudra lire:

dae moer (mère) (Sowa 23).

Le mot qui précède la traduction *vaer* (*père*) est plus difficile à reconnaître. On s'attend à une reproduction quelconque de *dad* (Sowa 23), mais le texte porte *viton* (par erreur peut-être pour *vitou*), ce qui n'a pas de sens. Dans les articles suivants la lettre *d* se remarque plusieurs fois, elle y est à sa place; ainsi dans l'original elle a dû être assez bien reconnaissable: pourquoi se serait-on trompé ici dans la transcription d'un mot commençant par cette même lettre? Je ne saurais présenter aucune hypothèse si ce n'est celle-ci: en lisant *vatou* au lieu de *vitou*, et en tenant compte de l'équivalence de *b* et *v* dans l'orthographe espagnole, *vatou* pourrai treprésenter *bato*, qui chez les Tsiganes d'Espagne est le terme pour *père*. La provenance de ce vocabulaire étant inconnue, on ne s'étonne pas outre mesure de trouver ici un terme qui n'appartient pas aux dialectes allemands que l'on connaît, et que M. Miklosich regarde comme propre au groupe méridional. Il est d'ailleurs à remarquer que, dans ces temps, le roi d'Espagne était seigneur de tous les Pays-Bas, où la présence de méridionaux n'était pas chose rare.

46. *stammyr* een stoel (*une chaise*).

Pour *stammyr* il faut lire *stammyn*; cp. Sowa 76, et Miklosich, viii. 66: *st-* (pour *sk-*) est, dans ce mot, une particularité des dialectes allemands. Dans cette partie du manuscrit *r* et *n* ne se ressemblent pas du tout. La faute s'explique par l'hypothèse d'un original où la différence était moindre.

47. *de mar cotor maro*, geeft my een stucke broets (*donne-moi un morceau de pain*).

Ici encore il faut changer *r* en *n*, c'est à dire pour *mar* lisez *man*. Le mot *cotor* a ici un *o* dans la seconde syllabe: c'est une forme plus ancienne que *kotter*, *gotter*, forme actuelle (Sowa 44; cp. Miklosich, vii. 86).

48. *de mar harde pyaer*, geeft mij to drincken (*donne-moi à boire*).

Mar doit être changé en *man*, *pyaer* en *pyaeu*, qui représente la 1^e pers. du sing. *piauw*. La forme correcte pour *harde* serait *har te* (le changement de *t* en *d* est régulier après *n*: p.e. *hum te* devient *hunde*; Finck 23). On pourrait traduire cette phrase par *da mihi quomodo bibam*; une expression plus simple est *de man te piel*.

49. *de mande pale sijuklees*, geeft my de hondt weder (*rendez-moi le chien*).

Le mot *sijuklees* est *džukles*, cas oblique de *džukel*: cp. le numéro 23. Le cas prépositionnel *mande* s'emploie comme datif; l'accusatif *man* au sens de *mihi* est une forme enclitique (cp. Miklosich, xii. 9).

50. *permitsa een kussen* (*un coussin*).

Il faut lire *pernitsa* (Sowa 60).

51. *laken thaen*.

Comme dans le numéro 12 le terme explicatif précède ici. *Laken* est le terme néerlandais et bas-allemand pour *drap*, et *thaen* est *than* (Sowa 82). Le *k* de *laken* ressemble un peu à *b*, et c'est depuis peu que je crois bien interpréter cet article.

52. Je ne distingue fort bien la première lettre du premier mot de cet article: on a mis peut-être un *o*, dont il ne reste que la moitié. En ce cas on lira :

ogeer een hues (*une maison*).

Cp. Sowa 47: *khér*. L'occlusive aspirée est rendue par *g*, comme au numéro 2 par *gh*, dans les deux cas par un signe indiquant un phonème de prononciation douce. *O* est l'article masculin.

53. Ce dernier article, où la traduction manque, est bien difficile à déchiffrer. Il commence par *atschaeij*. Je me suis souvenu du mot *achae* dans le texte d' Andrew Borde, où, selon M. Miklosich, *a* est une voyelle prothétique.¹ *Achae* a la valeur d'un vocatif; il se pourrait encore que *atschaeij* équi-

¹ *Sitzungsberichte de l'Académie de Vienne*, lxxvii, 764 (A° 1674).

valût à *i čai*. Moins probable peut-être serait l'hypothèse d'un article indéfini (*ye čai*), parce que, dans sa figuration, cet article exige une consonne palatale (cp. *gerackijlij* au numéro 19). Pour le mot suivant j'ai mis d'abord *kerasnij* (c'est à dire *grasni*, jument). Mais évidemment la lettre *s* ne s'y trouve pas : on s'attend, au milieu du mot, à un *s* allongé. Je ne crois reconnaître pas non plus *c* ou *e*, et c'est pour cela que j'ai pensé à *kerovnij*, ce qui pourrait être identique à *guruvny* (dial. polonais) et à *gruvni* (dial. anglais) : voir Miklosich, vii. 59 (sous *guruv*) ; un dialecte allemand a *gorvni* (Sowa 105). Alors le sens du mot serait *vache*. La dernière lettre du dernier mot pourrait bien être *c* (*c* pour *k*, comme dans *cotor* au numéro 47). *De yac* veut dire *aie l'œil, fais attention* (voir un exemple dans un dialogue entre Tsiganes allemands, cité par Pott, ii. 492). Au lieu de *yac* on pourrait lire encore *yae*, mais la graphie *ae* (pour *ā*) ne se rencontre ici que dans une syllabe fermée (p. e. *vaer* (44-45), mais *maro* (47)). Si la dernière lettre était *s*, on pourrait lire *deyas*, mais le caractère en question a moins de ressemblance avec *s* qu'avec *e* ou *c*. Ces observations ne font ressortir nullement le sens de la phrase : il y a trop de doutes. On peut multiplier les hypothèses en admettant une erreur du copiste. Par exemple il a pu écrire *kerovnij* au lieu de *ke kerovnij*. En ce cas on pourrait traduire : "Hé, ma fille ! voilà une vache ! Attention !" Mais la solution qui vraiment s'impose est bien difficile à trouver, et je termine sur un aveu d'ignorance.

INDEX ALPHABÉTIQUE.

La méthode de transcription est celle adoptée par M. Finck dans sa grammaire, avec cette exception que le signe de la nasale gutturale est remplacé par *ng*.

<i>báro</i> , long. <i>bare</i> , 36.	<i>gustri</i> , anneau. <i>koestrin</i> , 14.
<i>bato</i> , père ? <i>vitou</i> (<i>viton</i>), 45.	<i>har</i> , comment. <i>har</i> , 48.
<i>buzni</i> , chèvre. <i>busenij</i> , 18.	<i>hi</i> , est. <i>hi</i> , 20, 22, 29, 30 ; <i>hij</i> , 40.
<i>dai</i> , mère. <i>dae</i> , 44.	<i>i</i> , article défini au féminin. <i>i</i> , 9, <i>y</i> , 28.
<i>de-</i> , donner. <i>de</i> , 47, 48, 49, 53 (?).	<i>jak</i> , œil ? <i>yac</i> (?), 53.
<i>deka</i> , épée. <i>decka</i> , 28.	<i>ják</i> , feu. <i>iaeck</i> , 41.
<i>dšuklo</i> , <i>dšukol</i> , chien. <i>siukel</i> , 23 ; <i>sij-</i> <i>uklees</i> , 49.	<i>je</i> , une. <i>ge</i> , 19.
<i>filstsin</i> , château. <i>fij latsij</i> , 35.	<i>kaxni</i> , poule, coq. <i>kanij</i> , 5.
<i>gdd</i> , chemise. <i>khaed</i> , 16.	<i>kambána</i> , horloge. <i>camphana</i> , 24.
<i>grai</i> , cheval. <i>graeij</i> , 17.	<i>kangeri</i> , église. <i>khankerij</i> , 25.
<i>gurumni</i> , vache ? <i>kerovnij</i> (?), 53.	<i>kirax</i> , <i>tirax</i> , soulier. <i>kiragh ha</i> , 10.

kiral, du fromage. *kiral*, 4.
 kisik, sac. *kijšij*, 37.
 kola, habit. *ghoule*, 36.
 kotăr, morceau. *color*, 47.
 kustik, ceinture. *kustick*, 38.
 kér, maison. *ogeer*, 52.
 kél, du beurre. *ghil*, 2.
 zdro, épée. *gharou*, 32.
 zoliw, zoluw, au plur.: pantalon. *gale-uag*, 11.
 law, nom? voir *sijbilo*, 43.
 lowina, de la bière. *luvina*, 13.
 man, mande, à moi. *mar*, 47, 48;
 mande, 49.
 mdro, du pain. *marum*, 1; *maro*, 47.
 mas, de la viande. *maes*, 3.
 o, article défini au masculin. *ho*, 21 (?);
 o, 52 (?).
 pâle, de retour (avec *de-*: rendre). *pale*,
 49.
 pâpi(n), oie. *pappin*, 7.
 patarsi, patšordi, sacrement. *pattraedrij*,
 26.
 pernitsa, coussin. *permitsa*, 50.
 pi, boire. *pyaer*, 48.
 piri, pot. *prija*, 31.

plasta, manteau. *plaegsta*, 15.
 puška, arquebuse. *puska*, 34.
 rai, damoiseau. voir *hiraij*, 30.
 rakli, fille. voir *gerackijlij*, 19.
 raklo, garçon. voir *hirackilo*, 20.
 raxemi, veste. voir *irach hamij*, 9.
 râni, demoiselle. voir *hiranij*, 29.
 retsa, canard. *retsa*, 6.
 rom, homme. voir *horom*, 21.
 romni, femme. voir *hiromenij*, 22.
 ruk, arbre. voir *hijræk*, 40.
 ruponi, d'argent. voir *yrupuaydecka*,
 28.
 sasterni, de cuivre. voir *sastrunijprija*,
 31.
 štâdi(n), chapeau. *stadij*, 12.
 štamin, chaise. *stammyr*, 46.
 šummi, pique. *schumije*, 33.
 tagdajo, coupe. *tagta*, 27.
 te, afin que. *de*, 48.
 tsocha, tšocha, habit. *sogga*, 8.
 tšai, fille. voir *atschaeij*, 53.
 tšiben, lit? voir *sijbilo*, 43.
 tušni, broc. *thuesnij*, 39.
 t'an, du drap. *thaen*, 51.
 vodros, lit. *vodros*, 42.

VI.—A THIRD BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

Introduction

The following tale is a good version of the widely spread tale of the Master Thief, found in the *paramisja* of Gypsies of many countries and also in the fairy legends of the gorgios from one end of Europe to the other. Though it is possible that the original tale came to the Sofia Gypsies from gorgios, this loan must have been made so long ago that it is not easy to assert what must have been the nationality of the lenders, whether they were *Dasa* or *Xoraxai*, Bulgarians or Turks. In many tales of my collection the numerous Bulgarian quotations, whole sentences and even short dialogues, seem to point to a loan at no very far-off date, from the Bulgars, while others borrow from the Turkish exclusively. In the latter case the Turkish quoted is often of the worst imaginable, being not infrequently a literal translation of a Romani idiom, such as the use of the so-called *dativus ethicus* in *te džas améngē*, translated *gidelim bizé*.

In the tale before us the allusion to the *Kalí Džamia*, known to Bulgars as the *Kara Džami*, (=Turk. 'Black Mosque'), which has been turned into a temporary prison pending the completion of the new building outside the town, is an instance of the Gypsy love of local colour, local touches which enliven the narrative. Thus the bank from which the money is stolen is undoubtedly, said my teacher, the National Bank of Bulgaria, and so on. As for other details, some passages of the story may be found almost word for word in the numerous versions of this *Märchen* current throughout Europe.

O ČOR

1. Siné jek phuró, ist-da odolké phurés díui čhavé, odolká-da čhavé díui čord. Akaná o ternedér si nái-čor. Akaná xoratinen-peske o díui phralá: 'Phrálabe, kašunés-li man?' o tsiknedér phenél, 'Ha džas beljáke ki thagaréskeri bánka.' O phuredér phral phejghjás: 'Kadžás, amá kamudárghjovas.' O phral phenél, o tsiknedér: 'Má-dara, phrála, to phral isti athé! Džán-ta, mánge saránda ensérja, sa-baré.' Geló o phral, anghjás. 'An-tá len mánde.' Liljás o tsiknedér phral te čalavél jek po jek o ensérja, palál jévkares o ensérja, te kerén sar sélba (merdivén). 'Phrála, me k'ukljáv po-xari po xari, k'u xljáv telš; tu, térgjov avri, tha dikh te na avel déko.' Uxistilo o tsiknedér phral, liljás-u-liljás, pherghjás po bárk páres. Iktistilo o phral, ikalghjás o ensérja. 'Pó-sigo, phrála, án-ta mánge xari kireči.' Liljás o phrál, katár ikalghjás o ensérja, sa čalaghjás o kireči, tha pherghjás o xevjá. Lilé pes o phralá, gelé péske.

2. Dikhlijás o dad: 'Leléi! Me čhavé, so kerghjén adavká? Kamudárghjoven adalké godiása.' 'Ma dará, Bába,' phenén o čhavé, 'amé peljám amaré baxtát. Tu' sómo mangás, te ne izvak-jerés dekáte andár i máxala, zerre kastárghjovas, sóske isti amén páres. Kadén pez godí, kai sinjám amé, te na ašarés tut, te na falínes rut.'

THE THIEF

1. There was an old man, and that old man had two sons, and they were both thieves. Now the younger was the greatest thief. Now the two brothers hold discourse together: 'Brother! will you hear me?' the younger says, 'We will go this evening to the King's Bank.' The elder brother said: 'We will go, but we shall be killed.' His brother says, the younger one: 'Fear not, brother, your brother is here! Go and ask for forty nails, the biggest you can get.' The brother went, and fetched them. 'Bring them to me.' The younger brother started hammering the nails one by one half way into the wall, that they might form as it were a ladder. 'Brother, I will ascend carefully and descend [the other side]; you stand outside and see that no one comes.' The younger brother descended, took and took and filled his breast with money. He came out, and extracted the nails. 'Hurry up, brother, bring me a little mortar.' The brother took the mortar and in the place where he had extracted the nails he daubed on the mortar and filled the holes. The brothers betook themselves and went.

2. Their father saw: 'Olelei! my children, why did you do this? You will get killed if you remain in this state of mind.' 'Fear not, father,' the children say, 'we have fallen upon our luck. All we ask of you is not to let it out to any one in the village, or we shall be arrested, because we have got the money. They will begin to think that we are the thieves, so don't you go boasting and bragging about it.'

3. *Jek dijés, dúi dijés, trin dijés.* *Lilé te phenén ki bánka:* ‘*Ai páres našlé!*’ *Lilé pes, gelé ko thagár:* ‘*Thagára, the thagaribnása!* ándi bánka pares našlé!’ O thagár *phenghjás:* ‘*Bréé!* Savi isti adiká butí?’ *Liljás pes, geló ki bánka.* So te dikhél? Páres našlé! O thagár *phenél:* ‘*Sar te kerás te astarás adalké čorén?*’ Vakjerél o rastínikos e thagaréske: ‘*Thagára, the thagaribnása, džanés-li sar kastarás e čorén?* Dža ki Kall Džamia. Isti čorá othé; te phučés: “*ková si náibut čor athé tuméndar ándi Kall Džamia, te ikljol mamui mánđe.*”

4. *Ikistilo jek čor:* ‘*Thagára, the thagaribnása!* me sinjóm saroréndar nai-čor.’ O thagár phučél les: ‘*Bút-li sinján čor?*’ O čor *phenél:* ‘*Avdјés avdjeséske avél me vastéstar.*’ O thagár *phenghjás:* ‘*Éla mántsá, me bankáte.* Tu t'axáljovesa katár diné ándi bánka thai ikaldé o páres, me túke,—*phenél o thagár,—* ‘*kabašladínav; panšeberšéngere, dešeberšéngere sinján sudimé te pháŋgljos;* me túke kabašladínav (*prostínav*), te džánsa katár diné thai ikaldé o páres.’ O čor *phenél:* ‘*Thagára, the thagaribnása!* éla kárik.’ Geló o čor: ‘*Thagára, the thagaribnása!* áke akatká, dikhés-li, mamui, akavká, so dikhés? Sa si xevjá, te ne inandinsa,’ o čor *phenél e thagaréske,* ‘*án-ta mánge jek čhuri!*’ *Liljás o čor jek čhuri.* ‘*Ake, thagára, dikh akaná!*’ Kerél e čhurjása o čor ándo xev, pharavél o kireči. ‘*Dikhés-li adiká xev?* Sa si dži upré ensérjénsa čalavdé. Katár o ensérja kerdé péske sar sélba, tha ukístile upré, tha diné, tha ikaldé o páres.’ O thagár

3. One day, two days, three days. They began to say in the bank: ‘Ai, the money has been lost!’ They betook themselves and went to the King: ‘O King, by your Dynasty, the money in the bank has been lost!’ The King said: ‘Bree! what affair is this?’ He betook himself and went to the bank. What does he see? The money has gone! The King says: ‘What shall we do to arrest these thieves?’ The Clerk Messenger speaks to the King: ‘O King, by your Dynasty, do you know how we will catch the thieves? Go to the Black Mosque. There are thieves there; you will question them: “Let him who is the greatest thief among you here in the Black Mosque come out before me.”’

4. A thief came out: ‘O King, by your Dynasty, I am of all the greatest thief.’ The King asks him: ‘Are you very much a thief?’ The thief answers: ‘I live by this means from day to day.’ The King said: ‘Come with me to my bank. If you can understand from where they got into the bank and took out the money,—the King says—‘I will pardon you, even tho' you be condemned to five years' or ten years' imprisonment, I will forgive you, if you know where they entered and took out the money.’ The thief says: ‘O King, by your Dynasty, come over here.’ The thief went. ‘O King, by your Dynasty, behold here, do you see, opposite, this, what do you see? Those are all holes, if you do not believe,’ the thief said to the King, ‘bring me a knife.’ The thief took the knife. ‘Behold, O King, look now.’ The thief works into the holes with the knife, he pierces the mortar. ‘Do you see this hole? nails are struck in all the way to the top. With these nails they made for themselves a sort of ladder, and they went

vakjerél: 'E tu, kató sinján édeki čor, amé len sar kastarás?' O čor phenél: 'Thagára, tu but lésno kastarés len. Te džas, te les jek kátsa, (turšija), te pherés la katránj, the thovés la baš-akatká.'

5. *Blevélico. Lilé pes o čhavé, gelé palé te čorén. O tsíkno phral phenghjás: 'Phrála, me dinjóm andré trin drom, akaná kadés tu andré.' Geló o phuró phral, čulavél o ensérja, o saránda-da, ukljél oprál len, mukjél pes na-telš. Sar te uxjél telš, perél ándi kátsa, ándo katránj. Liljás te pištinel: 'Phrála, sigo ikál man, zer dolindiljam (astárdiljam).' Ukljél o tsíkno phral. So te dikhél? O phral léskoro, ándo katránj. Ikálel i čhuri, lel o šeró, ačhél o trúpos ándo katráni. Liljás o phral léskoro, geló-péske kheré, χrándezek jek χev, paronél o šeró. Lilé te rovén o dad léskoro, i dai léskeri, o phenjá léskere: 'O mo phraloró, ternó, χurdó,—muló!' O phral phenél léngoro: 'Táinen, ma rovén, te na šunén amén o komšídes, zerre tumén-da kačhinav.'*

6. *Dísim. Gelá ándi javín ki bánka o thagár thai o čor. So te dikhén? Ándi kátsa maniš, o trúpos isi, šeró nanái. O thagár phenél: 'Bré! tú-da čor,' e čorésko phenél, 'amál tútar pô-čora, k'íkljon.' O čor phenél: 'Thagára, the thagaribnása! tu akaná pô-lesno kastarés odolké manušén. Ikálen-ta máyge odolké manušés, thov-de les ki úlitsa. Hič te n'ovél, thagára, savó dženó kaavél te rovél léske, tu les te dolés. Phuri-li si, terní-li si, mûrš-li si, savó t'ovél, som zaruné dži lésté, tu te dolés odolké manušén.'*
up it, and entered, and took the money.' The King said : 'Tell me, then, since you are such a thief, how shall we catch them?' The thief says : 'O King, you will catch them very easily. Go, take a barrel, fill it with tar, and place it just here.'

5. Evening came. The boys betook themselves, and went again to steal. The younger brother said : 'Brother, I have entered three times, now you will enter.' The elder brother went, he hammers in the nails, the whole forty of them, he goes up them, and lets himself down. As he is descending, he falls into the barrel, into the tar. He started shouting : 'Brother, get me out quickly, or we shall be caught.' The younger brother ascends. What does he see? His brother in the tar. He takes out his knife, takes his brother's head, the body remains in the tar. His brother started and went home, he digs a hole, he buries the head. His father, his mother, his sisters, started crying : 'O my little brother, young, slender,—dead!' Their brother says : 'Be silent, do not cry, lest the neighbours hear us, or I will kill you too.'

6. Day broke. In the morning the King and the thief went to the bank. What do they see? In the barrel a man, the body is there, but there is no head. The King says : 'Bree! You too are a thief,' he says to the thief, 'but your companions are greater thieves than you, for they succeed in escaping.' The thief says : 'O King, by your Dynasty, you will now catch these men more easily. Take this fellow out, and place him in the street. Without fail, O King, whatever person will come and cry over him, him you will seize. Be that person old, be he young, or a man, whoever it may be, as soon as they have started crying over him, you must seize those people.'

7. *Akaná i dai léskeri, e rakléskeri, kai čhindé les, mangél te džal te rovél; thai i phen.* O phral phenél léngoro: ‘*Tumé kadžán dži me phrals te rovén, džanén, anén-ta mánge dúi teptsles.*’ Pherél len sa fildžánja, o teptsles, thai činjes thai čášes. Thovél len oprál léngoro ko šeró, pe daiáke jek teptsia ko šeró, pe phenjáke jek teptsia ko šeró. ‘*Džanén-li akaná, kadžán tumé paš láste. Som ašlo athár dúi xadlímja dür, tumé xai te sapnínen, tha the perén tha the phagjén o čášes, o činjes, sa.*’

8. *Bešté adalká dži ko čášes, lilé te rovén dži lende; ol maksús na rovén e čašenje, ami rovén e čhindé manušeske.* Runé runé adalká, isi jek saxáti. Užtiné adalká, gelé-peske kheré. O čhavó phenél: ‘*Runjén-li? Axálilo tumén déko?*’ I dai phenél: ‘*Na axálila amén níko.*’ Ol vakjerén, (i dai tha i phen): ‘*Débaamé! Rovás e čašenje, th'e činjenje, thai fildžanjénje.*’

9. *Geló akaná o thagár, vikinghjás e čorés, aló o čor.* Phenél: ‘*Na aló-li déko, te rovél dži láste?*’ O thagár vakjerél: ‘*Abé, alí jek phuri, thai jek rakli, tha runé.*’ ‘*E sóske nána astarghjén len?*’ O thagár vakjerel: ‘*Amó ol anlás pe seréste teptsles phérdó steklaries, tha pelé, peravdé o teptsles, tha phaglé o steklaries, tha runé.*’ O čor phenel: ‘*E tu, sóske na astarghján len?*’ Ol nána runé e steklarjénje, ami ol runé e manušeski. Ol narúšno thovdé o teptsles pherdé, tha the peravén, the phagjén, ta te na axáljoven. Runé runé, geló peske.’ O čor phenél: ‘*Thagára! Akaná pó-lesno*

7. Now his mother, the mother of the boy whom they had killed, wishes to go and cry ; and the sister also. The brother says to them : ‘ You shall go and cry over my brother, but do you know, you will bring me two trays.’ He fills them all with glasses, the trays, and with saucers, and cups. He places them on their heads, one tray on his mother’s head, one tray on his sister’s head. ‘ Do you know now, you will go to him. When you are within two steps of him, behold you will stumble, and the cups and glasses and saucers will all fall, and break.’

8. They sat down near the cups, and began to cry over them ; but they are really not crying over the cups, but they are crying over the killed man. They cried and they cried for a whole hour. They arose, and went home. The boy says : ‘ Did you cry ? Did any one understand you ? ’ The mother says : ‘ No one found us out.’ They said, (the mother and the sister) : ‘ Woe and alas ! We are crying over the cups, and the saucers, and the glasses.’

9. Now the King went, he called the thief, the thief came. He [the thief] says : ‘ Did no one come to cry over him ? ’ The King says : ‘ Indeed an old woman came, and a girl, and they wept.’ [The thief]: ‘ Why then did you not arrest them ? ’ The King says : ‘ But they were carrying on their heads trays, full of glasses, and they stumbled, and let fall the trays, and they broke the glasses, and they wept.’ The thief says : ‘ And why did you not arrest them ? They were not crying over the glasses, but they were crying over the man. They purposely placed the trays, full, and let them fall, and break, that people might not find them out. They cried and they cried, and they went away.’ The thief says : ‘ Now, O King, we will catch them all the easier. Bring me a mule.’

kadolás len. An-tá mánge jekhé džornjá.' Liljás la o čor. Nane-žinghjás (duzdinjás) láke sa tsála thai napoleóni thai pendárkes. 'Hič te n' ovél, odovká čor kamavél, te čhinél ja napoleóni, ja pendárka, ja dek tsálos. Tu t'astarés odolké manušés andékhora.'

10. *O čhavó pheorghjás: 'Romnije! tu mangés-li te lav e džornjá-da andár o vastá sar phiravén la (sar vodínen la) andár i dīs t'andár o úlitses?'* Vakjerél o čhavó pe romnjáke: 'Náygh-jov-ta, daiátar biandi, ta prásta anglál lénde, ol kazačaínen pes palál túte, me kathováv ándo vastá e xernjá, kaláv andár o vastá e džornjá-da.'

11. *Lel o čhavó, thovél lénge e xernjá ándo vastá, lel e džornjá, berabér, e nanežimnása. Lel e džornjá, igálel o čhavó kheré, čhinél e džornjá, lel o páres saroré látar.* Avél-peske romní: 'Dikhlján-li, romnije, sar liljóm e džornjá, thai díkh-ta andre, so si napoleóni, so si pendárkes, thai so si tsála! E džornjá čhinghjóm.'

12. *So te dikhél palál pes, o thagár, ándo vastá xerní, i džorní nanái. 'Bré! o thagár phenél, 'savó si adavká čor ta te lel e džornjá ta te del amén e xernjá?'* O čor phenél: 'Thagára! Akaná-da te aští dolása les, kadolás, te naští dolása les, te džanés kai si o mándar pó-čor. Džanés-li akaná, te kídes saránda dženjén, romnjén, o saránda-da te lén-peske an pe vastés po-xari katránj. Thai te des len saroré po píndu lévia, tha the mangén džornjákoró mas. Te vakjerén, te phučéna len sóske mangén džornjanó mas, ol te vakjerén: "Iladčeske" (Drabéske). Saví džení

The thief took the mule. He caparisoned it all with trinkets, and sovereigns, and hangings. 'Without doubt that thief will come in order to cut off either a sovereign, or some of the hangings, or a trinket. You will arrest such an one immediately.'

10. The boy [the thief] says: 'O Wife, would you like me to take the mule too out of their hands as they are leading it through the capital and through the streets?' Says the boy to his wife: 'Strip, as from your mother born, and run in front of them, they will watch you, I will put an ass into their hands, and I will take from out their hands the mule.'

11. The boy sets to work, places the ass into their hands, takes the mule together with the trappings. He takes the mule, leads it home, kills it, takes the money and everything from it. The wife comes to him: 'Did you see, O Wife, how I took the mule, and look inside at all the sovereigns, at all the hangings and all the trinkets! I have killed the mule.'

12. When the King looks behind him he is in possession of an ass, there is no mule. 'Bree!' says the King, 'What sort of a thief is he, that he should take the mule and give us an ass?' The thief says: 'Now, O King, if we can catch him, we will catch him, but if we cannot catch him, you will know that he is a greater thief than I am. Now do you know, collect forty people, Gypsy women, and let all forty of them take each one in her hand just a little tar. And give them all 5 levs apiece, and let them ask for mule's flesh. Should people make remarks, and ask them why they want mule's flesh, let them say: "For medicinal

karakjél džornjanó mas, odolké kheréste bez te na dikhél níko, te makjél ki čándia xarí katránj, garavindós.

13. O čhavó si ko kavés, o khér-da si baš-mamúi. So te dikhél o čhavó andár i pendžára? Avél léndar jek romní. Ikljol o čhavó andár o kavés, phučél e romnjá: 'So rodinján aménde?' 'Ake geljóm,' i romní phenél, 'tha liljóm xarí džornjanó mas.' O čhavó phenél: 'Éla kárik!' Irinjhás e romnjá napáliale pe kheréste. 'Me tut kadáv pó-but.' Igálel e romnjá andré, dolél la, čhinél la. Xranljás, paronghjás la.

14. Blevélico. Kidisájle paš o thagár, tha the phučél o thagár: 'Arakljás-li dek džení džornjanó mas?' Sárore phendé: 'Thagára, naští n'arakhás.' Genél len o thagár. So te dikhél? Triánd-u-enjá dženjá, jek džení nanái. O thagár pheorghjás: 'Brée! anas-ini sitimini! Lá-da čhinghjás.' O thagár marjarghjás barabáni andi dis 'Ki ková 'si—odovká dženó čor, adavká kai čorghjás me páres, thai liljás e džornjá, thai čhinghjás e romnjá t'aavél paš man, te čumídel mo vas. Xaláli kakeráv léske. Hic te na darál, níka-star.' Ikljol o čhavó: 'Thagára the thagaribnása! me sinjóm o čor!' O thagár phenél: 'Tú-li sinján? Kató sinján tu, kavak-jerés mánge jek po jek so kerghján, thai kačumídes mo vas, te prostínava tuké.'

15. 'Thagára, the thagaribnása! nái-anglé liljóm saránda ensérja, čalaghjóm palál jevkáres, kerghjóm mánge ssslba. Dinjóm

purposes." Whosoever shall find the mule's flesh, let her smear a little tar on the wall of that house when no one is looking, on the sly.'

13. The boy is in a coffee-house, and his house is just opposite. What does the boy see through the window? One of those Gypsy women is coming. The boy comes out of the coffee-house, asks the woman: 'What were you looking for at our house?' 'Behold I came,' the woman said, 'and I took a little mule's flesh.' The boy says: 'Come back.' He took her back to his house. 'I will give you some more.' He leads the woman within, seizes her, kills her. He dug, and buried her.

14. Evening came. They [the women] collected around the King, and he questions them: 'Has any one found mule's meat?' They all said: 'O King, we are unable to find any.' The King counts them. What does he see? There are 39 women, one woman is missing. The King said: 'Bree! Great Scot! He has killed her too!' The King caused the big drum to be sounded throughout the town 'that that man, whoever he may be, that thief, he who stole my money, and who took the mule and who killed the woman, let him come to me, and kiss my hand. I will pardon him. Let him fear nothing, from any one.' The boy comes forth: 'O King, by your Dynasty, I am the thief!' The King says: 'Is it really you? Since you are the thief, you will tell me one by one the things you did, and you will kiss my hand and I will pardon you.'

15. 'O King, by your Dynasty, first of all I took forty nails, I hammered them one after the other into the wall and made me a ladder. I entered, one night, two nights, three nights. On the fourth night you placed a barrel and

andré, jek rat, díui ratjá, trin ratjá; ki šárto rat tumé thogjén jek kátsa, pherghjén la katránj. Uxljél mo phral; sar te šorél, perél ándi kátsa. Ukljá me, lav i čhuri, lav i men léskeri, ašló o trúpos. Ikalghján les avri ki úlitsa. Gelí mi dai thai mi phen. Pherghjóm lénge o tepties, čášes, fildžánja; peravén maksús, o čášes phagjén. Runé runé, alé-peske. Ftóro: lilján jekhé džornjá, nanežinghjén la. Me naŋghjaráv me romnjá, daiatar biandi, dikhlijén palál la tumé, začainghjén tumé. Me lav e džornjá, thováv tuméngje xernjá. Tréto: Tumé mukljén saránda dženjén te len džornjanó mas. Ali jek džení, arakljás mánde. Del me romnjá pínda lévia; del la xari. Dikh, me sinjómas ándo kavés. Dikháv andár i péndžera, kai ikljol romní. Ikljovav avri, phučtv la (dženjá): "Sóske alján?" "Áke aljóm liljóm xari džornjanó mas." Me pheŋghjóm: "Éla kárik, 'kavká si xari; me tut te dav pó-but." Irinav la napáliale, thai čhinghjóm la thai paronghjóm la."

16. *O thagár vakjergħjás: 'Éla kárik.' Čumidingħjargħjás po vas ko čħavó. 'Sárore te šunén,' o thagár phenel, 'so kerghjás-májge, pakósos; sárore akatká, te šunén. Prostínav léske.' Ikálel o thagár, del les jek medáili. Káte te dżal odolké medailjésa, isi les srésto.*

ORADA MASÁL, BURADA SALÍK (Othé paramísi, athé sastipé).

filled it with tar. My brother descends ; as he is about to steal he falls into the barrel. I climb up, take a knife, cut off his head, the body remained. You took it out into the street. My mother and my sister went. I filled for them trays with cups, glasses ; they let them fall on purpose, the cups break. They cried and cried and went away. Secondly : You took a mule, caparisoned it. I cause my wife to strip, as from her mother born, you watched her, followed her with your eyes. I take the mule, and give you the ass. Thirdly : You sent out forty people to buy mule's flesh. One woman came, and found me. She gives my wife 5 levs. She [my wife] gives her a little. See, I was in the coffee-house. I see through the window that a woman is coming out. I go out and ask her (the woman) : "Wherefore have you come?" "Behold I have come and taken a little mule's flesh." I said : "Come back, that is but a little ; I will give you more." I lead her back again, killed her, buried her.'

16. The King said : 'Come over here.' He caused the boy to kiss his hand. 'Let all hear,' says the King, 'what this fellow has done to me ; let all present hear. I pardon him.' The King takes out a medal and gives it him. Wherever he goes with that medal he will be given means of subsistence.

There's the tale—Here 's your health.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

§ 1. *térgħjov avri . . .* 'Stand outside.' This is the passive form of the verb *terava*, not used in this dialect. I have met with the past participle *terdó*=French 'debout.'

§ 1. *te na avel déko . . . Déko*, 'any one; *niko*, 'no one.' *Niko* is declined like *ko*, *kon*. The oblique cases are similar to those used by Paspati's nomads, e.g. *kástar*, not *kónestar*. *Déko* would appear to be declined on a feminine model, to judge by *te ne izvakjerés dekáte*, 'do not tell any one'; see paragraph 2. But I have never heard all the cases of these pronouns, and it is possible, though not probable, that some are formed on the fem., some on the masc. model.

§ 1. *pherghjás po bžrk páres . . . Pheráv*, 'to fill,' takes double accusative.

§ 2. *sóske ist amén pdres . . . Sóske*, 'wherefore?' and 'because.'

§ 2. *Kadén pez godí . . .* Literally, 'they will give themselves mind,' i.e. 'they will suspect.' *Dav man godí* also means 'I remember.' *Pez*, for *pes*, before a voiced consonant.

§ 2. *te na ašarés tut, te na salines tut . . .* Both verbs mean 'to boast.' The first is pure Romani (v. Paspati), the second is the Bulg. root *χval*, pronounced *sal* in modern Bulgarian.

§ 3. *Dža ki Kali Džamia . . .* The old Turkish *Kara Džami*, or Black Mosque, temporarily converted into the Sofia Prison.

§ 4. *Avdjés avdjesésko avel me rastéstar . . .* From Turkish *elinden gelir*, 'to be able,' etc. See the translation. *Avdjés avdjesésko* is the regular expression for 'from day to day.' Cf. *gav gavéste*, 'from village to village.' They do not say *gavéstar gavéste*.

§ 4. *panšeberéngere dešeberéngere sinjin sudimé te phéngljos . . .* Grammatically I cannot altogether explain these genitives. They probably stand for the Dative, as elsewhere in this tale. *Sudimé* is the Bulgarian root *sud-* ('judging,' 'condemning'), with the Greek participial form in *-uevros*. Cf. *χολιμέ*, German Gypsy *χόjmen*.

§ 4. *me túke kabašladinav (prostinav) . . .* Both verbs are 'to pardon.' The second is a Bulgarian root, the first is the Turkish *bajışlamak*. Cf. *oradá masál*, *buradá saúlk*, from *saglik*.

§ 5. *achél o trípos . . .* I have never heard the simple form *ačhava* in conversation. There is quite a marked difference between the spoken language and the language of the fairy tales.

§ 5. *χründel jek xev . . .* Cf. *χranljis*, paragraph 13.

§ 5. *O phral phenél léngoro . . .* There is reason to believe this *léngoro* is used for the Dative here, and that it is not to be rendered by 'their.'

§ 5. *o komšides . . .* 'The neighbours,' Greek plur. form. In songs they use the Turkish plural *komşular*.

§ 6. *Hic te n'ovél . . .* Cf. Turkish *hic olmasa*.

§ 6. *som zaruné . . . Zarováv*, 'to start crying.' Bulgarian *za*.

§ 7. *oprál léngoro ko šeró . . .* Again *léngoro* for the Dative.

§ 8. *Débaamé! . . .* I have perhaps written the word wrongly. It may seem strange, but I know no Bulgarian intimately enough to ask for enlightenment. The root is Bulgarian *eb*. Herein lurks an obscene oath. It is the Bulgarian for the romanified Turkish *anastní sitimini* (cf. below), which is elsewhere *dinjás buljé te daiá*. I have discovered that the latter Romani expression is an attempt to translate the Turkish *anastní sikdijimini*, a form of oath, to explain the extraordinary grammatical construction of which would involve me in a treatise on Turkish relative clauses.

§ 9. *Amó ol anlis . . .* For *anłas*, and singular for plural *anénas*. The accentuation is unusual.

§ 9. *odovkí čor kamarev . . . Kaavel* in conversation.

§ 9. *ja dek tsilos . . . Dek*, 'some or other,' 'quelque.' Cf. *déko*, 'any one.'

§ 9. *Tu t'astarés odolké manušés andékhora . . . Andékhora*, 'immediately,' 'at once.' Perhaps it is *ande jekh ora*.

§ 10. *Nanghjov-ta, daiátar biandi, ta priúta anglá lénde . . .* Lit. 'become bare, from your mother born, and run before them.' Cf. paragraph 15, below *nanghjarív*, 'to make become bare.' *Bianiv* is the usual word for 'to bear,' 'to bring forth,' participle *bianló*. *Priúta* is simply 'to run,' as opposed to *nač*, 'to run away,' 'flee,' 'be lost.'

§ 11. *berabér, e nanežimnása . . .* From *nanežipé*, the usual form for abstract nouns. The verb is *nanežinav*. See translation.

§ 11. *sarogé lítar . . . Sarogé*, Accusative; *ságore*, Nominative.

§ 12. *te ašti dolásá les, kadolás, te naští dolásá les . . .* Forms in *a*, rare in this dialect.

§ 12. *po pínda lénja . . .* Each 5 levs; *po* is here Bulgarian.

§ 12. *bez te na dikhél niko . . . Bez*, Bulgarian 'without.'

§ 12. *garavindós . . .* The only other gerund I have as yet heard from Sofia Gypsies is *phirindos*, 'on foot,' 'walking.'

§ 13. *Xranljás, paronghjás la : . . .* The *n* of *paronghjás* has something nasal about it. It replaces the older *v*, which is 'ein den Hiatus aufhebender Einschub' (Miklosich), replaced elsewhere in this dialect by *l*. Cf. *bašaláv*.

§ 14. *Bréé, anasint sitimini! . . .* See note, paragraph 8.

§ 14. *O thagdr marjarghjás barabáni . . . Marjaráv*, 'to cause to be beaten.'

§ 14. *Xaláli kakeráv léske . . . xaláli* is Turk. Arab. *halál* = 'lawful,' etc.

§ 16. *Čumidinghjarghjás po vas ko chavó . . .* 'He caused his hand to be kissed by the boy.' *ko chavó*: causative verbs take the preposition *ko, ki*, before the indirect object.

R E V I E W S

Une brochure tsigane.

SOUS le titre: *I Romi, l'ultima parola sugli zingari*, un *zingaro* italien, G. S. Uifalussi Caccini, a publié une brochure, (Foligno, G. Campi) et l'a même dédiée à la *Gypsy Lore Society*.

L'Auteur—un *half-blood*, né à Mantoue d'une *romi* hongroise et d'un italien—est ce même Caccini, dont les communications de feu Spinelli ont parlé dans notre même Journal, et qui allait de temps à autre consulter des livres anciens à la bibliothèque de Modène.

La brochure révèle le caractère de l'Auteur, qui est épileptique et fantastique au delà. Dans sa première partie, la brochure prétend découvrir l'origine des Bohémiens dans la Malaisie (?); ensuite elle nous donne certains détails sur les mœurs de ces nomades—and, finalement, elle reporte une série d'anecdotes et petits récits se référant aux bohémiens italiens.

Cette dernière partie est celle qui peut intéresser un peu plus le lecteur.

La brochure de Caccini nous prouve une grande vérité ; c'est à dire que la contribution des *gipsies* dans nos études est précieuse en tant qu'ils nous communiquent des matériaux directs, individuels, tirés de leur vie et de leurs connaissances personnelles. Mais le savant, c'est-à-dire celui qui fouille dans les livres, dans les journaux et les publications de toute espèce, fabrique des compilations sans avoir la critique nécessaire et qui débite tout ça comme matériel de

provenance directe, cause plus de mal que de bien et donne à des grandes erreurs le cachet d'une certaine valeur.

C'est le cas de Caccini.—S'il se bornait de relater ce qu'il a vu et connu dans sa vie avec les *gipsies* italiens, sa contribution serait précieuse au plus haut degré. Mais, lorsque il va chercher dans les encyclopédies géographiques oubliées des origines fantastiques, qui font venir ses ancêtres de l'île de Wetter et du pays de Kissel (?), les études tsiganologiques ne lui auront aucune reconnaissance.

Malgré cela, une brochure sur les *gipsies*, écrite par un *half-blood gipsy*, est toujours une curieuse nouveauté ; et à ce titre nous la signalons à nos lecteurs.

COLLOCCI.

Das Liebesleben der Zigeuner von Victor Areco (Leipzig, 1910)
= *Das Liebesleben aller Zeiten und Völker*, Band III.

The title of Areco's book is suspicious, and the way in which one was pestered with notices of it rather tended to heighten one's suspicions ; but its contents certainly merit the attention of those who wish to study Gypsy life in all its phases. They will find in it nearly everything that is known about the innermost side of the Gypsy's life, morals and vices, marriage and all it entails, divorce and prostitution : and the subject is one of considerable importance, however much prudery may decry it. The extensive bibliography is sufficient evidence that the work was undertaken in a scientific spirit, and the author may be congratulated on the thoroughness with which he has carried it out. Unfortunately, however, a scientific view of a subject is not always true, as excess of zeal may lead an author to interpret everything by the light of his particular science, and into this error Areco has occasionally fallen. For instance, it is absurd to classify a traveller's statement that a troupe of three or four hundred Bohemian Gypsies sprang up in a state of complete nudity, to stare at him as he passed, under the heading *Adspektsprostitution*, even though the saving clause "ohne sexuelle Erregung" is added. There must be criminal intent before there is crime ; and obviously the Gypsies acted in all innocence. Dozens of uncivilised nations are absent-minded in the matter of clothing ; but one cannot for that reason alone accuse them of practising *Adspektsprostitution*, or any other vice as exotic as its scientific

name, the live-long day and night. Even if one admits Areco's contention, which is supported by tolerably good evidence, that nakedness does not always imply primeval innocence, it equally certainly does not necessarily imply vice. But to our author neither nakedness nor clothing is innocent. The Bohemian Gypsies stood condemned, because curiosity overcame their rudimentary modesty; and elsewhere we are told that sexual motives are at the bottom of the greater attention paid to their clothes by settled Gypsies, such as those in Spanish gitanerias, as compared with nomad Gypsies. Yet one would have thought that everywhere townsfolk were more elaborately dressed than their country cousins; and that, whatever the original motive may have been, it was now simply a matter of custom.

On the vexed question of Gypsy morality, Areco, as one would expect, is inclined to agree with those who condemn them: and it is noticeable that Wlislocki, the authority most intimate with the Gypsies of South-east Europe, is not so strong a supporter of the theory of Gypsy chastity as Borrow and others who are mainly acquainted with the Gypsies of Western Europe. This distinction probably indicates an actual difference in custom; but, if so, as vice is far easier to acquire than virtue, and Wlislocki's testimony applies to lands where Gypsies, through their musical attainments and their former serfdom, have had more intercourse with the natives than elsewhere, the fault lies not with the Gypsies, but with those who have led them astray. Besides, Wlislocki and even Areco, in his more liberal moments, admit that actual prostitution, as distinguished from *Adspektsprostitution* and similar means of earning an honest, if not very creditable penny, is practically confined to outcasts.

The only Gypsies in Western Europe who are regarded with more than suspicion by Areco are the Spanish Gypsies. But apart from any doubts that one may entertain as to whether, in a people so free in all natural things as the Gypsies, the antics performed by Spanish dancing-girls necessarily imply any more inherent depravity than the exhibition of more than is strictly necessary of an ankle in descending from an omnibus and other similar performances common enough among presumably innocent damsels of more advanced nations, the accusers of Spanish Gypsies are far weaker than their defenders. That is a point in which Areco does not seem particularly discriminating: he often rather counts than weighs his authorities. The testimony of any number

of mere travellers should not be allowed to have any weight when opposed to Borrow, who knew the Spanish Gypsies intimately, and the two chief native authorities, Coelho and Mayo.

To the same lack of discrimination one may refer most of the extraordinary statements about the English Gypsies which the book contains. It will certainly be news to every student of those Gypsies, that every *Bordellkönigin* in England is a Gypsy, that there exist in London bath-houses where English Gypsy girls ply a shameful trade under the pseudonym of Hindu maidens, and that the English Gypsies use a depilative on girls at the age of puberty. Such statements are obviously derived from some pornographic authority, whose unreliability should have been unmistakable, since there is no support for them in any creditable book on the English Gypsies.

The use of garlic soaked in the husband's blood to assist child-birth is equally new to me, and equally improbable. On the other hand, Areco makes no mention of the ceremonial purity observed with regard to cups and other vessels touched by a woman after childbirth, which is well attested for the English as well as for foreign Gypsies; nor does he refer to Philip Murray's full description of the *diklo* custom at marriages, or the various marriage and divorce ceremonies of the Scottish Gypsies described by Simson. Indeed, his knowledge of the English Gypsies is the weakest part of the book, except perhaps the philology. Though apparently the author is capable of conversing with Gypsies from one end of Europe to the other, he does not seem to know of the existence of Miklosich's work, and his own philological suggestions are generally childish. For example, he refers to *muter* (= *vulva*) as obviously German, though there is a far more obvious Romani derivation. Similarly he identifies *me kurawa*, used of the flagellation of impotent persons with nettles, with the German verb *kurieren*, though *kur* is the universal Gypsy word for 'to beat.' One is therefore not surprised to find that he considers Wagenseil's theory that the first Gypsies were Jews as extremely probable, on account of the many Hebrew words in Romany. Not that he is consistent in this opinion, as he elsewhere accepts their Indian origin.

More puzzling is his acceptance of the theory of a double immigration into Europe, partly through Turkey and partly through Spain by way of Africa, in support of which he asserts that old Spanish Romani was quite different to the modern dialect

and contained many Berber words. A footnote referring to the publication which contains this vocabulary of old Spanish Romani would certainly not have been superfluous, since it seems to be unknown to authors who have written on that dialect. But I fear that when found it will prove to be cant and not Romani at all.

For a professed Orientalist, misprints such as 'Nanar' (Nawâr), 'Nuer' (Nûri), 'Shânâmeh' (Shâh-nâmeh), and 'Hamza-Iffahani' (Hamza-İsfahâni), all of which occur within four lines, are rather bad; and similar misprints abound in all the foreign languages and names quoted. The print, too, though clear, is badly set, misplaced letters occurring with annoying frequency.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

20.—LES 'ITALIAN GYPSIES' ET LE CHOLÉRA

L'apparition du choléra ayant été attribuée en Italie à certaines tribus de tsiganes russes, qui auraient apporté ce fléau à Bari, toutes les caravanes des bohémiens de toute espèce ont été l'objet de poursuites de la part des Autorités. Dans plusieurs pays les populations se sont armées contre ces nomades et on les a pourchassés hors de la frontière.

L'examen sanitaire a prouvé que les tsiganes russes n'avaient aucun microbe du choléra.

En cette occasion on a pu se rendre compte de la variable provenance de ces tribus, qui s'entrecroisent en Italie. On a, en effet, trouvé des caravanes de tsiganes russes, de *ciganos* hongrois, de tchinghianés grecs, bosniaques, bulgares et de bohémiens français venant de la Provence. Tout cela, sans compter les déplacements des familles des *zingaris* indigènes italiens.

Quelle belle occasion pour étudier ces nomades !

Une de ces caravanes était formée de tsiganes du Monténégro, mais ses membres avaient des passeports de tous les pays, de Rome, de Marseille, de Bruxelles. Un de leurs camarades, Tako Stephanovich, mourut à Novara le 28 août et ce deuil donna lieu à une cérémonie caractéristique. Son père lui mit, en pleurant, quatre pièces d'or dans ses quatre poches ; puis encore un franc en argent ; et dans le cercueil un morceau de savon et une serviette. Ce qui était du superflu pendant sa vie, paraît être jugé nécessaire pour se présenter un peu propre au tribunal de l'autre monde !!!

COLOCCI.

21.—UNE ÉMOUVANTE CÉRÉMONIE

Dans les temps passés, sur le chemin entre Saint-Rémy et le Grand S. Bernard, sur les Alpes, une avalanche surprenait une tribu de *gipsies* en voyage. C'étaient des pauvres chaudronniers, qui furent ensevelis sous la neige.

Jusqu'à présent la pitié humaine s'était bornée de couvrir ces pauvres tombeaux avec des grosses pierres ; mais dernièrement le comte Henry Scapinelli, sous-préfet d'Aoste, conseilla à la commune de recueillir ces ossements égarés et de construire sur place un tertre funéraire.

Cela a été fait et sur le tombeau des pauvres nomades le 8 août dernier on inaugura cette inscription en marbre, dictée par le sous-préfet Scapinelli :

'Les bohémiens chaudronniers—égarés dans leur pérégrination nomade à cause de la triste raison de l'existence—ici furent surpris et abattus par un orage de neige meurtrière—O toi qui passe, songe à eux et prie pour eux !'

La cérémonie était touchante. Toutes les confréries religieuses du pays avec le curé Michel Chenal se rendirent sur le tombeau des bohémiens pour le bénir. Des discours simples et partant du cœur furent prononcés en cette occasion, pendant que tout autour sur ces sommets alpins une tourmente de neige blanchissait le paysage.

La *Gypsy Lore Society*, par l'organe de son président, a félicité M. le comte Scapinelli, sous-préfet d'Aoste, pour son initiative humanitaire. COLOCCI.

22.—MOXADI

After reading Mr. T. W. Thompson's note on 'Defilement by a Dog's Tongue,' I turned to some notes of my own concerning things that are *moxadi* to true Romanichels. I found at once corroboration of Lavinia's statement in a remark made to me by Gilbert Boswell, who said that if a dog happened to drink from the pail of drinking-water carried behind his van, his father, Algar Boswell, would drive a stake through the bottom of the pail to ensure its not being used again. There was some excuse for Nathan Boswell when he refused to eat bread his mother had bought because he had happened to notice the baker's finger-nails; but the carefulness of the old *dai* who always took her own butter-dish to the grocer's shop because 'Who knows where the dirty *gájos*' paper comes from?' was perhaps carried to the extreme. Most of the English Romanichels' ideas of what is *moxadi*, however, seem to have resulted from observation of *gájos*' ways. They consider it *moxadi* to wash all kinds of linen in one tub, and to send linen to a laundry, where 'all sorts of things are washed together.' Nor will they use a washing-up bowl to clean potatoes in. Drinking from glasses that have held teeth-cleaning water is a dirty habit of which house-dwellers are accused, as also is using plates and saucers from which cats or dogs have eaten or lapped. It was Nathan Boswell who, while the guest of a *gájo*, saw a cooking-board being washed in water from which linen had just been taken, and on the following Sunday, when a pie was brought on to the table, he had to *puker dosta* of *hukibens* to avoid having to partake of it. And this reminds me of another pie story about a famous 'Blanket Pie,' well remembered, I have no doubt, by several young Romanichels who are acquainted with the South Shore at Blackpool. Some charitable folk had provided a kind of 'high tea' for Gypsies, and the *pièce de résistance* was to be a big meat pie. Unfortunately, it occurred to the baker of the pie, who was anxious that it should be served 'piping hot,' to wrap it in a bed-blanket before despatching it to the tea, and yet more unfortunately sharp-eyed Nathan Boswell observed its approach, and heralded its arrival with '*Dordi!* Who wants a piece of blanket pie?' News of how the pie had been kept warm soon spread among the guests, and no one would touch a bit of it save 'Uncle Kenza,' who, to spare the feelings of one or two *gájo* friends, consented to taste of it, and had to pay the penalty of being nicknamed 'Blanket Pie.' It was at Blackpool, too, that a certain old *dai* was said to wash her hands immediately after touching those of any person whose fortune she told. I have heard Gypsy girls say they never like to touch *gájos*' hands; and one young friend of mine, who passes much of her time among house-dwellers, declares that she hates to feel their 'nasty warm hands.' My latest note on this somewhat unsavoury subject was made last week after an interview with Lucy Shaw, who declared that *gájos* used their old shirts for pudding-cloths, and boiled their Christmas plum puddings in a copper in which they boiled their dirty clothes.

W. A. DUTT.

23.—BRITISH GYPSY CRIMES, 1909

The following is an analysis of the charges made against so-called Gypsies during the year 1909.

1. Damaging turf, etc., by camping,	. . . . .	60	
Camping on the highway,	. . . . .	27	
Allowing horses to stray,	. . . . .	64	
Obstructing road, van unattended, etc.,	. . . . .	8	
Want of water-supply or sanitary accommodation,	. . . . .	3	
Sleeping out,	. . . . .	6	
		—	168
2. Furious driving,	. . . . .	1	
Cart or van without lights,	. . . . .	2	
No name on cart or van,	. . . . .	5	
Dog without licence,	. . . . .	7	
Hawking without a licence,	. . . . .	2	
Breaking pound,	. . . . .	2	
Under Children's Act : School-attendance,	. . . . .	4	
" " " Children in Hotels,	. . . . .	2	
		—	25
3. Poaching,	. . . . .	18	
Taking wood, sticks, etc.,	. . . . .	23	
Fortune-telling,	. . . . .	14	
Hoaxing with fortune-telling,	. . . . .	8	
Damaging crops, etc., by trespassing,	. . . . .	6	
Gaming,	. . . . .	5	
Discharging catapult,	. . . . .	1	
		—	75
4. Cruelty to horses,	. . . . .	10	
Begging,	. . . . .	1	
Cruelty to, or neglect of, children,	. . . . .	4	
		—	15
5. Assaults (including assaults on police),	. . . . .	28	
Family quarrels,	. . . . .	13	
Drunkenness, simple,	. . . . .	29	
" with horses,	. . . . .	7	
" with children,	. . . . .	3	
Obstructing police,	. . . . .	1	
Obscene language,	. . . . .	19	
Selling improper postcards,	. . . . .	1	
Using threats,	. . . . .	1	
		—	102
6. Thefts, value less than ten shillings,	. . . . .	10	
" value more than ten shillings,	. . . . .	25	
Stealing by ruse (not fortune-telling),	. . . . .	16	
Receiving stolen property,	. . . . .	7	
		—	58
7. Criminal Assault,	. . . . .	1	
Arson (dismissed),	. . . . .	1	
Murder (dismissed),	. . . . .	1	
Firing at man (Servian G. ; dismissed),	. . . . .	1	
		—	4
			447

When drawing general conclusions from such statistics, it must never be forgotten that Gypsies live in public. Their offences are far more conspicuous than those of gâjos, as Colonel Williamson of Lawers, Crieff, pointed out in explanation of a statement by Mr. John Macpherson, Chief Constable of Perthshire, that 'the apprehensions for drunkenness among the gipsies are 15 times more frequent than among the civil population.' 'I believe,' said the Colonel, 'that is a very unfair estimate of the drunkenness between the two classes. Probably every case among the gipsies is reported, and thousands of cases of the ordinary population are not reported.'¹

To the literature of Gypsy crime has lately been added a very curious Report presented to the House of Lords by a Select Committee appointed to consider the Moveable Dwellings Bill.² The general public, as represented by the Press, marvelled at this document, because it admitted that Gypsies are a little healthier than farm hands, a little better than tramps, a little cleaner than slum-dwellers, and a little more honest than burglars. But what makes it really extraordinary is that their Lordships, while granting to the Gypsies a measure of the justice for which they have waited so long, yet give general support to certain ancient and damaging superstitions which were disproved by the evidence of their most reliable witnesses.

They were told by the Chief Constable of Surrey that burglaries and crimes of violence are committed by tramps, not by Gypsies; and that 'there was no real evidence of intimidation against them so far as his police were aware.' But to this sober assertion of definite fact they seem to have preferred a loose statement by Mr. Justice Bray, who 'went so far as to say that the gipsies are "a nuisance, in the popular sense of the word, to the inhabitants generally, and that they deprive the inhabitants of some of their enjoyment of this beautiful district."' They attached weight also to the views of a singularly imaginative county councillor, who 'was so impressed with the situation that he pictured even the medical practitioners and the County Constabulary as in a state of apprehension from the gipsies bordering on terror,' and they reported that 'their petty lawlessness and their unconventional life and demeanour do constitute a serious grievance.'

The Report becomes even less logical when it deals with the Gypsies as dangers to public health. The evidence proved that 'van-dwellers are healthier than the average,' that illness was never caused by 'the absence of sanitary arrangements amongst nomads,' that Gypsies seldom suffer from infectious diseases, that no instance is known in which disease has been spread by them, and that they never foul a water-supply. There was not a particle of testimony to show that the presence of Gypsies ever imperils public health. Obviously, the health of house-dwellers is not endangered by the proximity of Gypsies—the boot is on the other foot, and it is the Gypsies who run the risk of contagion. Yet this is the way in which their Lordships sum up the situation—'on every ground the public are of course entitled to full protection in matters of this kind, and if the present law is not sufficient to provide as much security against sanitary nuisances committed by those who live in moveable dwellings as is provided in the case of those who live in ordinary dwellings the difference requires attention.' We suggest respectfully that it would be even more profitable to legislate against the dangers which arise from the sanitary indiscretions of persons who live in balloons.

The showmen—'a population of something like 12,000 souls,' living in 4000 vans—were represented by Mr. Horne, the chaplain of their Guild. He presented their case so ably that the Committee reported, 'No grievances arise against them, and it was represented to us that not only is no legislation necessary, but that

¹ *Gipsey or Tinker Children in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1896.

² *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Moveable Dwellings Bill [H. L.]*; together with the Proceedings of the Committee. Ordered to be printed 28th July 1910. London, 1910. Price 2d.

existing legal restrictions occasionally involve a grievance upon their side.' What would have been their Lordships' opinion of the Gypsies if our friends had enjoyed the advantage of the Rev. George Hall's advocacy? But though they were undefended the Committee found kind things to say about them, and even mention some of their little besetting sins in a way which is far from unsympathetic. They point out that the reputation of the Gypsies suffers from popular inability to distinguish them from tramps—'the public, naturally enough, do not carefully distinguish between the one class and the other—between the gipsy van-dwellers and the tramps who do not live in moveable dwellings at all. . . . Both in kind and in amount, indeed, the offences for which gypsies are responsible are on a much humbler scale than those committed by tramps. But they have rather primitive views as to rights of property, especially in respect of what grows or moves upon the earth in a more or less wild state, and stick-cutting, poaching, and petty pilfering are common enough.'

Their Lordships mention that nameplates are useless for identifying nomads, 'since any such van-dweller desiring to obscure his identity usually avails himself of a stock of spare nameplates which can be changed as required'; and they do not recommend legislation similar to that applied to common lodging-houses, because 'conditions of cubic space applied to shelters which check the free air of heaven almost as little as does an umbrella are altogether incongruous.' And, lastly, they protest with no uncertain voice against the 'extreme and inequitable remedy' of 'driving the van-dwellers off the face of the earth.' 'The impression left on their minds by the evidence is that by itself any increased interference by local authorities in the conditions of life of these nomads will merely end in hunting them from place to place,' or, as they express it elsewhere, 'removing the evil from one property or one district or one county to its neighbour'; a just conclusion which may be recommended to the consideration of other European Governments.

The course which the Committee recommends—provision of public camping-grounds at reasonable distances, with powers to restrain or prohibit camping elsewhere—is unobjectionable in principle. Since it involves expense, it will be adopted only in 'parts of the country where the gipsy difficulties are acute,' and in most districts nomad life will remain as unrestricted as at present. But a limit should be set to the amount of rent which a council can exact, say, one farthing per family per hour; or, by charging an exorbitant price, they may virtually forbid camping in the whole county.

24.—EARLY ANNALS

1. *The Records of the City of Norwich. . . . Edited by the Rev. W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, vol. ii. (Norwich, 1910) p. 172.*

Court on Saturday, 5 July [1544]. 'Barthilomewe Bale saith that Mr Chasye desired hym to goo w^t hym to Debneys house and so he did, and then and ther M^r Chasye saied to Debney that he ought to have had commandement aswell of my lady as of M^r Maier to receive and lodge the Egipcions, and y^t he the said Bale at the comandement of my lady serged Banyard house, and y^t he saied that XX. Egipcianz had ben innow ffor that strete.'

No further notice of these Gypsies occurs in the printed records, and one can only infer from this meagre reference that a party more than twenty in number had lately passed through Norwich.

2. *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records. By R. N. Worth (Plymouth, 1893), p. 121 (From the Widey court book), '1569-70 Item payed for drynke geven to the Egipcians, xd.'*

3. *Hertford County Records. Notes and Extracts from the Sessions Rolls 1581 to 1698. Compiled . . . by W. J. Hardy (Hertford, 1905), vol. i. p. 57.*

Letter from J[ohn Williams], Bishop of Lincoln, to the Earl of Salisbury, and other justices of the peace, dated 'Westminster Colledge,' 21 September 1622.

'After my very harty commendacions unto you. Reconsideringe that Almighty God, who when he had but two in all the world to serve him planted them a garden to keepe them [from ?] idlenes, and haveing afterwardes appropriated unto himself a whole common-wealth, did enact that law in ye 15th of Dueteronomie, *Mendicus non erit inter vos* agaynst begging and lazines, and that the common and statute lawes of this kingdome (being either of them excerpions out of the law of God) the one by creation of tenures and services, the other by soe many peremptorie edicts doe utterly condemne and extirpate beggars, rogues, vagabonds, *Aegiptians*, and such lazies and unprofitable members of the common-wealth; His Majestie is justly offended at you, who being entrusted with the care and execucion of the statutes do suffer your countrey notwithstanding to swarne with whole troupes of rogues, beggars, *Aegiptians*, and idle persons, to ye exceeding great damage of many of his majestie's poorer subjects, and the deepe aspersion of the present government. These are therefore strictly to require you, and every one of you, forthwith, upon the receipt hereof, to put these lawes for ye punnishing, employing, chasetising, and rooting out of these idle people (sumptomes of Popery and blynde superstition) in dilligent practice and execucion, taking no longer time of deliberacion then this your next ensuing quarter sessions . . . And . . . you shall enjoyne your constables to present at every Quarter Sessions all those former trouping of rogues and vagabonds . . .'

The rest of the Bishop's rigmarole does not concern us; but on the 30th of September an order was passed for the appointment of a marshall to punish and chase away all rogues and vagrant persons and to supervise the constables. He was to visit every hundred for that purpose, but especially 'about Theobalds and Cheshunt, where the King mostly resides.' The constables were enjoyned to pay attention to the apprehension of rogues and persons who harboured them. The clause about the especial attention to the part where the king resided makes it look rather as though they undertook the task unwillingly, and the astonishingly few records of prosecutions of vagrants in the two volumes bears out this view. Gypsies are only once mentioned, and that nearly eighty years later. That reference is of considerable importance, and will be treated elsewhere.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

25.—FEA AND FAA

In *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 233-4, F. H. Groome quotes from Tudor's *The Orkneys and Shetland* the account of the trial at Scalloway, in 1612, of five Gypsies named Faw. (See also MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*, p. 53.) Groome says, 'Query: "Can the Orcadian Feas have been of Gypsy descent?"' On this point I consulted Dr. Jakob Jakobsen of Copenhagen, an authority on Norse philology, who replies as follows: 'I think it most probable that the Orkney name *Fea* is derived from one of the places called *Fee-a* in Orkney. *Feea* probably through a form *Feeaw* from *Fiall*, Old Norse *fjall* = "fell" (hill). The Orkney *Feeas* are on or at hills.'

ALEX. RUSSELL.

26.—THE DEATH BIRD

Years ago, when sitting with Oliver Lee and his wife, a bird or something dropped on the tent-blanket, and his wife exclaimed that it was the 'Death Bird,' and that we should soon hear that some one had died. Meeting Oliver at Brough Hill in October 1910, I asked what bird it was supposed to be, and he replied that it was the water-hen, but that no one had ever seen it. Is this a general superstition among British Gypsies, and can parallels be found in other lands?

WILLIAM FERGUSON.

NEW SERIES

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

JANUARY 1911

VOL. IV

NO. 3

CONTENTS:

ARTICLES BY

- Augustus John
Dr. D. F. de l'H. Ranking
Dr. John Sampson
Arthur Symons
Notes and Queries

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C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
I. GYPSIES ON THE ROAD. After Ch. Baudelaire's <i>Les Fleurs du Mal</i> , xiii. By ARTHUR SYMONS	161
II. JACOB BRYANT: being an Analysis of his Anglo-Romani Vocabulary, with a Discussion of the Place and Date of Collection and an Attempt to show that Bryant, not Rüdiger, was the earliest discoverer of the Indian origin of the Gypsies. By JOHN SAMPSION, D.Litt.	162
III. THE GYPSIES OF CENTRAL RUSSIA. By D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING, LL.D.	195
IV. RUSSIAN GYPSIES AT MARSEILLES AND MILAN. By AUGUSTUS E. JOHN	217
NOTES AND QUERIES	236

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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began with the number of July 1888 and ended with that of April 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several copies of Vol. III. at the original cost of £1, and also most of the numbers of Vols. I. and II. at the original cost of 5s. for each number.

The New Series of the Journal began with the number of July 1907, four numbers and a supplementary index-number making a volume. Three such volumes have been issued, those of 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1909-10. A limited number of copies can still be obtained at the subscription price of £1 for each volume, but they are sold only to members of the Gypsy Lore Society, and not to the general public. Single parts cannot always be supplied: when copies are available for sale to members the price is 5s. each, with the exception of the index-number of Vol. I., for which only 2s. 6d. is charged.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. IV

JANUARY 1911

No. 3

I.—GYPSIES ON THE ROAD

(After Ch. Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal*, xiii.)

THE tribe of fortune-tellers with ardent eyes
Move on along a road, carrying upon
Their backs their children, or letting one by one
Satiate its fierce thirst on breasts that never rise.

Men walk on foot, gazing without surprise,
Beside their caravans, toward the sun
To seek chimeras that they have not won
With gloomy grief beneath the leaden skies.

In his retreat, the sudden grasshopper,
Seeing them pass, repeats his double whirr;
Cybele, who loves them, makes the grass more green,

Makes deserts flower, water from rocks to flow,
Before these wanderers, who in vision know
Dark empires of those futures they have seen.

AETHUR SYMONS.

L

VOL. IV.—NO. III.

II.—JACOB BRYANT: BEING AN ANALYSIS OF HIS ANGLO-ROMANI VOCABULARY, WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE PLACE AND DATE OF COLLECTION AND AN ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT BRYANT, NOT RÜDIGER, WAS THE EARLIEST DISCOVERER OF THE INDIAN ORIGIN OF THE GYPSIES

By JOHN SAMPSON

ON the 3rd of February 1785 Sir Joseph Banks communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London William Marsden's 'Observations on the Language of the People commonly called Gypsies,' a paper in which that Oriental scholar arrived independently, by a separate road, at the conclusion reached by Rüdiger and Grellmann a few years before. 'It was,' he tells us, 'in the latter end of the year 1783' that his attention was struck by the surprising resemblance to Hindustani of the specimens given by Ludolfus in 1691 of the speech of the *Cingari vel Errones Nubiani*. In commendably scientific fashion Marsden proceeded to put his discovery to the test, verifying the accuracy of Ludolfus' examples by collecting a short vocabulary of his own from English Gypsies, which he further confirmed by another procured for him from Turkish Tchinghiané by his friend Matra. Then by a tabular comparison of words common to these three lists with cognates drawn from Hindi, Marathi, and Bengali, he clearly demonstrated not only the affinity of the European-Romani dialects, but also the Indian origin of the Gypsy tongue.

Marsden's little collection of thirty-nine words was made in the company of Sir Joseph Banks¹ and Dr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Blagden, the friend of whom Johnson observed, 'Blagden, sir, is a delightful fellow.' The date must have been late in 1783 or early in 1784, and the place was evidently in the immediate vicinity of Isleworth on Thames, Banks' residence. Thirty years later, in Sir Richard Phillips' anonymous article, entitled 'A Walk from Richmond to Kew,' we find the same Gypsies near the same spot, hopefully recalling that Sir Joseph Banks had

¹ Banks' MSS. are preserved in the Dawson Turner collection of the Natural History Museum. It would be interesting to ascertain whether they contain any reference to this incident.

once presented them with a guinea for telling him twenty Romani words.¹

Among those who listened to Marsden's paper was Dr. John Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who 'recollected that several years ago [he] had heard [his] friend Mr. Bryant mention his having collected a considerable number of words used by this wandering tribe, several of which words appeared to bear a close affinity to those of the same meaning in the languages of ancient and of distant nations.' These 'Collections on the Zingara or Gypsey Language, obligingly transmitted by Mr. Bryant,' were read at the next meeting of the Society on April 7, 1785, printed in *Archaeologia* (vol. vii., 1785), and reprinted in Dodsley's *Annual Register* for the same year.

For many reasons Bryant's collection invites the labour of an editor. The first recorded English Gypsy since Borde's 'Egyp Speche,' it must certainly throw light on the state of Anglo-Romani in this country towards the close of the eighteenth century. Its greater length and more unusual words render it much more interesting than the short list of Marsden, while its very corruptness gives it something of the fascination of a cryptogram. Moreover, the game of cross questions and crooked answers played between the Rai and the Romanichal enables us to overlook at the same time the hands of both players. The part played by the Gypsy is easy to understand. We see him 'perplexed in the extreme,' mostly in the dark as to what his catechist is driving at, yet still striving to return faithful answers, except, indeed, when for the secret amusement of himself or his fellows he informs the philologist that *ming* is the Romani for 'father' and *boro fule* for 'steeple.' Bryant's play is a little less obvious. His inquiries—whatever the principle on which they were made—were certainly not designed to elicit either the *Wortschatz* or the *Wortbildung* of Romani. Glance at the words contained under any letter of the alphabet, and you find a singular collocation of vocables which reminds one of nothing so much as the subjects selected for pictures by the three sisters, who, as Lewis Carroll tells us, 'drew anything that begins with

¹ No one who remembers Borrow's delightful portrait of Phillips as 'The Publisher' in *Lavengro* (vol. ii., chap. xiii.) will need to be informed that in this instance the Gypsy hint fell upon barren ground. 'Perceiving therefore,' says Sir Richard, 'that he [one of this Gypsy band] rated this species of information very high, and aware that the subject has been treated at large by many authors, I forbore to press him further.' (See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 184.)

an M, such as mousetraps and the moon, memory and muchness.' In a similar way, under the letter N, Bryant chose as representative words for translation into Gypsy, 'the Nose, Numbers, Nine, a Nail of the hand, New, a Nutmeg, a Needle, a Nation, Night.' A second glance explains this puzzle, and nothing is plainer, both from Bryant's questions and the Gypsy's answers, than that his words must have been taken down at a fair, fête, or merry-making, well provided with all the ordinary shows. We have the Giant (106) and the Dwarf (65), the former rendered *borwardo*, i.e. not the Brobdingnagian himself, but the big caravan in which he lived. We find evidence of a travelling menagerie, on whose gaudy show-cloth were probably displayed pictures of the ape (1), the lion (147), the eagle (74), the serpent (217), the whale (269), and other wonders of animated nature. A band discoursed music (159) of the harp (117), the flute (80), and the horn (120). There was singing (209) of songs (210), perhaps by ballad-sellers. The bow (25) and arrow (6) point to an archery competition. There were coaches (52), lords (145) and ladies (146), and gentlemen's servants (211). The grapes (98) and peaches (187)¹ and the nutmegs (175) may have been sold on stalls. There were the materials for a bonfire in the tar (246) and pitch (184), which may have suggested the flame (78) and incidentally given birth to the false word *pratcheely*.² There was a fight (88) and a beating (30), which may have either been one of the ordinary rough-and-tumble sort, the result perhaps of having 'words' (265) rendered *ohano* 'angry,' or a contest with single-sticks, in which Bryant would certainly have been keenly interested. Later in 1787 we find him telling the King, who had asked him for what he was most famous at Eton, 'Cudgelling, sir; I was most famous for that,' surprising the company, who had expected to be told that it was for his Latin verses. There were *romana chils* (102), of course with their *vardos* (274), and horses (116), and whips (273), and spurs (237),—in a word there was good sport, *fino paiaass* (110), all the fun of the fair.

But in what fair, except that which our great Bedfordshire Romanichal Bunyan saw in the 'similitude of a dream,' do priests (186) walk about reciting prayers (185) or rather 'masses,' for the word is *missihe*. How are we to account for the sick man (221)

¹ Windsor was famous for its fruit. On 1st September 1711, Swift writes from there to Stella: 'I envy people maunching and maunching peaches and grapes, and I not daring to eat a bit.'

² See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 285-6.

and the sick woman (222), who were ere long a dead man (66) and a dead woman (67), lowered into the grave (104)? May not these perhaps have been features in an exhibition of the ancient tragicomedy of Punch and Judy, in which too the judge (132), the barber (26), and the devil (54) form part of the *dramatis personae*? When Bryant dined at Windsor with Miss Burney in January 1788, she records in her Diary that he discoursed on puppet-shows and proved their origin from the early English Mysteries.¹

The amiable picture of Bryant's personality drawn by Miss Burney is fully borne out by other entries in his vocabulary. Doubtless it was the storm, the *bauro beval acochenos* (235), probably accompanied by thunder (248), lightning (153), wind (261), hail (113), and rain (192), which drove him to take refuge in some friendly *kirchimo podrum* (135). Evidently he treated his Gypsy friends to a dinner of meat (163), or bread (12) and cheese (35), with his note-book (27) at hand on the table (253), as the naïve answer *ever-se-cosi* (166), given in answer to his query 'more,' would seem to indicate. Liquor is one of the few things whose age and goodness are synonymous (as in 179), and we hear of *moul* (264) and *lavanah* (22), which were perhaps indulged in to the detriment of serious study by the 'Merry Race of Romany Rye.' Let us glance compassionately at this small deviation from the 'strait' path (225), which has, alas! in our Romani rendering become a trifle *crooco-bango*.

Can we next discover which fair or show it was that Bryant attended, for if, as would seem to have been the case, he contented himself with asking the names of objects he saw around him or others suggested by them, there may be evidence in the vocabulary itself which will set us on the right track. The issue is fortunately narrowed when we meet with the entry *palace* (188), translated *crellis escochare* = 'king's house,' for there are not, after all, so many royal residences in Great Britain. Every finger-post points to Windsor, which was one of Bryant's favourite haunts. He knew it, of course, in his school-days at Eton (1730-36), where he afterwards returned for a time as private tutor to the Marquis of Blandford; and in his last years we find him living only two or three miles off, at Cypenham, and frequently dining with the King, with whom he was a great favourite. Windsor has all the topographical features suggested by the words in Bryant's list—the castle with its flag

¹ *Diary and Letters*, 1892, vol. ii. 443.

(91) flying, standing on the hill (112), and the New Town (174 245) lying below on the banks of the river (193), where people might bathe (29). The Parish Church at Windsor has a square tower which seems at first to make against my argument, since steeple (204) is one of Bryant's *lavs*. But the present *kongri* only dates from 1822, and it was the old Church of S. John the Baptist—which had a steeple—that Bryant knew. It was probably in the same churchyard that he pointed out the tomb (254), which the Gypsy translated *bauro balscoplatti* = 'big stone is on it.' There is wood, forest (82) and wilderness (68), and the bridge (23) may be either the old timber structure then connecting Windsor and Eton, or that on the highroad (198) over the brook (16) flowing from Virginia Water, while the gardens (107) planted with flowers and shrubs may have suggested *rogeo* (79) and the famous *covascorook* 'laurel' (154). And finally, as if to clinch matters, there is a sulphur spring in the Long Walk, and sulphur (208) was one of the odd words that Bryant inquired about.

If Windsor then, as seems almost certain, was the spot where Bryant's list was taken down, can we carry the inquiry further and ascertain the date of the collection? Dr. Douglas in April 1785 states that it was made 'several years before,' which may indeed mean anything. But he also tells us that Bryant included in his list fourteen words (distinguished by an asterisk) which the Rev. Mr. Coxe, 'that learned traveller,' had collected 'some years ago' from Gypsies in Hungary, and transmitted in a letter to his friend. Now it can be proved that Coxe's collection must have been made before Bryant's, for two at least of the latter's words (97 and 142) can only be accounted for on the supposition that he was already acquainted with Coxe's Hungarian Romani forms, and snared by the old pitfall of the collector, had by some process of suggestion extracted false corroboration of them from his own English Gypsies. A single example will carry conviction. Bryant (97) gives not *čai* or *rakli* but *assogne* as the Anglo-Romani for 'girl.' There is no such Gypsy word in English or any other dialect, and the explanation is to be found in Coxe's *assoinee*, which is merely the Hungarian *asszony*, woman. What then was the date of these specimens of Hungarian Gypsy? William Coxe, best remembered as historian of the House of Austria, was like Bryant an old Etonian, and it was through the good offices of the latter that he succeeded his friend as tutor to the Duke of Marlborough. He made several Continental tours, narrating his

experiences in dull and ponderous volumes.¹ But the particular journey on which he met his Hungarian Gypsies can only have been that in which he accompanied the Right Honourable George Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1775-6), passing, I suppose, through Hungary on his way to Poland. Probably enough Coxe, being familiar with Bryant's love of etymological researches, sent him this new material straight from Hungary, and no doubt Bryant took an early opportunity of corroborating and supplementing Coxe's words by a collection of his own. Bryant's lists, therefore, while made 'several years before' 1785, cannot have been earlier than 1775, which brings us fairly close to the exact date.²

After following the run so far it would be a pity not to be in at the death. I have given my reasons for supposing the occasion to have been a fête or fair. Can it have been one of the three annual fairs which were held at Windsor on Easter Tuesday, the feast of S. John the Baptist, June 24, and the feast of S. Edward, October 13? Apparently not, for none of the three at all bear out the indications of season suggested by Bryant's words. The time was evidently summer, when boating (31) and swimming (29) were possible, and the peaches (187) and grapes (98) point to the month of August. So also does the harvest (127), and the curious word 'image,' translated *fino wocklee [rakli]* 'fine girl' (137), may not improbably have been the image of Ceres or the harvest queen, which adorned the waggon (274) carrying home the last load of corn (34). Henzer describes this custom as taking place at Windsor itself in the reign of Elizabeth, and we know from Hone and others that it lingered long after Bryant's day.

What, then, was this special festival which must have taken place in the month of August in or soon after 1775? Turning to the *Annual Registers* for the years in question I find a reference which seems almost conclusive. On August 12, in 1776, it is recorded at some length that the birthday of the Prince of Wales

¹ I owe the examination of these with a view to determine the date of Coxe's collection of Hungarian Romani to the kindness of Mr. Winstedt, as also the information respecting the Windsor festivities derived from the *London Chronicle*.

² The doubt (suggested by Douglas's use of the plural word collections) whether Bryant may not have gathered together his vocabulary at different times and places from different bands of Gypsies arises only to be immediately dismissed. In the first place, the list is one which might easily have been taken down in a few hours, and all his words and forms, some of which are unusual, show an individuality and family likeness which is only met with in the same group of tents. Again, it is impossible to suppose that Bryant could have prosecuted his studies in Romani and checked his words by other or even the same Gypsies without being led to correct some of the very extraordinary mistakes with which his vocabulary abounds.

was celebrated at Windsor 'with unusual splendour.' Bryant, as a near resident, loyal subject and old friend of the King, would almost certainly have been present, and the festivities would have attracted Gypsies, showmen *et hoc genus omne* to the spot. Archery, moreover, seems more likely to have taken place at a fête of this kind than at an ordinary fair. And finally we have the storm, the *bauro beval acochenos*, perhaps brought on by the firing of volleys. The *London Chronicle*, p. 156, specially mentions 'the afternoon was very wet,' and that 'wet and wind' spoiled or put a stop to an intended illumination, for which no doubt the tar (246), pitch (184), coal (40) and oil (181) were in readiness. It would seem then, unless there is some overlooked weakness in this chain of reasoning, that Bryant took down his words at Windsor on the 12th of August 1776.

The whole of this argument might justly enough be regarded as considering too curiously matters of small importance, were it not that on it depends the larger question, never previously raised, as to whether Jacob Bryant and not Rüdiger may have been the first to demonstrate the Indian origin of the Gypsies. Appended to Bryant's alphabetical list of English and Hungarian Gypsy words are three comparative tables showing:—

- (a) 'Zingara, or Gypsey words, which accord with others in the native Persic, or in the Persic of Indostan.'
- (b) 'The Numerals of the Zingara, or Gypsey Tribes; compared with those of Indostan and Persia, as they are to be found in "Herbert's Travels," p. 319, and in "Bell of Antermony's Travels," vol. ii. p. 117.'
- (c) 'Zingara or Gypsey words, remarkably similar to some in other Languages.'

Everything makes for the assumption that these early attempts to show the linguistic affinities of Romani were not a later idea suggested by Marsden's comparisons, but the immediate result of a keen interest in the words just collected. Bryant was a distinguished classical scholar and a curious student of etymology, though, unfortunately for the permanent value of his work, he came a few years before the new discoveries and great generalisations which alone rendered possible the science of comparative philology. In 1776, the year of his Gypsy collections, he had just completed the publication of the work by which he is best known, *A New System or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, in which

the etymologies of proper names are made the basis of an attempt to explain the mythology and ethnology of the nations of antiquity. We have seen that shortly after receiving Coxe's list, he hastened to test these words on English Gypsies, and to collect a much fuller vocabulary of his own; and nothing is more unlikely than that he should have postponed the attractive task of analysis. Indeed, Douglas in his introductory letter of April 7, 1785, expressly states that both the collection and analysis were made 'several years before.'

Bryant's qualifications for the work were anything but great. He was, even for his time, weak as an Orientalist, and the only works which he seems to have consulted for Iranian and Indian cognates were the antiquated Herbert's *Travels*,¹ which he had previously made use of in his *Ancient Mythology*, and Bell's *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to divers parts of Asia*.² Yet despite his wretched authorities Bryant was able to show that the Gypsy numerals and a number of everyday words are in general agreement with those of India or Persia, and the fact that these comparisons occupy his first two lists proves that he recognised the importance of the discovery. In his third table he gives a list of Gypsy words, not, it will be noticed, in 'accord with,' but 'remarkably similar to some in other languages.' Here he rightly connects *colee* 'anger' and *drom* 'road' with the Greek χολή and δρόμος, and *crellis* 'king' with Bohemian 'crellis' [i.e. Slav. *kral*]. He does, it is true, in the same table attempt to connect certain Romani words with Hebrew and Coptic (an idea afterwards adopted by Whiter);³ but though he probably, like others of his day, held unsound views as to the relationship between different families of languages, he may well have imagined that the Gypsies in the course of their wanderings had acquired these in Palestine and Egypt. He made inevitable blunders; but his three comparative tables contain, nevertheless, the germ of all our later elaborate analyses of Romani into native and loan words. Indeed, the very crudity of Bryant's etymologies, showing that they were in no way derived from those of Rüdiger, Grellmann,

¹ London, 1677.

² Glasgow, 1763.

³ Grellmann was another to whom it occurred that the Gyp. *rom* was identical with Coptic *rōme* 'man,' and the idea has lingered to our own times, though 'that way madness lies.' Even in Groome's latest article on 'Gypsies' in *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* we find to our astonishment "'Husband' is clearly a secondary meaning of *rom*, and 'man' the primary; so that one is almost tempted to connect *rom* with the ancient Egyptian *rōme* 'man' (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 225), and to believe that there really is something in the alleged Egyptian origin of the Gypsies."

and Marsden, entirely bears out Douglas' statement that these comparisons had been made 'several years before' 1785.

Jacob Bryant, therefore, would seem to have been the first or one of the first to discover and illustrate the analogy between Romani and the Indo-Iranian languages, taking precedence of Rüdiger, who, as Pott tells us (on the authority of the younger Adelung), only in 1777 'announced his Eureka' in a letter to Bacmeister. It would appear, indeed, that the discovery of the Indian origin of the Gypsies was then in the air, and that it was arrived at almost simultaneously by several independent inquirers whose claims to priority need perhaps a little straightening out. The precise debt of Rüdiger to Bacmeister, of Grellmann to Büttner and Pauer, or of Bryant and Marsden to other philological speculators, are questions which might profitably be made a subject of more minute investigation. In the meantime, among the names of claimants to the honour of this discovery let us include that of Bryant.

SOME CAUSES OF ERROR IN BRYANT'S VOCABULARY

A variety of reasons—for some of which there would seem to have been extenuating circumstances—combine to make Bryant's vocabulary one of the most corrupt in the world. He was ignorant of the structure of the language, an unsystematic inquirer, and seems to have possessed small power of analysis. He must have had a very indistinct articulation¹ as well as an exceptionally poor ear.² He used no regular phonetic system, but attempted the hopeless plan of spelling his words by analogy to English. He wrote a hand which, in recopying, he was sometimes unable to decipher himself, and which proved a worse stumbling-block to the unfortunate printer. He must have half forgotten his words, or what they stood for, when transcribing them from his notes in the rough alphabetical order in which they appear in *Archaeologia*.³

¹ Witness such mishearings by his Gypsies as 'egg' for 'air' (3), 'an eagle' for 'a needle' (74), and 'a nutmeg' for 'an uncle' (175).

² Compare in this respect the anonymous author of the *Beytrag zur Rotweliischen Grammatik* (1755); who, though equally ignorant of the structure of the language, rarely fails to record the longest phrase accurately as to sound, e.g. 'beredt': *shuckerakerbenhikoles*: i.e. *šuker raker'ben hi koles*, lit. 'blanda locutio est illi.'

³ Only on this supposition can we explain the separation under two different headings of nos. 50 and 90, both evidently referring to 'command.' Again 'strait' (225) used alone has no definite meaning; it may signify either 'narrow,' a 'neck of water,' or a 'difficulty,' it is only when we connect it with no. 262, 'waistcoat,' that Bryant's inquiry becomes partially intelligible. Similarly we may suppose that nos. 89, 'the feeling,' and 90, 'to faint,' originated in the simple phrase, 'feeling faint.'

All these difficulties must be taken into account before we can get face to face with Bryant's brand of Romani. In representing his vocabulary in ordinary phonetic characters, I have studiously avoided any attempt to amend his mishearings, or to compel his words into conventional or more familiar forms. As on these points disparate views might be held by Romany Ryes trained in different schools of English Gypsy, it seems preferable to confine myself to correcting obvious or probable misprints, and, after careful study of Bryant's mode of writing in perfectly clear cases, to transliterating by the usual symbols the Romani words as he appears to have heard them.

In all cases where conjectural emendations are made I supply in double inverted commas what I conceive to have been the original form of the misprinted word. A few misreadings of Bryant's hand by the printer may be specially noticed. His *h*, especially final *h*, is often mistaken for *n* and vice versa, e.g. *matchian* (39) for "matchah," and *suhakie* (101) for "sunakie." His *r* and *t* are several times confused as in *tedou* (181) for "redou," *acavat* (243) for "acavar," and *havoura* for "havouta" (69). His *v* is misread *r* as in *covat* (181) for "covar." The small letters such as *a*, *c*, *e*, *i*, *o*, are often confused and the *i* dotted in the wrong place: e.g. twice *soli* for *si-lo*.

The misprint *e* for *i* in such unmistakable cases as *gree* for "grie" (116) and *rashee* for "rashie" (186) leaves some room for doubt as to whether the oblique stems *-is-*, *-in-*, in the terminations *-isko* (twice) beside *-esko* (once)—e.g. "tophiscoh" (42), *posomiso-gree* (237) and *crellisesco* (188)—and *-ingro* (seven times) beside *-engro* (once)—e.g. *mormingro* (26), *solivingro* (33), *plastomin-gree* (52), *peomingro* (98), *poomingro* (187), *baucoringro* (224), *bringeree* (262) and *givengro* (127)—may not be merely due to misreading *e* for *i*. On the whole, however, the number of cases in which *-i-* occurs renders this unlikely, and the *-i-* forms, moreover, are found occasionally in the English Romani of Leland and Norwood as well as in the German Gypsy of Bischoff and Zippel. To some extent a similar doubt arises with regard to Bryant's use of final *-ō* for usual *-a*.

VOWELS

Bryant's representation of the vowel sounds reflects the common Gypsy tendency to raise or lower vowels in such a manner as to mislead an untrained ear as to the precise quality

of the sound. Thus we find *a* raised to *e* in *treSh* (81), *crellis* (138 and 188), *radchevo* (211), *sep* beside *sap* (217), *e* lowered to *a* in *pAn* beside *pen* (214), *vAsh* (82), *dAval* (100), *yAcorah* (126), *shunaloE* (131), *Afta* (200), *radchevo* (211), and the suffix *-bAn*, beside *-ben*, in the termination of the abstract nouns, e.g. *caulibAn* (18), *mirabAn* (58), etc., beside *careoben* (51), *commoben* (140), *techeben* (251); *e* is raised to *i* in *mirabAn* (58), *chil* (102), and *i* lowered to *e* in *devus* (63, 168), *deckloo* (91), *dennoloo* (92), *clerin* (139). Bryant's usual representation of the genitives singular and plural in *-isko*, *-ingro* beside a few examples in *-esko*, *-engro*, if not misprints as suggested above, are instances of this raised *e*: e.g. "tophiscoh" (42), *mormingro* (26), *solivingro* (33), *plastomingree* (52), *peomingro* (98), *baucoringro* (224), beside *crellisesco* (188) and *givengro* (127). These modifications point unmistakably to the sounds heard being front, not back, vowels. Isolated or final *ū* for more usual *ō* is also met with in the definite article masculine, and in the termination of substantives and adjectives, e.g.:—*oo pannee* (16), *bittu* (53, 65), *moloo* (58, 66, 67), *oito* (70), *deckloo* (91), *dennoloo* (92), *tattoo* (124).

Elision of the final *ō* of the adjective occurs in *borwardo* (106) and *burgau* (245).

As in most dialects of modern English Gypsy we have instances of rounding or labialization in the change of original short *a* to *o* as in *commoben* (140), *nock* (170), *congrogre* (208), also the English *acochen* for "acatching" in *acochenos* (235), beside retention of the same sound in *yack* (19), and *bango* (225). The long sound *ā* occurs in *mauro* (12), *vaunustry* (196), *cauliban* (18), *bauri* (177), *baucoringro* (224), *chauk* (256), *borwardo* (106), *georgio* (65), *stor* (95), *boro fule* (204), and the plurals *yarraw* (3), "lielaw" (143), *barraw* (234), "ballaw" (122). Both are of course corruptions of an original long and short pure *a*, as in Italian. A peculiar feature of the dialect is found in several examples of final *ō* instead of *a* in the terminations of the verb and in feminine loan-words, e.g. *chollow* (76), *jallow* (90), *shunaloE* (131), *sallow* (150), "diccaloe" (201), *sovochollo* (229), *kirchimo* (135), *milo* (169) beside "millah" (2) and *moonah* (162), as well as in the instrumental *mansoe* (230).

Lastly it should be noted that the unstressed short vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, in words of more than one syllable almost certainly represent, not the sounds heard respectively in *pat*, *pet*, *pit*, *pot*, *put*, but the obscure vowel sound as in 'away,' 'ovĕn,' 'bodily,'

'muttōn,' 'ūpon.' In all cases where I am fairly sure that this dull vowel has been heard I indicate it by the symbol *a*.

CONSONANTS

Most of the consonantal sounds are represented by symbols which require no explanation, though here, as in the case of the vowels, Bryant sometimes uses the same symbol to represent entirely different sounds.

Initial *č* (*tš*) is represented by *ch* as in *chavo* (205), *chive* (247), *chucknee* (273)—though elsewhere the same character is used to express *χ* and *k̄*—and medial *č* by *ch* and *tch* as in *techeben* (251), *kirchimo* (135), *matchee* (93), *pratcheely* (78). *j* (*dž*) is represented initially by *j* as in *jal* (29), by *i* in *ionadass* (8), *iasia* (50), *iau* (268), and by *g* in "geva" (142); medially by *g* in *porgee* (23), *georgee* (67), and finally by *g* in *ming* (77) and *peng* (44, 96); while *g* in *rogeo* (79) seems to represent *ž*, and in *give* (34) etc., of course stands for the guttural media. The foreign sound *f* is represented by *f* in the Greek loan-word *foroose* (37), and the English *fino* (107, 110, 137), and by *ph* in the original words *tooph* (218), and *naphili* (213), where the former corresponds to a more usual *v* and the latter to a more usual *-sv-*. Initial *th* in *thubb* (176), and *thee* (220) is a lisped *s* which seems to supply an answer to Mr. MacRitchie's query in the first series of our *Journal*.¹

Bryant's representation of the guttural aspirate *χ* (a sound now rarely heard in the purely English dialect) is worth noting. This sound is represented by *k'h* in *k'howe* (272), by *c* in *colee* (5), by *ch* in *chollow* (76), *ochano* (144), *sovochollo* (229), and by the interesting spellings *ckw* and *w* in *chockwan* (36), *chawan* (219), which are probably meant to express a labialized dental spirant as in German *auch*. It is weakened to *h* in *hawlaw* (89), *harrow* (212), *hatcheribban* (13), *hocleben* (128), while the aspirate is lost altogether in *ohano* (265). A supererogatory aspirate occurs in "havouta" (69). But the most interesting fact which emerges from Bryant's graphic representation of sounds is that the aspirated tenues *k̄*, *t̄*, *p̄*, were still met with in English Gypsy, e.g. *cham* (206), *chare* (188), *theim* (53), *p'har* (233), *phove* (73), beside *pou* (107).

Bryant probably misheard tenues for mediae and vice versa in *tooph* for *tuv* (218), *tood* beside *dood* (153), *hoova* for *hufa* (49), and *-ogre* for *-okri* in the termination of the feminine genitive

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. i. 170.

singular in *yaccogaree* (6), *congrogre* (208). Such forms as *bal* for *bar* (254), *plastomingree* for the more usual *prastermengri* (52), *valashtee* for *vanyuštri* (85), *doeyave* for *dōriav* (203), and *boyo* for *bdrō* (184), would seem to show that either he or his Windsor Gypsies had a tendency to confuse their liquids.

We meet with loss of final *r* in *wooda* (60), *sashtaa* (136) and *ovavo* (168), and of final *v* in *pou* (107), and *sho* (199), which suggests that this sound was pronounced as a pure labial not as a labial-dental. *y* for more usual *j* occurs in *yaccal* (56); *v* for *b* in *vaccashoe* (152), and *n* for *ŋ* in *ionadass* (8), and *vaunustry* (196). I transliterate Bryant's *ng* in the genitive plural by *ŋg*, the modern English Gypsy sound, as in 'anger.'

WORD FORMATION AND INFLECTION

Little need be said under this head, since, when represented in ordinary characters, few, if any, of Bryant's forms possess special interest. As in other dialects original nouns substantive terminate in *ō* (or *ū*) masculine, in *i* feminine, in *ai*, *oi*, or in a consonant; masculine loan words in *-us* and *-is*, feminine in *a* (six times), beside *ō* (twice) and *ū* (once). Nouns adjective terminate in *ū* beside *ō* masculine, and in *i* feminine. The termination of the adjective is twice dropped in *borwardo* (106), and "borgav" (245). The abstract noun has the suffix *-ben* or *-ban* (eight times), beside *-pen* (once). The diminutive suffix *-aša* [-iča] occurs in *vaccashoe* (152). Adjectives occur with the suffix *-ala*, as in *shillaloe* (271); *-ana*, as in *romana* (102) and (148); and *-fila* [-vala] as in *naphilo* (221) and (222). We have also an instance of the suffix *-vara* in the adverbial form *varess* (147).

Nouns masculine terminating in a consonant form the plural in *-d* (four times) beside *ō* (once). Masculines in *-ō* form the plural in *ē*, in one instance weakened to *i*. Feminine loan-words in *-a* form the plural in *-i* as in *foki* (177), *missihe* (185), *starrie* (216).

Bryant has two examples of the vocative in *riah* (145), and *cockwhur* (175). It is noteworthy that, as in modern Anglo-Romani, we find no instances of the use of the accusative, dative, prepositional, instrumental or ablative, though this may merely be due to the fact that he asked for single words not sentences. In the use of the genitive adjective the usual distinction between the contracted form in *-ka*, used adjectively, and the fuller form in *-kra*, used substantivally, is regularly observed, e.g. *crellisesco* (188),

baukorongro (224). Among this class formed from substantives feminine are *yaccogaree* (6) and *congrogre* (208).

The concord of adjective and substantive is sometimes violated. Correct are *finepou* (107), *bauro panee* (203), *bittutheim* (53). Incorrect are *fino wocklee* (137), *bauro charrie* (212), *moloo georgee* (67).

Under pronouns we have *man* (108) accusative, *mansoe* (230) instrumental, *youee* (133, 134) 'she,' *latti* prepositional (254), with the enclitics " -*lo*" (213, 221, 225) -*lee* (222), and the demonstrative " *acavar*," *acavo* (243, 244) beside *cova* (154).

'Bryant's Verbalformen,' as Pott observes, 'sind zum Theil sehr wunderlich, wenngleich sie mitunter ihren wahren Werth durchschimmern lassen.' Stripped of their orthographical disguises, however, they present a plain if somewhat uncomely appearance. In my alphabetical vocabulary will be noted several instances of the indicative present, 1st 2nd and 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural, with occasional *ō* for *ā* in the termination of the first and third persons, and the somewhat odd " *jasi*" (50) and *avesi* (90). Parts of the verb substantive are *shan* (123) and *see* (passim).

Under the preterite we have singular, 1st person *lasthom* (94); 3rd person *ionadass* (8), *codes* (30), and *deas* (108); and plural, 3rd person *paddee* (61). The two forms in -*em*, " *monghem*" (189) and *prasthem* (197), are probably misprints for -*en* (as in no. 259), i.e. imper. plural, or possibly present, 3rd person plural, rather than corrupt forms of the preterite, 1st person plural, for *mongdám* and *prastiám*. We have past participles in -*la* (78) and -*da* (149), and instances of the emphatic imperative in *havoura* [*havutd*] (69), and perhaps in *shulta* (129).

VOCABULARY

Bryant records many Romani words for the first time, though neither in respect of purity or general interest will his vocabulary bear comparison with the much later lists of Bright, Whiter, or Norwood. It is noteworthy that the Windsor Gypsies still used the numerals *afta*, *oitoo*, *enneah* (200, 70, 172) for 'seven,' 'eight,' and 'nine,' as well as the quasi-Continental form *bish u desh* (310) for 'thirty.'¹ Among somewhat rare words are *pappus*, 'grand-

¹ Marsden also has the words for 'seven' and 'nine,' his numerals being 1, *aick*, *yek*. 2, *dooee*. 3, *trin*. 4, *stau*, *staur*, *shtar*. 5, *pange*. 6, *shove*. 7, *heftau*. 8, wanting. 9, *henya*. 10, *desh*. Later we find Harriott having given the Romani

father' (109), *harrow*, 'sword' (212), and *ravoos*, 'heaven' (118), though the two former have been recorded by Bath Smart and Crofton, and the latter, under the form *rárvis*,¹ was obtained by Norwood from Edwin Buckland in 1864 (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 220, No. 161). A few words are used in an unusual sense, e.g. *bai* for 'bough' (11), which may have preserved the original meaning of Skr. *bahu*, 'arm.' The form of some words deserves notice, e.g. *porghee*, 'bridge' (23), Modern Eng. Gyp. *puj*, Welsh Gyp. *pūrj*, with which cp. Paspati's *būrdji*. *Sauvee* [sūvī], 'needle' (74), for more usual *suv*, corroborated by Borrow (*Romano Lavo-Lil, sovie, subie*), retains the original termination, as in Hind. *sūī* (Beames, i. 202); while beside Bryant's *phove* [pūv], 'earth' (73), we have Coxe's Hung. Gyp. *p'hovee* [pūvī], a form not recorded, I believe, in any other Continental dialect, but which would seem to have also preserved the original termination of the Skr. *bhūmi*.

Bryant's Gypsies must have been unacquainted with some fairly common words, unless here, again, as is not improbable, their poor translations are due to indolence. Thus we have *finepou* [*fainī pū*] (107) instead of *bār* for 'garden'; *bauro dood* (153) instead of *malōna* for 'lightning'; *moonah* (162) instead of *sōn* for 'moon'; *tattabeen* [*tatəban*] (232) instead of *lilāi* for 'summer'; numerals from 'one' to 'six' declaring 'beyond these numbers I could never proceed with any success.' This, I believe, will be found to be the experience of most Romany Ryes, though *đitō* has been preserved for us like a fly in amber in the phrase *deštō hāri*, 'eighteen pence.' There is something a little mysterious in the almost invariable loss of the Greek loan-words for 'seven,' 'eight,' 'nine,' beside the retention of the original Indian names for 'one' to 'six,' 'ten,' 'twenty,' and 'hundred.' Were the former known to all English Gypsies or only to a few? Or were they discovered to be less secret terms than the others? Or were they found unnecessary impedimenta by indolent-minded *Romani-chals*, who sooner than remember the word *esta* would be content with *dui trins ta yek*. Or lastly, were these words, even when used by the English Gypsy, dimly disapproved of by that subliminal consciousness, which one not infrequently detects at work in his attitude to even ancient and respectable loan-words, for the 'echter Zigeuner' looks as critically at words as he does at members of his own race. Instinctively he feels that *čuri*, *pāni*, and *yog* are the *tačō p'urō kova*—aristocrats like the Hernes—while other *lays* like *faino* and *fōki* are rank *curedē*, openly or secretly despised. But between these two extremes comes a large class of words which for one reason or another are regarded with mixed feelings. Something about them makes the true bred Gypsy feel a little ill at ease. The final *-a* of a loan-word may be equivalent to a slight tinge of blue in the eye. The *-os* of *čēros* or *trūpos*, even though these words have travelled all the way with them from Greece and Bulgaria, are still felt to be as clearly marks of base descent as a snub nose or red hair—good little fellows enough, no doubt, but not quite 'one of we.'

¹ The Welsh Gyp. form of the same word is *ravnos*, and the etymology somewhat obscure, though it may be identical with Vaillant's Rum. Gyp. *rai*, Boehlingk's Russ. Gyp. *rajo*, 'paradise,' from Slav. *raj*. We have a parallel for the use of the suffix *-vos* beside *-os* in loan-words in the Hung. dialect (see Mik., *Mundarten*, x. 5).

and *shillaloe* (271) instead of *vend* for 'winter.' He has also *panee* (250) for 'tears,' *delapray* [*dela 'prē*] (64) for 'dream,' and *starrie* (216) for 'stars,' the true words for which, *swā* (plur. *swāi*)¹ *sunō* and *cerxano*, are commonly used in the Welsh dialect.

Mistakes, mis-spellings, and misprints in Bryant's Vocabulary—or rather should we term it Romany Phantasmagoria?—account for a number of spectral words which appear in other lists to daunt and delude the *Schatzgräber*. Thus Bryant's "lielaw," 'letters,' misprinted *liecaw* (143), has found its way through Richardson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii.) into Adelung (*Mithridates*, iv. 84), Bischoff and Pott (ii. 329), the latter, on the strength of its apparent likeness to the Skr. *likh*, bestowing on it the *cachet* of an asterisk which he denies to the true word *lil*. Again Bryant's *chauk* (256), apparently intended to represent *kak*, 'uncle,' though the *k* is falsely aspirated, appears under the form *chauk* in Richardson and *tschelk* in Adelung. Later we find Bath Smart, in his attempt to test Bryant's words, imagining he had obtained corroboration of *clerin*, 'key' (139), a misprint for *clezin*, and *pratcheely*, 'flame' (78), both of which have gained admittance into the generally reliable vocabulary of Smart and Crofton. And similarly we have the famous *covascorook* (154) for 'laurel' in the American Gypsy Vocabulary of Professor Prince. I forbear to burden this list with the large number of Bryant's words which Pott, perhaps in despair, has accepted at their face value. *Sauvee* [*sūvī*] (74), 'an eagle' (read 'a needle'), which Pott (ii. 237) connects with the Gael. *seabhag*, 'hawk,' will serve as an instance in point.

A more serious consequence, however, of rash acceptance of Bryant's words is to be found in Part iii. of Miklosich's *Mundarten* (pp. 39-42), dealing with the route taken by the ancestors of our English Gypsies in the early fifteenth century, as evidenced by the loan-words in their dialect. Here, without going into detail, it may be pointed out that five out of the six² examples of Magyar loan-words cited by Miklosich are due to misunderstandings of Bryant's forms. This leaves only Harriott's *sapa*, 'soap' (a poor form of the more ordinary *sapnis*), which should certainly be

¹ In Eng. Gyp. Bright has *swa* for 'tear,' misprinted 'fear.'

² I include among these *korra*, 'hour,' which, though taken directly from Bath Smart, originates in Bryant's *yacorah* (126)=*yek ora*, 'an hour.' I should perhaps add that Borrow (*Romano Lavo-Lil*, 45) connects his *fuzyanri* (better *füzera*) with Hung. *füz*, 'willow,' *fuzár*, 'a stem,' but it is hardly necessary to point out that the true etymon is of course the French 'fougère.'

connected, as it is by Miklosich himself on the opposite page, with Modern Greek *σαποῦνι*, not Hungarian *szappan*. There is therefore no evidence whatever in our dialect for Miklosich's conclusion that the forebears of the English Gypsies must have once dwelt in Hungary. Indeed, my own belief is that there are no ancient Hungarian loan-words in any dialect of Romani, and that the few Magyar words which have been recorded in the dialects of Rumania, Germany, and Russia must have been carried there in comparatively modern times by wandering Gypsies. This view is supported by the fact that while in all European dialects we find the same modern Greek and Slavonic loan-words, implying a long residence in those countries, the Hungarian loan-words cited by Miklosich differ in every dialect of Romani.

BRYANT'S VOCABULARY, EDITED WITH CORRECTION OF MISPRINTS
AND TRANSLITERATION INTO PHONETIC CHARACTERS

A

1. An ape. godocovan [mispr. for "godocovah" (*godō kova*, where *godō* is probably a corrupt form of *godsvarō* or *gozvarō*), 'cunning thing.' Pott, ii. 133].
2. An ass. millan [mispr. for "millah" (*maila*). Cp. no. 169. Pott, ii. 454].
3. Air. yarraw also beval caulo [mispr. for "yarrow" (*yârō*). 'Egg,' seems to have been misheard for 'air'; *beval*, better *baral*, is 'wind' or 'air'; while *kâlō*, lit. 'black,' may have been the colour of his informant's 'hair.' Cp. no. 19, where 'yack' 'eye' is given for 'blue'].
4. The arm. moshee [*mošī*. Pott, ii 457].
5. Anger. colee [*kolī*. See also no. 320. Pott, ii. 169].
6. An arrow or anything missive. yaccogaree [*yakógrī* for *yagikorī*, gen. sing. of *yag*. Cp. mod. Eng. Gyp. *yogéngorī*, 'fire-arm.' Pott, ii. 47].
7. Above. apra [*aprē*. See also no. 324, Pott, i. 293, ii. 74].
8. To awake. ionadass [*jonadás*, 'he awakened.' Pott, i. 346].
9. An aunt. bebee [*bibī*. Pott, ii. 405].

B

10. A bed. woodrous [*wudrus*. Pott, ii. 78].
11. A bough. bai [, lit. 'sleeve.' Cp. no. 262, "baingeree" for *baiéyyorī* 'waistcoat,' lit. '[thing] of the sleeves.' BS. and BS. & C. both record *bei* in the sense of 'bough' as well as 'sleeve,' but, if this corroboration of Bryant be correct, the usage is certainly rare. See also no. 318. Pott, ii. 276, 424].
12. Bread. mawro [*mârō*. See also no. 291. Pott, ii. 441].
13. To burn. hatcheriban [*hačeribān*, abstr. noun. Pott, ii. 160].
14. Blood. ratt [*rat*. Pott, ii. 272].
15. Brother. pal [*pal*. See also no. 329. Pott, ii. 384].

16. A brook. pashoo, pannee or pawnee [*paš ū panī* or *pānī*. Pott (ii. 343, 428) taking ‘pashoo’ for *pashlo*, conjectures ‘lying (*i.e.* stagnant) water.’ See also no. 279].
17. Brass. porcherie [*pāš hērī*, ‘halfpenny.’ Pott, ii. 61].
18. Black. cauliban [*kāl̥ban*, ‘blackness.’ Pott, ii. 106].
19. Blue. yack [*yak*=‘eye’! Cp. no. 3. Pott, ii. 48].
20. A bird. chericloe [*čeriklō*. Pott, ii. 199].
21. The belly. per [*per*. Pott, ii. 356].
22. Beer. lavanah [*lavəna*. Pott, ii. 335].
23. A bridge. porgee [*porjī*. Pott, ii. 382].
24. Breath. beval [*beral*. Cp. nos. 3, 235, 261. Pott, ii. 417].
25. A bow. cusht [mispr. for “cosht” (*košt*) ; or perhaps Bryant’s form may have been influenced by his view that this word was connected with Heb. ‘cushet.’ See no. 314. Pott, ii. 118].
26. A barber. mormingro [*mor'miygrō* for *moravimiygrō*. Pott, ii. 443].
27. A book. lill [*lil*. Cp. no. 143. Pott, ii. 339].
28. A bath. javomal eo panee [in Annual Register mispr. ‘jamoval,’ etc. : *javō mē 'lē ō panī*, mishearing ‘lē’ for ‘rē,’ ‘I go into the water.’ Pott, i. 345, ii. 343].
29. To bathe. drou panee jal [mispr. for “drau,” etc. (*drē ū panī jal*), ‘he goes into the water.’ Pott, i. 289, 345].
30. Beat him. codesman [*kodēs man* for *kurdás man*, ‘he beat me.’ For loss of *r* before *d* (as in *kedás* from *kēr*) cp. no. 61, ‘paddee’ for *perdē*. Pott, i. 346, ii. 113].
31. A boat. bara and baro [*bērē* (pl.) ; *bērō* (sing.). See also nos. 202 and 317. Pott, ii. 89].
32. The back. domoe [*domō*. Pott, ii. 314].
33. A bridle. solivingro [*soliviygrō*. Pott, ii. 240].
34. Barley or corn. give [*giv*. Pott, ii. 67].

C

35. Cheese. cal [*kal*. Pott, ii. 257].
36. A coat. chockwan [mispr. for “chockwah” (*čoχa*). For the representation of *χ* by *ckw* see p. 173. Pott, ii. 178].
37. A city. foroose [*forūs*. Pott, ii. 393].
38. A cow. grove and grovener [*grōv*, ‘bull’ ; *grōvnī*, ‘cow.’ Cp. no. 180 ‘geronee.’ Pott, ii. 141].
39. A cat. matchian [mispr. for “matchcah” (*mačka*). See also no. 330. Pott, ii. 438].
40. A coal. shill [*šil*=‘cold’! Pott, ii. 232].
41. A cinder. vongur [*voggər*, lit. ‘coal.’ Pott, ii. 54].
42. A chimney. tophis con [mispr. for “tophis-coh” (*tūfiskō*), ‘smoky.’ Cp. no. 218. Pott, i. 148, ii. 297].
43. A child. tarno [*tārnō*, ‘young (boy).’ Pott, ii. 286].
44. A crown. peng colah [*penj kola*, ‘five shillings.’ Pott, i. 219].
45. A cock. boshlod [mispr. for “boshloe” (*bošlō*). With this interesting form (for more usual *bošno*) cp. Bischoff’s *paschlo* ‘Hahn.’ The variant suffixes *-nō* and *-lō* show the participial origin of this word from stem *boš-* ‘to cry as an animal.’ Pott, ii. 426].
46. The chin. chumbo [*čumbō*, lit. ‘hill.’ Cp. no. 104].
47. A cup. corow [*korō*. Pott, ii. 154].
48. A cradle. mumallee [*mumalī*=‘candle.’ ‘Cradle’ is merely a printer’s error, as would appear from no. 295. Pott, ii. 443].
49. A cap. hoova [*hūva*, for more usual *hūfa*. Pott, ii. 100].

50. To command. *iasia vallacai* [cp. no. 90, incorrectly given as a rendering of 'to faint.' There can be little doubt that the two are mutually supplementary—*jasi*, *avála'kai*, 'thou goest, he comes here'; *avési ta jalō*, 'thou comest and he goes.' With no. 50 Groome compares Luke vii. 8, 'I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it,' and both passages may well be a confused Gypsy rendering of a text used by Bryant to explain the meaning of 'command.' Pott's explanation (i. 345) is untenable, as also Miklosich's attempt to connect "valaki" with Cont. Gyp. *varekaj* (*Mundarten*, iii. 41)].
51. Copper. *cäreben* [? mispr. for "coreaben" (*korzben*), cp. BS. & C.'s *horro*, *korro*. Pott, ii. 168].
52. A couch. *plastomingree* [*plastomitygrī* = 'coach'!].
53. A country. *bittutheim* [*bitū t'ēm*, 'little land.' Pott, ii. 295].

D

54. The devil. *beng and benga** [*bey*. See also no. 333. Pott, ii. 407].
55. Day. *davies* [*dévəs*. Cp. nos. 63 and 168 'devus.' The spelling here, as later in Simson (pp. 300, 305, 315, 331, 333, 334), is perhaps by analogy with the Eng. surname 'Davies.' Pott, ii. 311].
56. A dog. *yacca* [*yakel*? for *yukal*. Probably Bryant's misrdg. of his own "yuccal" influenced by Herbert's 'iaccal' (no. 283). True, *yacca* is found in BS. (p. 78), whence it has been incorporated as *yákel* into BS. & C. (p. 154). But Dr. Smart in his obvious endeavour to test Bryant's forms may easily have been deceived. The interchange of *j* and *y* is paralleled by *jarjóχa* and *yardúχa*. Pott, ii. 213].
57. Drink. *panee* [*panī*, lit. 'water.' Cp. nos. 16, 28, 29, 61, 250, 260, 275. See also no. 279. Pott, ii. 343].
58. Death. *moloo** or *miraban* [*molū** or *mirzban*. Coxe's 'moloo' is the traditional past part. Pott, ii. 448].
59. Dark. *rattie* [*rati*, 'at night' or 'night,' Cp. no. 178. Pott, ii. 273].
60. A door. *wooda* [*wuda*. Pott, ii. 78].
61. Drowned. *adra*, *panee*, *paddee* [*adrē panī padī*, lit. 'they fell into the water.' The order of the words makes this more probable than 'fallen into the water,' as Pott suggests (i. 289)].
62. To drink. *peola* [Bryant's misrdg. of his own "peala" for *pīella*, lit. 'he drinks,' probably influenced by Herbert's 'peola' 'cup' (no. 293). Pott, ii. 342].
63. To-day. *devus* [*devəs*. Cp. nos. 55 and 168. Pott, ii. 311].
64. A dream. *delapray* [*dela'prē*, 'he reads'—because dreams are read. Cp. BS. & C.'s *liléngro* 'star,' because read by astrologers. Pott, ii. 302].
65. A dwarf. *bottoo*, *georgio* [mispr. for "bittoo," etc. (*bitū gájō*) lit. 'a little man.' Pott, ii. 129, 402].
66. A dead body. *moloo*, *georgio* [*molū gájō*, lit. 'dead man.' Pott, ii. 129].
67. Ditto of a woman. *moloo*, *georgee* [*molū gdžī*, lit. 'dead woman,' the wrong gender perhaps due to confusion with the preceding. Pott, ii. 129].
68. A desert or wilderness. *bauro*, *coluri dromo*. [The absence of any examples of the diminutive adj. in *-oro* in Eng. Gyp. forbids our taking 'coluri' for Paspati's *kaloro* 'noirâtre,' and translating 'big blackish ways.' Reading *r* in 'coluri' as a mispr. for *s*, the first two words may represent *bárō kálō sī*, 'it is a great waste land,' cp. BS. & C.'s *kaúlo*, 'common,' 'heath.' 'Dromo,' for *dromd*, 'roads,' may have been the paths that crossed the 'wilderness' at Windsor].

E

69. An eye. havoura [mispr. for "havouta" (*havutā*, better *avatā*), 'come!' 'come here!' the emphatic imperative, as though 'anigh!' exclamatorily. Pott, ii. 46].
70. Eight. oitoo [*ōitū*. See also no. 306. Pott, i. 219].
71. An ear. can [*kan*. Pott, ii. 101].
72. For ever. saw jaw [*sā jād*, lit. 'all thus.' Cp. Mik. (viii. 63), *sakade* 'immer,' where *kade* like our English *ođd* (a corruption of *odđd*) is the demonstr. pron. fem. sing. used adverbially in the sense of 'thus.' Pott, i. 277].
73. The earth. phove or p'honee* [*p'uv*. Pott, ii. 377].
74. An eagle. sauvee [mispr. for "souvee" (*sūvī*) = 'a needle'! for more usual *suv* as in no. 176. Pott, ii. 236, 237].
75. Eye brows. yocene coenue. [Somewhat obscure. With mispr. *n* for *h*, "yoche," where the -che may be an attempt to represent the aspirate *k*, (*yok*) 'eye'; "coenue" with mispr. *n* for *r* may perhaps be *koryū*, 'eye-brows' (cp. BS. & C. *kor* 'eye-brow'), though more probably with mispr. *oe* for *a* it stands for *kanyū* 'ears'; or the whole may be a mispr. for "yochocaroe" (*yok'ōkərō*) '[thing] of the eye.' Pott, ii. 46].
76. To eat. chollow [*χolō*, 'he eats.' Cp. no. 89. Pott, i. 346, ii. 158].

F

77. A father. ming and dad [*dad, minj*. For the latter pleasantry see J. G. L. S., Old Series, iii. 59, note 3].
78. Flame. pratcheely [mispr. for "pratchelly" (*pračelī*), part. of *prač* 'to rise.' Pott, ii. 360].
79. A flower. rogeo or roseo [*rožō* or *rōzō*. Pott, ii. 280].
80. A flute. scholl [*ʃol*, 'a whistle' (sibilus). If formed from this stem the name of the musical instrument should, of course, be *ʃoliákri* or *ʃoliygri*, though in Welsh Gyp. *purdimángri* is the usual term for any wind instrument. Pott, ii. 232].
81. Fear. tresh [*treš*. See also no. 323. Pott, ii. 292].
82. A forrest [sic] vash [*vaš*. Pott, ii. 85].
83. Fire. yog* [*yog*. This Eng. Gyp. form of Cont. Gyp. *yag* looks as though the asterisk were a mistake. See also no. 280. Pott, ii. 47].
84. The foot. peroe [*pīrō*. Pott, ii. 351].
85. The finger. valashtee [*valaštī*, a form due to mishearing of *l* for *n* or *y*. Cp. no. 196 'vaunstry' 'ring.' Pott, ii. 55].
86. Full. pordo [*pārdō*. Pott, ii. 380].
87. To fly. water jam perall ['What a jump!' *perál*, 'he will fall,' perhaps referring to some feat of an acrobat. Cp. Samuel Roberts (5th ed., p. 99), *wottogudlee*, 'shout.' Pott, i. 345].
88. To fight. campen [Bryant's own misrdg. of his "curepen" (*kürzpen*), 'a fight,' perhaps influenced by his subsequent connection of the word with the 'Teutonic' campen, 'to fight' (332)].
89. The feeling. hawlaw. [Did Bryant inquire the Romani for 'feeling faint,' and afterwards, in rearranging his words, wrongly convert the phrase into two separate entries as 'The feeling' (89) and 'To faint' (90)? See Introduction, p. 170. The Gypsy rendering 'hawlaw,' mispr. for "hawlow" (*hālō*), 'he eats,' seems to suggest the remedy for faintness; or the 'feeling' may have been one of hunger. Pott, i. 345, ii. 168].
90. To faint. avesi to jallow [wrongly placed here as the rendering of 'to faint,' cp. above and no. 50. Pott, i. 345].

91. A flag. deckloo [*deklū*, lit. 'kerchief.' Pott, ii. 306].
 92. A fool. dennoloo [*dennlū*. Pott, ii. 313].
 93. Fish. matchee [mispr. for "matchoe" (*mačō*). Cp. no. 269. Pott, ii. 438].
 94. Found. lasthom [*last'óm*, lit. 'I found,' from the stem *last-* beside more usual Eng. Gyp. *lač-* and Welsh Gyp. *l'at-*. Pott, i. 345, ii. 332].
 95. Four. stor [*stdr.* See also no. 302. Pott, i. 219].
 96. Five. peng [*penj.* See also no. 303. Pott, i. 219].

G

97. A girl. assogne or assoinee* [*asóinī*; not Eng. Gyp. See Introduction, p. 166. Pott wtg.].
 98. A grape. baulo paramattee and peomingro. [Very obscure. Cp. no. 187, where Bryant gives 'poomingro' mispr. for "peomingro" (*písmiygro*) for 'peach.' Reading "puromottoe" (*purō motō*) we have *bálō!*—*purō motō písmiygrō*, 'swine!—old drunken toper.' For some reason not evident to us, Bryant's questions as to the Romani for 'grapes' and 'peaches' seem to have elicited replies descriptive of a drunkard. Pott, ii. 342].
 99. Green. chatto [mispr. for "charro" (*čárō*), 'grassy'! Cp. BS. & C. *chór-diking*, 'green,' lit. grass-looking. Pott, ii. 180].
 100. God. davila* and modaval (*davela**; *mō daval*. Pott, ii. 311].
 101. Gold. suhakie [mispr. for "sunakie" (*sunakai*). Pott, ii. 227].
 102. A gipsy. romana chil [*romanē-čil*. Pott, ii. 275].
 103. A goose. pappin [*papin.* Pott, ii. 350].
 104. A grave. bauro chumbo [*báro čumbō*, lit. 'big mound.' Bryant has also 'chumbo' 'chin' (46), 'cumbo' and 'cumbee' (pl.) 'hill' (112) and 'cumbo' 'mountain' (158), the latter given beside Coxe's Hung. Gyp. 'dumbo*.' The normal form of this word in Eng. Gyp. is *čumba*, and it seems to me more likely that Bryant when transcribing, perhaps influenced by his subsequent connection of the word with Herbert's 'conbee' (281), miswrote *c* for *ch*, than that his Gypsies should have used forms with initial *k* beside others with *č*. True, BS. & C. have *kúmbo* and *dúmbo* beside *choómbo* (with its variants *choónbo*, *choónga*), but the two former are taken from the earlier vocabulary of BS., who made considerable use of Bryant's lists, and apparently corroborated not only Bryant's Eng. Gyp. 'cumbo' but also Coxe's Hung. Gyp. 'dumbo.' The experience of other members of the G. L. S. on this point would be valuable. Groome, I may add, regarded the *kumbo* form in the Eng. dialect as somewhat doubtful, and *dumbo* as spurious. Pott, ii. 415].
 105. Great. bootsee [*büt sī*, lit. 'it's a great deal.' Pott, ii. 400].
 106. A giant. borwardo [*bár' wardō*, lit. 'big caravan.' Pott, ii. 415].
 107. A garden. finepou [*fainī pū*, lit. 'fine field.' Cp. Bath Smart's *sorto-poov* (i.e. sort o' pūv). See also no. 73. Pott, ii. 377, 391].
 108. Give me. deas man [*diás man*, lit. 'he gave me' (dedit mihi)].
 109. Grandfather. pappus or paupus [*papus* or *pápus*. Pott, ii. 350].
 110. Good sport. fino, paiaass [*fainō paiaas*. Pott, ii. 355, 391].

H

111. A house. gur and kir*. [Probably *kér*; the initial *g*—if not due to an attempt to force the word into a closer resemblance to Herbert's *gur* (see no. 297)—being an attempt to represent the aspirate *k*. Cp. no. 188. Pott, i. 148, ii. 153].

112. A hill. cumbo and cumbee [*kumbō* (sing.), *kumbī* (plur.). See note to 104, and also nos. 46, 158, and 281. Pott, ii. 106].
113. Hail. yive [*yiv*, lit. 'snow.' Pott, ii. 67].
114. The head. sharrous [*šerros*. The termination is either the *-us* of masc. loan-words, which many Eng. Gypsies (especially those of the south) improperly apply to genuine Romani words, or the Eng. plur. *šeros*, 'heads.' See also no. 288. Pott, i. 105, ii. 222].
115. A hen. cappeet. [Not Romani but Eng. cant. A fowl crosses the Gypsies' path. 'Cap it!' they yell, chasing the fugitive, 'cap' or 'cop' signifying to 'catch' or 'seize.' 'What is that?' inquires Bryant. 'A hen, sir.' And down in the mythologist's note-book goes 'Cappeet, a hen'].
116. A horse. gree [mispr. for "grie" (*grai*). Pott, ii. 144].
117. A harp. manchouro. [Allowing for the usual mispr. of Bryant's *r* for *t* we have "manchou to" (*mančū tū*), lit. 'cheer up,' clearly by confusion of 'take heart' with 'harp.' Pott, ii. 445].
118. Heaven. ravoo or ravoos [*ravū* or *ravus*. See Introduction, p. 176. Pott, i. 105].
119. A husband. rome [*rūm*. Cp. nos. 161 and 319. Pott, ii. 276].
120. A horn. shing [*šiy*. Pott, ii. 221].
121. To hear. shirn [mispr. for "shun" (*šun*). Cp. nos. 129, 131. Pott, i. 346, ii. 221].
122. Hair. ballow [mispr. for "ballaw" (*balā*) pl. 'hairs.' Pott, ii. 420].
123. He and she. shan [*šan*, lit. 'thou art'].
124. Heat. tattoo [*tatū*, lit. 'hot.' Cp. no. 232. Pott, ii. 283].
125. A hand. vasti [*vasti*. This unusual and unhistorical form occurs in BS. and BS. & C. See also no. 290. Pott, ii. 86].
126. An hour. yacorah [*yak ōra*. Pott, ii. 110].
127. Harvest. givengro [*givéygrō*. Pott, i. 148, ii. 67].
128. Hatred. hocleben [mispr. for "hoileben" (*hoiləben*) with confusion of *l* and *r*. Pott, ii. 169].
129. Here. shulta, sheree, aioesee. [The Gypsies are evidently hailing each other. 'shulta,' lit. 'whistle' (i.e. *šol* or *šul* with the suffix of the emphatic imperative), is a variant of BS. & C.'s *julta*, Leland's *joter*: 'sheree' (cp. no. 121 'shirn') is another mispr. of *šun*! 'listen!' 'aioesee' is a mispr. for "acoe see"! (*akōi sī*) 'here he is'].
130. Hungry. bocolee [*bokolī* (fem. or perhaps plur.). Pott, ii. 396].
131. Hearing. shunaloe [*šunalō*, lit. 'he hears.' Pott, ii. 221].

I

132. A judge. bauro [*bárō*, lit. 'great [man]' Cp. Welsh Gyp. *báredér mūrš*, 'magistrate,' also parallel forms in other dialects cited by Pott (ii. 415)].
133. I mascul. youee [*yūi*, lit. 'she.' Pott, i. 242].
134. I fem. youesee [*yūi sī*, lit. 'she is'].
135. An inn. kirchimo podrum [*kirčimō p'ō drom*, 'inn on the road.' For the contracted form *p[.]* for *oprē*, little heard nowadays though common in some Continental dialects, cp. Mikl., xii. 19. The same contracted form of *oprē* is heard in Harr.'s *achipaleste*, 'bless.' See also no. 328. Pott, ii. 117].
136. Iron. sashaa [*saštā*. Pott, ii. 225].
137. An image. fino, wocklee [*fainō woklī* (i.e. *raklī*). See Introduction, p. 167. Pott (ii. 391) connects 'wocklee' with Eng. 'work'].

K

138. A king. *crellis* [*krelis*. Cp. no. 188, and see also no. 331. Pott, ii. 123].
 139. A key. *clerin* [mispr. for "clezin" (*klezin*). See also no. 296, and Introduction, p. 177. Pott, ii. 122].

L

140. Love. *commoben* [*komɔben*. Pott, ii. 105].
 141. Light. *dood* [*dud*. Cp. no. 153. Pott, ii. 310].
 142. Life. *gava or geeva** [? mispr. for "geva" (*jivd*), 'I live,' though here again, as in *assogne* (97), we have more probably a false form obtained by suggestion from Coxe's word 'geeva,' incorrectly for *jivəben*. See also no. 313].
 143. Letters. *liecaw* [mispr. for "lielaw" (*lilā*), lit. 'books.' See Introduction, p. 177. Pott, ii. 329].
 144. A lie. *ochano* [*oχanō*. Cp. no. 265. Pott, i. 445].
 145. A lord or sir. *riah and raiah* [*raia* (voc.). See no. 282. Pott, ii. 265].
 146. A lady. *raiena or roien** [mispr. for "rauna" (*rānē*). Bryant's spelling perhaps suggested by Coxe's. See also no. 325. Pott, ii. 265].
 147. A lion. *varess*. [A slight knowledge of Romani word-formation enables us to track this lion, or rather lion's ghost, to his lair, for 'varess' is obviously the adverb formed from some adjective taking the suffix *-varo*, and must have originated in some phrase like *kūrdís pes monušrarés*, 'he fought manfully,' which a Gypsy might have rendered 'he fought like a lion.' See also no. 316. Pott, ii. 79].
 148. Language. *romana* [*romanē*. Pott, i. 35 sqq., ii. 276].
 149. Lost. *nashedoe* [*našdō*. Pott, ii. 324].
 150. To laugh. *sallaw* [mispr. for "sallow" (*salō*), lit. 'he laughs.' Pott, i. 345].
 151. To look. *aconterree*. [A cunningly laid snare of Sathanas raises the doubt whether 'aconterree' may be anything more than 'a country' (53), mistaking a definition in English for a Romani word. Still, if we accept the common mispr. *n* for *h*, and read "acoh terree" (*akō tīrī*—), 'Here's thy—', we would seem to have the opening words of a toast. Cp. Welsh Gyp. *akē tīrī baxt* or Bw.'s *aukko tu pios adrey Romanes*, 'your health is drunk in Romany' (lit. 'here's fun for thee'). In Bryant's version the fem. gender of the possess. pron. seems to certify to the missing word being *boxt*, which may explain his 'to look' as a mistake for 'luck'].
 152. A lamb. *vaccashoe* [*vakašō*. Pott, ii. 84].
 153. Lightening [sic]. *bauro, tood, or dood* [*bárō tud* or *dud*, lit. 'great light.' Pott, ii. 310].
 154. The laurel. *covascorook* [with mispr., as in no. 254, for "covaseorook" (*kova sī ō*, or *a, rük*), lit. 'this is the (or a) tree.' See Introduction, p. 177. Pott, i. 148, ii. 101].
 155. Little. *coose* [*kusi*. Cp. no. 166. Pott, ii. 118].
 156. The leg. *herree* [mispr. for "herroe" (*herō*). Pott, ii. 162].
 157. Lead. *molous* [*molus*. Pott, ii. 456].

M

158. A mountain. *dumbo** and *cumbo* [*kumbō* or ?*čumbō*. See note to no. 104, and cp. nos. 46, 112, and 281. Pott, ii. 106].
 159. Music. *calabeen* [mispr. for "calaban" (*kalabán*), lit. 'playing.' Pott, ii. 156].
 160. A mother. *die or dai* [*dai*. Pott, ii. 309].

161. A man. *rome** or *giorgio* [*rūm**, perhaps corroborated by Bryant, since it occurs in no. 119 without the asterisk: or *gājō*. See nos. 119, 65, 66 Pott, ii. 129].
162. The moon. *moonah* [*mūna*].
163. Meat or food. *mass* [*mas*. See also no. 286. Pott, ii. 457].
164. Milk. *tood* [*tud*. Pott, ii. 296].
165. Much. *boot* [*büt*. Cp. nos. 105, 171. Pott, ii. 400].
166. More. *eversecosi* [mispr. for "eversocosi" (*i.e.* ever so *kusī*), lit. 'ever so little,' obviously given in reply to the question 'more?' Cp. no. 155. Pott, ii. 118].
167. A mile. *meou* [*mīū*. Pott, ii. 455].
168. To-morrow. *ovavo devus* [*ō vavō devos*, properly 'yesterday,' cp. no. 278, 'callicoe' 'yesterday,' properly 'to-morrow.' The two translations have obviously been transposed. Cp. nos. 55, 63. Pott, i. 277, ii. 52].
169. A mule. *milo* [*mailō*. Cp. no. 2. Pott, ii. 454].

N

170. The nose. *nock* [*nok*. Pott, ii. 320].
171. Numbers. *boot* [*büt*, lit. 'much,' 'many.' Cp. nos. 105, 165. Pott, ii. 400].
172. Nine. *enneah* [*enīā*. See also no. 307].
173. A nail of the hand. *nic* [*nai*. Pott, ii. 320].
174. New. *nevo* [*nevō*. See also no. 294. Pott, ii. 321].
175. A nutmeg. *cockwhur* [*kokōā* (voc.), 'uncle'! apparently through mis-hearing 'a nutmeg' as 'an uncle.' Cp. no. 256. Pott, ii. 91].
176. A needle. *thubh* [*thuv*, a lisping pronunciation of *suv*. Cp. no. 74. Pott, ii. 236].
177. A nation. *baurifoki* [*bārī fōkī*, lit. 'great people.' Pott, ii. 392].
178. Night, rattie. *rati*. Cp. no. 59. Pott, ii. 273].

O

179. Old. *coshtan* [mispr. for "coshtoh" (*koštō*), lit. 'good.' See Introduction, p. 165. Pott, ii. 121].
180. An ox. *geronee* [*gōronī*, 'cow.' Cp. nos. 38 and 315].
181. Oil. *tedou*, *corat* [mispr. for "redou covar" (*redū kova*), lit. 'red (or yellow) thing' cp. no. 276 'tedan' (= "redou") 'yellow.' The same mispr. of 'corat' for "covar" occurs also in no. 184. Pott, ii. 282].
182. The ocean. *bauro*, *panee* [*bārō panī*, lit. 'great water.' Cp. nos. 203 and 275. Pott, ii. 343].
183. One. *yec* [*yek*. See nos. 126, 277, and 299. Pott, i. 219].

P

184. Pitch. *boyocrot* or *boyocorat* ['corat,' as in no. 181, is a mispr. for "covar" (*kova*), 'thing,' and the only adjective suggested by 'boyo' is *birō*, 'great.' *Bārō kova*, 'big thing,' may have signified the hogshead in which the pitch was contained, just as 'borwardo' (106) was given to Bryant as the word for 'giant'].
185. Prayers. *missihe* [*misīū*, lit. 'masses.' Pott, ii. 458].
186. A priest. *rashee* [mispr. for "rashie" (*rašai*). Pott, ii. 278].
187. A peach. *poomingro* [mispr. for "peomingro" (*pīmīygrō*), as in no. 98. Pott, ii. 342].
188. A palace. *crellis escochare*. [*krelisēskō kēr*, lit. king's house. Cp. no. 138. Pott, i. 148].

189. To pray. moughem [with mispr. of final *n* as *m* (as in no. 259), "monghen" (*moyén*) 'beg' (imp. plu.) or 'they beg' (ind. pres. 3rd per. plu.). Pott, i. 345, ii. 445].
190. A path. podrom [*p'ō drom*, lit. 'on the road.' See nos. 135 and 328. Pott, ii. 319].
191. A picture. fine choverie [mispr. for "fino chovo see" (*fainō čovō sī*), 'he is a fine lad,' perhaps said of a portrait. Pott, ii. 391].

R

192. Rain. briskenoe [mispr. for "brishenoe" (*brišnō*). Pott, ii. 81].
193. A river. doriove or doriobb [*dōriov* or *dōriob*, properly 'sea' as in no. 203. See also no. 292. Pott, ii. 317].
194. Red. lolō [*lolō*. Pott, ii. 338].
195. A rock. bar [*bār*. Pott, ii. 409].
196. A ring. vaunustry [*vānūstri*. Pott, ii. 56].
197. To run. prasthem [mispr. for "prasthen," run! (imp. plu.). See note to no. 189. Cp. no. 52 'plastomingree,' 'coach.' Pott, i. 345, ii. 244].
198. A road. drom and podrum [*drom* and *p'ō drom*, lit. 'on the road.' Cp. nos. 135 and 190. See also nos. 327 and 328. Pott, ii. 319].

S

199. Six. sho [*šō*. See also no. 304. Pott, i. 219].
200. Seven. afta [*afta*. See also no. 305. Pott, i. 219].
201. To see. becassin and discaloe [mispr. for "dicasseh" (*dikásē*), 'we see' or 'let us see,' and "diccaloe" (*dikálō*), 'he sees.' Pott, i. 345].
202. A ship. bara and baro [*bārē* and *bērō*. See no. 31. Pott, ii. 89].
203. The sea. bauro panee* and doeyave [*bārō pāni* and *dōyav*. Cp. nos. 182, 275, and 193. Pott, ii. 317].
204. A steeple. boro fule [mispr. for "boro full" (*bārō ful*) 'stereus magnum.' Pott, ii. 392].
205. A son. chavo [*čavō*. Pott, ii. 182].
206. The sun. cham [*kām*. See also no. 312. Pott, ii. 152].
207. Soot. couloe [mispr. for "cauloe" (*kālō*). Pott, ii. 107].
208. Sulphur. congregre [mispr. for "cangeogre," misheard for *kandiúgrī*, gen. sing. of *kand*, lit. '[thing] of the stink.' Pott, i. 148].
209. To sing. givellan [mispr. for "givellah" (*givēla*), 'he sings.' Pott, i. 346].
210. A song. gillee or givellee [*gili*, 'song'; 'givellee' seems a mispr. for "givelloe" (*givēlō*), 'he sings.' Pott, i. 346].
211. A servant. radchevo [*red čevō*, lit. 'red boy,' probably referring to the livery. Twice elsewhere (nos. 181, 276) Bryant's Gypsies seem to have preferred the Eng. adj. 'red' to the Romani *lolō*, though the latter word was known to them (no. 194). Pott, ii. 269].
212. A sword. harrow and bauro, charrie [*hārō* is Paspati's *khanro*, the *hanrō* 'ensis' of Vulcanius, and the *haúro* of BS. & C. : 'charrie' is, of course, a mispr. for "churrie," read *bārō čurī*. Pott, ii. 161, 210].
213. Sickness. naphilisoli [mispr. for "naphilisilo" (*nafolī si-lō*), apparently a muddle of nos. 221 and 222, q.v. Pott, ii. 323].
214. Sister. pan and pen [*pan* and *pen*. Pott, ii. 385].
215. Silver. roop [*rūp*. See also no. 284. Pott, ii. 274].
216. A star. starrie [*stārī* (pl. of *stāra*), Eng. loan word. See no. 289].
217. A serpent. sep and sap [*sep* and *sap*. See also no. 322. Pott, ii. 234].
218. Smoke. tooph [*tūf*, cp. no. 42. See also no. 321. Pott i. 148, ii. 297].

219. Shoes. chawan [mispr. for "chawah" (*čaxa*, plur.). For the representation of *č* by *w* see Introduction, p. 173. Pott, ii. 256].
220. The soul. lesco, thee [*leskō thi*, lit. 'his soul,' where 'thee' is a lisping pronunciation of *sī*. Cp. no. 176. Pott, i. 148, ii. 216].
221. A sick man. naphiloosoli [mispr. for "naphilosilo" *nafslū si-lō*, 'he is ill.' Cp. nos. 213 and 222. Pott, ii. 323].
222. A sick woman. naphilee, phillee [mispr. for "naphilee shillee" (*nafslī si-lī*), 'she is ill.' Cp. nos. 213 and 221. Pott, ii. 323].
223. Soon. sic josta [*sik josta*; the latter word can hardly be the English loan-word heard in *justa 'kondā*, but is probably a mishearing of *dosta*, which rightly follows the main adverb as in *mīsto dosta*. Pott, ii. 226].
224. A shepherd. baucoringro [*bákərīngrō*. Pott, i. 148, ii. 84].
225. Strait. fitolongsoli, crooco bango. [Connecting this with no. 262, I think that Bryant probably asked the Romani for a 'strait-waistcoat,' perhaps foreseeing that it might come in useful for would-be deciphers of his vocabulary! Accepting *soli* as a mispr. for *si-lō*, 'he is' (as in nos. 213 and 221), the preceding word is 'long' 'lame,' which hardly leaves us any choice beyond "fino" for the first two syllables, giving *fainō log si-lō*, 'he is fine and lame.' 'Crooco' (*krūkō*) is either the Eng. 'crooked,' or a loan-word formed therefrom, and 'bango' its correct Romani translation. These dark sayings would appear to refer to some crippled person. Pott (ii. 390) connects 'fit' with the Eng. 'feet,' which is perhaps defensible on the ground that the entire Gypsy reply is à propos de bottes].
226. Sight. dicken [*diken*', the last syllable being more probably the Eng. -ing than the termination of the 3rd plur. indic. pres. Pott, i. 346, ii. 304].
227. Smell. shocmaloe [mispr. for "shoomaloe" (*šūmálō*), 'he smells.' Pott, i. 345, ii. 227].
228. Sleep or to sleep. savanow [mispr. for "sovanow" (*sōvánō*), lit. 'they sleep.' Pott, i. 346, ii. 235].
229. To swear. sovochollo [*sōvəčlō*, lit. 'he swears.' Pott, i. 346].
230. To speak. racamansoe [*raka mansō*, lit. 'talk with me.' Pott, i. 346].
231. Salt. loon [*lūn*. Pott, ii. 336].
232. Summer. tattabean [tat̪ban), lit. 'heat.' Pott, ii. 283].
233. Silk. p'har [*p'är*. Pott, ii. 378].
234. Sand. barraw [*bärā*, lit. 'stones.' Pott, ii. 409].
235. A storm. bauro, beval acochenos [*bârō beval a-cotchin'* us, lit. 'great wind acatching us.' Pott (ii. 169) connects 'acochenos' with *χολή* 'anger' (Gk. *χολή*!)].
236. A saddle. boshtow [*bostō*. Pott, ii. 428].
237. A spur. posomiso, gree [*posəmɪsgrī*. Pott, i. 149].

T

238. Two. due [*dūi*. See also no. 300. Pott, i. 219].
239. Three. trin [*trin*. See also no. 301. Pott, i. 219].
240. Ten. desh [*des*. See also no. 308. Pott, i. 219].
241. Twenty. bish [*biš*. See also no. 309. Pott, i. 219].
242. Twenty-one. yec bish [*yek biš*, less correctly for *biš tā yek* or *biš u yek*. Cp. no. 310. Pott, i. 219].
243. This. acavat [mispr. for "acavar" (*akáva*). Pott, i. 257].
244. That. acavo [*akávō*, apparently the same as the preceding unless we presume a mispr. for *okávo*. Pott, i. 257].

245. A town. burgau [mispr. for "borgav" (*bâr' gav*), unless deliberately altered by Bryant to bring it nearer to Germ. 'Burg.' For loss of -ō in the adj., cp. no. 106 'borwardo.' Pott, ii. 135].
246. Tar. chinaber [mispr. for "chingher" (*čingher*), mishearing 'tear' for 'tar'! Pott, ii. 195].
247. The tongue. chive [*čiv.* Pott, ii. 216].
248. Thunder. godlie [*godlî*, lit. 'noise.' Pott, ii. 133].
249. Time. lucumoro [mispr. for "tachi horo" (*tačī hōrō*), lit. 'right time'].
250. Tears. panee [*panī*, lit. 'water.' Cp. nos. 16, 28, 29, 57, 61, 260, 275, 279. Pott, ii. 343].
251. Truth. techeben [*tečeben*. Pott, ii. 179].
252. A tree. rook [*rûk*. Pott, ii. 271].
253. A table. missali [*misálî*. See also no. 287. Pott, ii. 448].
254. A tomb. bauro balscoplatti. [With confusion of *l* for *r* and mispr. of *c* for *e* (as in no. 154), *bârō bâr sî op' latū*, lit. 'a big stone is on her (or it)'! Pott (ii. 410) treats 'balsco' as a genitive and 'platti' as a loan-form of Germ. 'Platte'].
255. A tooth. dennam [mispr. for "dennaw" (*dennâ*) pl. See also no. 298. Pott, ii. 315].

U

256. An uncle. chauk [*kâk*, with false aspiration. See Introduction, p. 177, and cp. no. 175. Pott, ii. 91].

V

257. A village. gave [*gav.* Cp. nos. 245 and 285. Pott, ii. 135].
258. A valley. delvo [*delvō* from Eng. 'delve,' another form of 'delf.' Pott, ii. 318].
259. The vine. patarim [*patorim*, where the -*m* is a mishearing or mispr. of -*n*, lit. 'leaf.' Cp. no. 98. Pott, ii. 349].

W

260. Water. panee * [*panī*. Cp. nos. 16, 28, 29, 57, 61, 250, 275, 279. Pott, ii. 343].
261. The wind. beval [*beval*. Cp. nos. 3, 24, 235. Pott, ii. 418].
262. A waistcoat. bringerec [mispr. for "baingeree" (*baiyygrî*), gen. adj. of *bai*, 'sleeve.' Cp. no. 11 and note to no. 225].
263. A woman. romee [*romî*, less usual form of *romnî*. Pott, ii. 276].
264. Wine. moul [*mûl*. See also no. 326. Pott, ii. 455].
265. Words. ohano [*ohenô* for *hœnô*, lit. 'angry.' Some angry people at Windsor were evidently 'having words.' Cp. Pott, ii. 169].
266. White. porno [*pârnô*. Pott, ii. 359].
267. To wash. towamah [mispr. for "towawah" (*tôwâwa*), lit. 'I wash,' if not mispr. for "towa man" (*tôwâ man*), 'I wash myself.' Pott, i. 345, ii. 299].
268. To walk. iaw parass [*jâ*, lit. 'go'!; 'parass,' mispr. or mishearing of "perass" (*pîrâs*), lit. 'let us walk.' Pott, i. 345, ii. 212, 382].
269. A whale. bauro mattahee [mispr. for "mattchoe" (*bârō mačô*), lit. 'great fish.' Pott, ii. 438].
270. Warm. tattoo [*tatâ*. Cp. nos. 124 and 232. Pott, ii. 283].
271. Winter. shillaloe [*šilalô*, lit. 'cold' (frigidus). Pott, ii. 232].
272. A window. k'howe [mispr. for k'have (*χâv*). Pott, ii. 162].
273. A whip. chucknee [*čuknî*. Pott, ii. 181].

274. A wagon. vadon [more probably, as appears from no. 106, a mispr. for "vadoh" (*vadō*), than a form of the Cont. *vordon*, etc. Pott, ii. 80].
 275. A wave. bauro panee [*bārō pānī*, lit. 'great water.' Cp. nos. 182 and 203. Pott, ii. 343].

Y

276. Yellow. tedan [mispr. for "redou" (*redū*), as in no. 181, from Eng. 'red'].
 277. A year. yabesh [mispr. for "yecbesh" (*yek bēs*). Pott, ii. 82].
 278. Yesterday. callicoe [*kalikō*, properly 'to-morrow.' See note to no. 168. Pott, ii. 107].

[TABLE I.]

ZINGARA, OR GYPSEY WORDS, WHICH ACCORD WITH OTHERS IN THE NATIVE PERSIC, OR IN THE PERSIC OF INDOSTAN.

Zingara.	Persic or Indostan. See <i>Herbert's Travels</i> .
279. Pannee or panee. Water or drink [see no. 260].	Panne.
280. Yog. Fire [see no. 83].	Augi.
281. Cumbee. A hill [see no. 112].	Conbee.
282. Riah and raiah. Sir or Lord [see no. 145].	Raiyah.
283. Yaccal. A dog [see no. 56].	Iaccal, a kind of wild dog.
284. Roop. Silver [see no. 215].	Roopee, a silver coin.
285. Gave. A village [see no. 257].	Gam.
286. Mass. Food [see no. 163].	Mease.
287. Missali. A table [see no. 253].	Missale.
288. Sharrous. The head [see no. 114].	Sharree.
289. Starrie. A star [see no. 216].	Starra.
290. Vasti. The hand [see no. 125].	Dast.
291. Mawro. Bread [see no. 12].	Maurow, <i>uncertain</i> .
292. Doriove or doriobb. A sea or river [see no. 193].	Deriauw, Deriobb. Obb is water, as is also dor, in many languages.
293. Peola. To drink [see no. 62].	Peola, a cup.
294. Nevo. New [see no. 174].	Nevos.
295. Mumalle. A candle [see no. 48].	Mum, and mumbattee, possibly a mistake for numballee.
296. Clerin. A key [see no. 139].	Cleet.
297. Gur and kir. A house [see no. 111].	Gur.
298. Dennam. A tooth [see no. 255].	Dandon.

[TABLE II.]

THE NUMERALS OF THE ZINGARA, OR GYPSEY TRIBES; COMPARED WITH THOSE OF INDOSTAN AND PERSIA, AS THEY ARE TO BE FOUND IN 'HERBERT'S TRAVELS,' p. 319, AND IN 'BELL OF ANTERMONY'S TRAVELS,' vol. ii. p. 117.

Zingara.	Persic of Herbert.	Indostan of Bell.
299. 1. Yec [see no. 183].	Yec.	Eik.
300. 2. Due [see no. 238].	Do or due.	Duy.
301. 3. Trin [see no. 239].	Se and tean. ¹	Tin.

¹ Herbert says *yec curse* is one mile, and a league or three miles is *tean curse*: *tean* is, therefore, three. [Bryant's note.]

302. 4. Stor [see no. 95].	Char.	Tzar.
303. 5. Peng [see no. 96].	Panch.	Penge.
304. 6. Sho [see no. 199].	Shesh.	Tzo.
305. 7. Afta [see no. 200].	Haft.	Tatee.
306. 8. Oitoo [see no. 70].	Hasht.	Aatza.
307. 9. Enneah [see no. 172].	No.	Novy.
308. 10. Desh [see no. 240].	Dah.	Dass.
309. 20. Bish [see no. 241].	Beest.	
310. 30. Bish u desh [<i>bîsh u dêsh</i>].		
311. 40. Due bisha [<i>dûsh bîsh</i>].		

[TABLE III.]

ZINGARA OR GYPSEY WORDS, REMARKABLY SIMILAR TO SOME IN OTHER LANGUAGES.

312. Cham. The sun [see no. 206]. ☽ן, חם, *Heb.* the sun and heat.
 313. Geeva. Life [see no. 142]. נין, *Heb.* cheva.
 314. Cusht. A bow [see no. 25]. חץ, *Heb.* cushet.
 315. Geronee. An ox [see no. 180]. קר, *Heb.* Keren, quasi, cornutus.
 316. Varess. A lion [see no. 147]. אריה; *Heb.*: also הרים [mispr. for 'חַרְבָּה'], the sun; of which the Lion was an emblem.
 317. Bara. A ship [see no. 31]. Bari, *Coptic and old Egyptian.*
 318. Bai. A bough [see no. 11]. Bai, *Coptic and Egyptian.* See Aulus Gellius.
 319. Rome. A man [see no. 161]. Πιρωμης, *ancient Egyptian.* See Herodotus.
 320. Colee. Anger [see no. 5]. Χολη, *Greek.*
 321. Tooph. Smoke [see no. 218]. Τυφος, *Greek.*
 322. Sep or Sap. A serpent [see no. 217]. Σηψ, *Greek.*
 323. Tresh. Fear [see no. 81]. Τρεω, *Greek.* trepido.
 324. Apra. Above or over [see no. 7]. Supra, *intra.*
 325. Raiena and Roiena [see no. 146]. A great lady. Regina *Lat.* N.B. Rex, regi, *raiat*, all of the same analogy.
 326. Moul. Wine [see no. 264]. Mulsum, *Lat.*
 327. Drom. A way or road [see no. 198]. Δρομος, *Greek.*
 328. Podrom. A footpath [see no. 198]. quasi Ποδος δρομος, *Greek.*
 329. Pal. A brother [see no. 15]. Fel, *Hungarian.*
 330. Matchian. A cat [see no. 39]. Matcha, a tiger, *Malay and Madagascar.*
 331. Crellis. A king [see no. 138]. Crellis, *Bohemian.*
 332. Campen. To fight [see no. 88]. Campen, *Teutonic.*
 333. Beuga [mispr. for "benga," see no. 54]. The Devil. Beug [? mispr. for "beng"], night, *Mindunae.*

ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO BRYANT'S VOCABULARY

- adrē, 'drē, 'lē, [into]: 61, 29, 28.
 afsta, sever: 200, 305.
 akáva, this: 243.
 akávō, mistr. 'that': 244.
 'kova, [this]: 154.
 [akai.] See 'kai.
 ? akō [Here is !]: 151.
 akōī, here: 129.
 aprē, 'prē, op', 'p', above, on: 7.
 p'ō drom, [on the road]: 135, 190, 198.
- dela 'prē, [he reads]: 64.
 op' latī, [on it]: 254.
 [as-, to laugh].
 salō, [he laughs], tr. 'to laugh': 150.
 asđini (Hung.), girl: 97.
 [av-, to come].
 avéši, [thou comest]: 90.
 havutā, [come, imp.], mistr. 'an eye': 69.
 ávala, [he comes]: 50.

- bai*, bough, lit. 'sleeve': 11.
baiygrō, waistcoat: 262.
 [*bākərō*, sheep].
bākoriygrō, shepherd: 224.
bayō, [crooked], mistr. 'strait': 225.
balā, hair (pl.): 122.
?bālō, [swine]: 98.
bāl, [stone]. See *būr*.
bār, rock, lit. 'stone': 195.
bārā, sand: 234.
bārō bār, tr. 'tomb': 254.
bārō, bār', [great].
bārō, judge: 132.
bārō bār, [lit. 'great stone'], tr. 'tomb': 254.
bārō beval, storm: 235.
bārō čumbō, grave: 104.
bārō čurī, sword: 212.
bārō dud, lightning: 153.
bārō ful, mistr. 'steeple': 204.
bār' gav, town: 245.
bārō kālō, desert or wilderness: 68.
bārō kova, mistr. 'pitch': 184.
bārō mačō, whale: 269.
bārō panī, ocean: 182; sea: 203; wave: 275.
bār' wardō, mistr. 'giant': 106.
bārī fōkī, nation: 177.
bey, devil: 54.
bērō, boat: 31; ship: 202.
bērē (pl.): 31, 202.
beval, air: 3; breath: 24; wind: 261.
bārō beval, storm: 235.
beš, year: 277.
bibī, aunt: 9.
biš, twenty: 241, 309.
yek biš, twenty-one: 242.
biš ū deš, thirty: 310.
dāū bišā, forty: 311.
bitū, [small].
bitū gājō, dwarf: 65.
bitū tēm, country: 53.
bokolī, hungry: 130.
bošlō, cock: 45.
boštō, saddle: 236.
brišnō, rain: 192.
būt, much: 165; tr. 'great': 105; tr. numbers: 171.
čirō, green, lit. 'grassy': 99.
čavō, *čevō*, *čovō*, son: 205; [?lad]: 191.
red čevō, tr. 'servant': 211.
čaxā, shoes: 219.
čeriklō, bird: 20.
 [*čiyger-*, to tear].
čiyger, [tear! imp.], mistr. 'tar': 246.
- čiv*, tongue: 247.
čoχā, coat: 36.
čuknī, whip: 273.
čumbō, *kumbō*, [hill, mound].
čumbō, chin: 46.
kumbō, hill: 112; mountain: 158.
kumbī (pl.): 112, 281.
bārō čumbō, grave: 104.
čurī, [knife].
bārō čurī, sword: 212.
 [da-, to give].
dela, [he gives]: 64.
dīás, [he gave], tr. 'give': 108.
dad, father: 77.
dai, mother: 160.
[daval, God].
mō-daval, God: 100.
deklū, flag: 91.
delvō, valley: 258.
denā, [teeth]: 255, 298.
denzūlū, fool: 92.
deš, ten: 240, 308.
biš ū deš, thirty: 310.
dēvəs, *devəs*, day: 55; to-day: 63.
ō vavō devəs, [yesterday], mistr. 'to-morrow': 168.
 [dik-, to see].
dikásē, [we see], tr. 'to see': 201.
dikálō, [he sees], tr. 'to see': 201.
diken', [seeing], tr. 'sight': 226.
domō, back: 32.
dōrīov, *dōrīob*, *dōyav*, sea.
dōrīov, tr. river or sea: 193, 292.
dōrīob: 193, 292.
dōyav, sea: 203.
dosta. See *josta*.
'drē. See *adrē*.
drom, drum, road: 198.
p'ō drom, [on the road], tr. 'road': 198; 'path': 190; untr.: 135.
dromā (pl.), [roads]: 68.
dud, light: 141.
bārō dud (*tud*), lightning: 153.
dūi, two: 238, 300.
enīā, nine: 172, 307.
fainō, [fine].
fainō čovō, [fine lad], tr. 'picture': 191.
?fainō loy, [fine and lame]: 225.
fainō paiaš, good sport: 110.
fainō raklī, [fine girl], tr. 'image': 137.
fainī pū, garden: 107.
fōkī, [people, pl.].
bārī fōkī, nation: 177.
forūs, city: 37.
ful, [stercus].

- bárō ful*, mistr. 'steeple': 204.
gájō, man: 161.
 bitū gájō, dwarf: 65.
 molū gájō, dead body [of a man]: 66.
 molū gáji, ditto of a woman: 67.
gav, village: 257, 285.
 bárō gar, town: 245.
gilī, song: 210.
[*giv-*, to sing].
 givéla, *givélo*, [he sings], tr. 'to sing': 209; mistr. 'song': 210.
giv, barley or corn: 34.
 givéygrō, harvest: 127.
godlī, [noise], tr. 'thunder': 248.
godō, [cunning].
 godō kova, ape: 1.
grai, horse: 116.
gröv, [bull], tr. 'cow': 38.
 grövnī, cow: 38.
 geronī, 'ox': 180.
hárō, sword: 212.
[*haer-*, to burn].
 haerban, tr. 'to burn': 13.
[*hérī*, penny].
 pás hérī, [halfpenny], mistr. 'brass': 17.
herō, leg: 156.
hoilben. See *kolī*.
hörō. See *óra*.
hüva, cap: 49.
[*is-*, to be].
 šan, [thou art], mistr. 'he and she': 123.
 si, [is]: 68, 105, 129, 134, 154, 191, 254.
 si-lō, [he is]: 213, 221, 225.
 ši-lī, [she is]: 222.
[*xa-*, to eat].
 χolō, *hólō*, [he eats], tr. 'to eat': 76; mistr. 'feeling': 89.
xēv, window: 272.
[*ja-*, to go].
 já, [go, imp.]: 268.
 javō, [I go]: 28.
 jasī, [thou goest]: 50.
 jal, *jalō*, [he goes]: 29, 90.
'já. See *ojá*.
[*jiv-*, to live].
 jívá, [? I live], mistr. 'life': 142.
[*jonav-*, to awaken].
 jonadás, [he awakened], tr. 'to awaken': 8.
josta, [enough].
 sik josta, soon: 223.
'kai, [here]: 50.
kák, uncle: 256.
 kokða (voc.), mistr. 'nutmeg': 175.
kal, cheese: 35.
- kalikō*, [to-morrow], mistr. 'yesterday': 278.
[*kal-*, to play].
 kalsbán, music: 159.
kálō, [black], mistr. 'air': 3; 'soot': 207.
bárō kálō, desert or wilderness: 68.
káləban, tr. 'black': 18.
kam, sun: 206.
kap, [seize, Eng. cant, 'cap', 'cop'].
 kap it, mistr. 'hen': 115.
kan, ear: 71.
 ?kanyū (pl.), mistr. 'eyebrows': 75.
[*kand*, stink].
 kandídgrī, sulphur: 208.
kér, house: 111.
 krelisékō kér, palace: 188.
kirčimō, inn: 135.
klezin, key: 139, 296.
kola. See *kova*.
kolī, anger: 5.
 holəben, hatred: 128.
 ohənū, [angry], mistr. 'words': 265.
[*kom-*, to love].
 koməben, love: 140.
[*korō*, copper].
 korben, copper: 51.
korō, cup: 47.
 ?koryū, eyebrows (pl.): 75.
koštō, [stick], tr. 'bow': 25.
koštō, [good], mistr. 'old': 179.
[*kova*, thing].
 bárō kova, pitch: 184.
 godō kova, ape: 1.
 redū kova, oil, 181.
 penj kola (pl.), crown: 44.
krelis, king: 138, 331.
 krelisékō kér, palace: 188.
krükō, [crooked]: 225.
kumbō, [hill]. See *čumbō*.
[*kür-*, to beat].
 kodés, [he beat], tr. 'beat': 30.
 kürzpen, tr. 'to fight': 88.
kusī, a little: 155; mistr. 'more': 166.
[*last-*, to find].
 lastóm, [I] found, 94.
latī. See *yū*.
lavna, beer: 22.
'iē'. See *adre*.
leskō. See *yov*.
'-li'. See *yū*.
lil, book: 27.
 lilū (pl.), letters: 143.
'-lō'. See *yov*.

- lolō, red* : 194.
?loy, [lame] : 225.
lūn, salt : 231.
mačō, fish : 93.
bdrō mačō, whale : 269.
mačka, cat : 39.
maila, ass : 2.
mailō, mule : 169.
mančū, [take heart], mistr. 'harp' : 117.
mārō, bread : 12, 291.
mas, meat : 163, 286.
mē, [I] : 28.
man, me : 108 ; mistr. 'him' : 30.
mansō, [with me] : 230.
minj, mistr. 'father' : 77.
[mer-, to die].
mirsban, death : 58.
molū, dead : 66, 67.
misálī, table : 253, 287.
misī (pl.), prayers : 185.
mīū, mile : 167.
mō, [my]
mō daval, 'God' : 100.
molū. See mer.
molus, lead : 157.
[moy-, to beg].
moyén, [beg ye !], tr. 'to pray' : 189.
[morav-, to shave].
mormíygrō, barber : 26.
mošī, arm : 4.
[? motō, drunk] : 98.
mūl, wine : 264, 326.
mumalī, candle : 48, 295.
mūna, moon : 162.
nafslū, sick : 221.
nafslī (f.) : 222 ; tr. 'sickness' : 213.
nai, nail : 173.
[našav-, to lose].
našdō, lost : 149.
nevō, new : 174, 294.
nok, nose : 170.
ō, ū, the ; ö : 28, 135, 154 168, 190, 198 ; ū : 16, 29.
ōhṇō. See kolī.
oχanō, a lie : 144.
ōitū, eight : 70, 306.
[ojd, thus].
sá 'jd, for ever : 72.
ōra, hōrō, hour : 126.
tačī hōrō, tr. 'time' : 249.
p'. See apré.
padī. See per-.
paias, sport : 110.
pal, brother : 15, 329.
- panī, pánī, water* : 260 ; untr. 28, 29, 61 ; tr. 'brook' : 16 ; 'drink' : 57 ; 'tears' : 250.
bārō panī, ocean : 182 ; sea : 203 ; wave : 275.
papin, goose : 103.
papus, pápus, grandfather : 109.
pár, silk : 233.
párdō, full : 86.
párnō, white : 266.
patśrin, [leaf], mistr. 'vine' : 259.
paš, [beside] : 16.
pāš, [half] : 17.
pen, pan, sister : 214.
penj, five : 44, 96, 303.
pør, belly : 21.
[per-, to fall].
perál, [he falls] : 87.
padī, [they fell] : 61.
[pī, to drink].
pīla, [he drinks], tr. 'to drink' : 62, 293.
pīmīygrō, mistr. 'grape' : 98 ; 'peach' : 187.
[pīr-, to walk].
pīrás, [let us walk], tr. 'to walk' : 268.
pīrō, foot : 84.
porjī, bridge : 23.
[posav-, to prick].
posomisgrī, spur : 237.
[prač-, to rise].
pracelī (part.), tr. 'flame' : 78.
[prast-, to run].
prastén, [run ye !], tr. 'to run' : 197.
plastomlygrī, coach : 52.
[?purō, old] : 98.
pūv, earth : 73.
fainī pū, garden : 107.
[rai, lord].
raia (voc.), lord or sir : 145.
[raker-, to speak].
rakz, [speak, imp.], tr. 'to speak' : 230.
raklī, [girl].
fainō raklī, tr. 'image' : 137.
ránē, lady : 146.
rašai, priest, 186.
rat, blood : 14.
ratī, night : 178 ; tr. 'dark' : 59.
ravū, ravus, heaven : 118.
redū (Eng. red), tr. 'yellow' : 276.
redū kova, oil : 181.
red' čevō, servant : 211.

- romanē*, tr. 'language': 148.
romanē čil, Gypsy: 102.
rōžō, rōzō, flower: 79.
rük, tree: 252; tr. 'laurel': 154.
rūm, husband: 119; man: 161, 319.
romi, woman: 263.
rūp, silver, 215.
[*sā*, all].
sā'jā, for ever: 72.
salō. See *as-*.
sap, sep, serpent: 217, 322.
saštā, iron: 136.
sī. See *is-*.
[*sī*, soul].
thī: 220.
sik, soon: 223.
[*solivari*, bridle].
soliviygrō, bridle: 33.
[*sōv-*, to sleep].
sōvánō, [they sleep], tr. 'to sleep': 228.
[*sōvəχa* (= *sövel χa-*), to swear].
sōvəχolō, [he swears], tr. 'to swear': 229.
stār, four: 95, 302.
stāri (pl.), stars: 216, 289.
sunakai, gold, 101.
[*suv, sūri*, needle].
sūvī, mistr. 'eagle': 74.
thuv, needle: 176.
šan. See *is-*.
šerus, head: 114.
šil, [cold], mistr. 'coal': 40.
šilalō, winter: 271.
šij, horn: 120.
šō, six: 199, 304.
[*šol-*, to whistle].
šulta [whistle, imp.]: 129.
šol (sb.), [whistle], tr. flute: 80.
[*šum-*, to smell].
šumálō, [he smells], tr. 'to smell': 227.
[*šun*, to hear].
šun, to hear: 121; tr. 'here': 129.
šundlō, [he hears], mistr. 'hearing': 131.
ta, [and]: 90.
[*tačō*, true].
tačī hōrō, [correct time], tr. 'time': 249.
tečeben, truth: 251.
tārnō, [young], tr. 'child': 43.
- tatū*, warm: 270; tr. 'heat': 124.
tatban, summer: 232.
tēm, country: 53.
thī. See *sī*.
thuv. See *suv*.
tirō. See *tū*.
[tōv-, to wash].
tōwáwa, [I wash], tr. 'to wash': 267.
treš, fear: 81.
trin, three: 239, 301.
tū, [thou]: 117.
? *tīrī*, [thy] (f.): 151.
tud, [lightning]. See *dud*.
tud, milk: 164.
tūf, smoke: 218, 321.
tūfiskō, chimney: 42.
ū, [the]. See *ō*.
ū, and: 310.
radō, wardō, waggon: 274.
bár' wardō, mistr. 'giant': 106.
vakašō, lamb: 152.
vala. See *av-*.
valašī, finger: 85.
vánústrī, ring: 196.
-varés, mistr. 'lion': 147.
vaš, forest: 82.
vastī, hand: 125, 290.
vavō, [other].
ō vavō derv̄, [yesterday], mistr. 'tomorrow': 168.
vogḡr, [coal], tr. cinder: 41.
wardō. See *vadō*.
woklī. See *raklī*.
wuda, door: 60.
wudrus, bed: 10.
yak, [one]. See *yek*.
yak, yok [eye]: 75; mistr. 'blue': 19.
? *yok'škrō*, 'eyebrow': 75.
yaklō, dog: 56, 283.
yakógorī. See *yog*.
yārō, [egg], mistr. 'air': 3.
yek, yak, one: 126, 183, 277, 299.
yek biš, twenty-one: 242.
yiv, hail: 113.
yog, fire: 83, 280.
yakógorī, arrow: 6.
[iov, he].
leskō, [his]: 220.
-lō, [he, enclit. pro.]: 213, 221, 225.
yūi, [she], mistr. 'I': 133, 134.
latī, [her, prep.]: 254.
-lī, [she, enclit. pro.]: 222.

III.—THE GYPSIES OF CENTRAL RUSSIA

By DEVEY FEARON DE L'HOSTE RANKING

INTRODUCTION

SO little information is available as to the manners, language, and inner life of the Gypsies of Russia, and that information is so inaccessible to the general student, involving as it does the previous study of another language, that I have thought it might prove of interest to members of the Gypsy Lore Society if I were to give a short summary of the most recent book on the subject.

Our principal sources of knowledge concerning this branch of our special study are to be found in the publications of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. In the years 1852 and 1854, the Academy in its *Bulletin Historico-philologique*, published Boehlingk's notes on the memoranda collected by M. Michael Grigorieff, of Moscow, with specimens of the language and a vocabulary. This I had the pleasure of translating in 1891 for Vol. III. of the First Series of the Journal of this Society. From Boehlingk's article one gathers that the memoranda contained a great deal more material; if so, it is a great pity that it should not be published.

In 1882 the communication of M. Elissyeff, on the supposed discoveries of a M. Kūnavin, which appeared in the *Transactions* of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, raised all our expectations to a great height, and we were promised marvellous revelations when the collection of the said Kūnavin should be arranged and edited. Of this wonderful collection nothing more has ever been heard, and students have been reluctantly driven to the conclusion that M. Kūnavin was a Russian relative of Mrs. 'Arris.

Professor Patkánoff's work on the Trans-Caucasian Gypsies, published by the Academy of Sciences in 1887, dealt very slightly with the Gypsies of Russia proper; but at the end is given a valuable list of various publications on the subject. Unfortunately most of these are in old numbers of periodicals or official gazettes which cannot now be obtained. Patkánoff does not, however, seem to refer to Boehlingk's paper, so there may be other omissions. In 1900, Patkánoff published at Moscow, under

the pseudonym of P. Istomin, a grammar of the Russian Gypsy dialect, with specimens of the language: this is exceedingly interesting, but unfortunately the grammatical portion is of the most unscientific character.

All these works, however, noteworthy as they are, dealt only with the linguistic side of the subject, and gave no insight into the most interesting, and in my view the most important, field of investigation at the present day, that is, the inner life of the Gypsies themselves, their habits, their customs, their ceremonies, and their superstitions.

It is from this point of view that the work by Mr. V. N. Dobrowolski,¹ published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1908, seems to me of special interest to the members of the Society. When last year I obtained a copy of the book, I at once wrote to the Academy asking permission, and they very courteously gave me the sole right, to translate it for publication in Great Britain.

On beginning my examination of the book I found myself at once faced by several difficulties. In the first place, I found that it was itself only a continuation of an earlier paper on the same subject published in 1897, in *Zivaya Starina*, a periodical issued by the Imperial Geographical Society of Russia. This periodical I had some difficulty in obtaining, and then I found myself hard up against the difficulty of the dialect. The part of the Government of Smolensk in which Kisilefka is situated is an angle between Great Russia, and White Russia, and the North-Western Provinces; consequently the peasant dialect of the district is a mixture, in which the dialect of White Russia predominates. Mr. Dobrowolski has taken down a great portion of his matter direct from the lips of Gypsies in this dialect, and it would in itself be unintelligible to the ordinary educated Russian, even if it were not complicated by the peculiar pronunciation of the Gypsies themselves, and their tendency to change *v* into *u*, to replace *ye* by *ya*, and generally to interchange their vowel sounds indiscriminately. The result might be compared to broad Somerset and Devon taken down phonetically from the lips of a genuine old-fashioned Gypsy. Many of the words, too, are either corrupt Polish or purely local, and cannot be found in any dictionary: some of them may be Lettish, but this I cannot say. In many cases I consulted several Russian friends as to the meaning, but

¹ *Kisilefskie Žigane*, by V. N. Dobrowolski, St. Petersburg, 1908.

they were entirely unable to assist me; the words were as unintelligible to them as to myself.

I should probably have been forced to give up the task in despair had I not been fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Mr. M. Sieff, who proved peculiarly well equipped for the work I required, being not only a well educated Russian, with a good command of English, but one who has lived for some years near the very district in question, and who understands the vagaries of the peasant dialect. Without his skilled assistance I should have been unable to do anything, and even Mr. Sieff has sometimes found himself at a loss, which may result in one or two of the expressions being only conjecturally translated, or even left quite untranslated. Of course, in instances where the Romani text is given, I have often been able to translate the dialect word through the Romani: but where it has been a long narration purely in the peasant dialect there has been nothing to guide us. In the transliteration of passages of Romani I have adhered strictly to the text of Dobrowolski, though in some places I suspect that his ear may have deceived him. I was very doubtful as to the value to be given to the aspirated *p*, which Dobrowolski always represents by *Pχ*. The letter *H* does not exist in Russian, and it is therefore necessary when it occurs to represent it by *G* or *X*, or to introduce the western sign. Patkánoff in his grammar has adopted the last-mentioned plan; for instance, he writes *phuv*, where Dobrowolski gives *pxu*; in other cases they agree in using *px*, where most authorities give *ph*; Patkánoff has also invented a symbol for expressing a strong guttural sound which, from his description, must resemble the Northumbrian 'burrh.' I conclude from this that the pronunciation of the Russian Gypsy must strongly emphasise the guttural sound in the aspirated tenues, and that the degree varies in different districts: I have therefore retained the symbols given by Dobrowolski, as representing the local dialect. On the other hand I have in some places altered his vowel sounds so as to make them agree with the recognised spelling; thus *ăui* instead of *ăue*, since Mr. Sieff informs me that this drawling sound is not peculiar to the Gypsies, but is common to all the peasants of the district. The symbols which I have used in transliterating the Romani text are: *č=ch*; *ž=zh*; *ż=ts*; *ś=sh*; *g* always hard; *ĭ=ee*; *ĭ* an almost indescribable sound, something like *ĭl*.

One fault I have to find with Dobrowolski, and that is that he

does not tell us where nor under what circumstances he collected his material. What has impressed me more than anything is the intensely dramatic form of some of the passages, such as the description of the storm in the woods; it is not simple narration, but a living picture of a present event. It does not seem possible that this should be simply the words of a house-dwelling Gypsy (for the Gypsies of whom Dobrowolski tells are in the main house-dwellers) describing an incident in his own experience; rather it would seem as if it were a recital of some ancient fragment handed down orally from the traditions of ancestral wild Gypsies. If this be so, it is open to wonder whether the dialect used in some of the examples is that used by the house-dwelling Gypsies of Smolensk at the present day; if it be, I should imagine that there are few races of settled Gypsies, who speak with such purity; the inflections are very perfectly preserved, and the verb-forms are very rich, especially in the preservation of passive and neuter passive forms, such as *pasyón*. Patkánoff in his grammar does not give this plural form of the imperative, though he gives the singular form *pasyóv*. It will be seen from the examples given that there are many loan-words from the Russian; and it will also be seen that where these consist of substantives they take the Romani inflections: the verbs also frequently take Russian prefixes, such as *vi*, *po*, *pri*. These loan-words add, as a rule, *in* to the stem before the suffix, e.g. *svyel*, *svyel-in-ko*, *pomraz-en-dene*.

The more conventionalised Gypsies, such as the musicians of Moscow and Kieff, have often been described; but so far as I know, this is the first account which has been given of the everyday life of the ordinary Gypsy; and it is given by one who has known them from boyhood, and who speaks of them and their affairs with an intimate knowledge which comparatively few possess. Mr. Dobrowolski was born in the little village of Krasnosvyatsk, in the canton of Smolensk, not far from the villages of Fitsofka, Kisilefka, Paluevo, and Romanofka, each of which has a Gypsy population. From his earliest childhood he was used to seeing Gypsy men and women, and was always interested in them, though a little afraid, because of the stories he had heard of their propensities for thieving and robbery. At the New Year's festival the Gypsies used to come to the house of Mr. Dobrowolski's grandfather at Zgorjelsk and play the violin for him, being rewarded with gifts of bread and corn. Mr. Dobrowolski

always pictured a Gypsy to himself as a fine young fellow riding on horseback. His nurse used to persuade him to eat his supper by threatening that, if he did not, he would dream of Gypsies. Altogether his mind seems to have been pretty well saturated with the subject. While the Gypsies of Kisilefka and Fitsofka were celebrated as musicians, the Gypsies of Dankofsk and Fitsofka were specially noted for their skill as fishermen, and it was this which chiefly attracted young Dobrowolski to them.

At last an event happened which brought a certain Gypsy named Ivka into great prominence. About the end of the seventies, a certain robber captain, named Byelyatskie, with his band, terrorised the Governments of Smolensk and Mogilefsk, and all efforts to capture him were unavailing. Ivka succeeded in accomplishing the feat, and prided himself greatly on his achievement. He was never weary of relating the tale to any one who would listen; and as he was a good actor with great power of facial expression, and fond of giving the whole story in character, young Dobrowolski often went to hear him tell it. Dobrowolski left the district to pursue his studies, and returned some years later, settled down in the village, and began to make a collection of the tales, legends, and customs of White Russia, for ethnographical purposes. He then bethought him of his old acquaintance Ivka, sent for him and for other Gypsies of the district, and began to study the language seriously and to collect materials of all kinds from them. Tales and traditions he collected from Tereška, narratives from Thaddeus and Ephraim, legends and traditions from Fanka, Ivka, Vaska, and his wife Matreška, all belonging to Fitsofka, and songs from the Gypsies of Kisilefka.

Having exhausted this particular district, Dobrowolski made expeditions with the same object into the cantons of Yelninsk, Roslavlsk, Krasninsk, and Dorogobujsk. The results of his investigations appeared in the books we now have under consideration. The Gypsies of Russia are now settled in houses, only wandering during the summer; but it is in quite recent times that they have been compelled to settle down. Formerly in summer they lived in the fields and forests; and in winter in barns, warming themselves at big wood fires, with which they were so careful that the peasants have a saying: 'A Gypsy knows all about fire.' Then a decree was passed forbidding them to live in barns, and they changed their manner of life.

LEGENDS AS TO ORIGIN

The Russian Gypsies insist strongly on their Egyptian origin; they boast that they are the descendants of the Pharaohs of Egypt: 'We are Pharaoh's people,' said old Ivka, 'Jews and Priests spring from the race of Shem, Gentlemen and Gypsies from Japhet, Peasants from Ham.'

The legend, as related by one of the Gypsies, is as follows:— The Pharaoh of Egypt with his Egyptians followed after the Hebrews, and by the will of God was overwhelmed with his army in the Black (*sic*) Sea. From this disaster there escaped one Egyptian youth and girl; they wandered long, perishing from want, unwillingly they were driven to steal, in order to preserve their life,—from this sprang theft, and from the pair who were saved proceeded the Gypsy race, living a wandering life and one full of hardships.

The following account of the origin of the Gypsies of Yelninsk, taken down near the village of Smakoff, I give in the original:

Yegiptostř vīgiyá romně. Līyá raznovyérža. Sír na žindyá te rakirél romanés, to vīgiyá číp, značit, s vidumok. O čav' yašné bút. Na 'sis e čuvoréng te xál, to ióř čordyá lábo maró—to edaléstř vīgiyá e čorihé.¹

To Pharaoh also the Gypsies ascribe, with affectionate pride, the invention of the 'jemmy,' without which, as they acknowledge, they could not tackle the heavy locks and padlocks of the present day. *Dadéskiro Klúlin*, 'The key of our Father,' is the euphemism by which they call it: and they say:—

Adavá sí-starí amaré prásčíři, iščo 'maró Pharaóno primudriú patamý o xítro 'sis i godyavér.²

These Gypsies are deeply attached to their own mode of life, to their language, and their customs. In their every-day life they speak to their relatives in the Gypsy language, in which not only the words but also the Gypsy modes of speech are preserved.

¹ A Gypsy woman came out of Egypt. She took up with a heathen (one of different faith). As he did not know how to speak Romanes they formed a language, that is by invention. Lots of children came. There was nothing for the children to eat, so he stole a morsel of bread—from this arose theft.

² This is from old-times from our ancestors, our Pharaoh invented it, because he was cunning and wise.

This enables the Russian Gypsies to understand the tongue of wandering brethren, such as the Austrian Gypsies. Such a preservation of language is, as Mr. Dobrowolski remarks, very noteworthy in our days, when all ethnographical peculiarities are pruned away by culture; especially considering that the Gypsies live in small villages in the midst of a Russian population.

LIFE AND ORGANISATION OF THE GYPSIES

The Gypsies of the Smolensk district have, as the following notes will show, an organisation of their own, distinct from the official government, or the lives of the peasants. On the peasants they look with scornful amusement; and Mr. Sieff, who has seen something of them, tells me that this attitude is well merited; that the Gypsy is on an infinitely higher plane, as regards intelligence and civilisation in the best sense, than the peasant. As he has said to me, 'if the whole population of Russia were Gypsy, officialdom (the *činovnik*) would not oppress the country as it does.'

That the settled Gypsies still retain some of their old wild instincts is shown in many ways: their weather notes tell of a time when they lived entirely in the open.

HOW GYPSIES TELL TIME BY THE STARS

Dívileškoro Kolyósi (The Lord's Chariot or the Heavenly Chariot) 'The Great Bear.'

The *Zaryánki*, the *Púlički* (names of stars), deceive one, but the Lord's Chariot shows the time truly. Above are little stars—little horses, but at the side, below are four little stars—the wheels (*katočki*). The Heavenly Chariot stands and stands, but when it comes to after midnight, the wheels turn upwards, and the horses go below. That is the best time for robbery. All men then lie down to sleep, and give themselves rest; gentlemen for the most part are lying down (*tírdyola*).

O Kolyósi Pirivistne (The Chariot is turned over), i.e. 'it is after midnight.'

The *Kvakúča*, (Frog), called by peasants 'the Hay Rick,' gets lower at night.

Papíntko Drom, (the Goose Road, otherwise *Popáš Divés*, or *Vutkítko Drom*), a white road of very tiny stars, visible when you look towards the south.

Tχorítko Drom or *Vídritko Drom*, (the Polecat's Road or the Otter's Road), appears at dusk, when the polecat, the otter, and all wild beasts come out. The polecat, otter, wolf, frog, and all reptiles go, not towards the sunrise, but downwards to the west.

The leader of the geese does not fly on a dark night, he does not lead the flock after him, because he constantly guides himself by the *papinítko drom*. The Gypsy, too, steers by the stars: 'If I am lost in a very dense wood, I can always get to the edge by the stars.'

Dobrowolski says that to the Gypsies the snow and the rain are gods which fertilise the earth; on these gods they look with a certain amount of awe and veneration. This may help to explain some of the phraseology of the passage describing a storm which I give below; the language used certainly smacks of Polytheism. The hail is with the Gypsies the visible sign of a struggle between the light and the dark gods.

A STORM IN THE FOREST

Jívéna romá adó věš. Ūdrúx pe čororénde o briščint i o īv.
"Savó 'da o dřvél rozmekýá pěskire pundré¹ p' aménde čororénde.
Ge, geë! savóka dřvél, ni móžit te ríkér pěskere yaré! Márla savó
yág. O, vyeroyatno, Yagório, dřvleskíro prikaščíko, i to ničí na
keréla. Galéj, bart sart zór adá bangés, što i o dřvél ničí na
kérla! Vučedir! Što tři duěminésa, móre? Baredir dřvlestír
kérla!"

"Pasyón, pasyón, me čávore! Déla mólanña i vípekéla o
yakýá! Pasyón, pasyón, me čávore, téle perníza!" Ek romnoró
briščindéster na dárla, o šeró vistavil. "Garadyón! Savó jála
grózo! Pérla yólka, rastasavéla míré čavorén. O, détlale,
zarákχ me čavorén! Presvénto Yagório, dřvél ddít, zarákχ!
Presvénto Masxári² zarákχ!"

¹ *Pundré*. Should this be *pe andre*? *Peskire pe* would be a strengthened form of *pěskire*. Dobrowolski translates it 'eggs.' See Borrow, *Zincali*, s.v. *anro*: also the Archduke Josef's *Czigány Nyelvtan* voc. *antru*=egg.

² *Masxári*. The name given by Russian Gypsies to Our Lady. It has been pointed out to me that Borrow (*Zincali*, vocab.) has both *majara*, 'half,' 'middle,' and *majari*, 'The Virgin,' as well as other words connected with the latter. He derives *majaro*, 'saintly,' from Grk. *μακάριος*, in which Pott (ii. 462) supports him by marking the word with a dagger, and also Miklosich, iii. 43. But Span. Gyp. *j* (=χ) normally replaces pure Gyp. *ʃ* (e.g. *jojóy*, 'rabbit,' *arajay*, 'friar'), so that it may be that both the Russian and Spanish Gypsy names for Our Lady are derived from *maškar*, 'between,' and mean 'The Mediator,' 'The Intercessor.' — See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 363.

"Gazdīyápe e bavál bart, o tiv rozmíkχyá péskíro kχár. Rak-χénpe : a tó pérla kašl, zamárla. Bérho pérla striχátr. Zres-kirdyápe o bezrúko bogatíryo, gazdīyápe o tiv, pokámyes zoravéla o svyét."

"Só tu dúmaiš, móro ? Koli io¹ dívél niči ni keréla, pokámyest prípxandéna o yakχá, poimárla sáre yakχá ivéstřr. Na díkχáva niči. Stálo bít, o suprotívník o dívleske : dívél niči na keréla."

"Xasiyóm, móre ! Pomrazéndene čavé ! Kerén, kerén yagórí pakénte balasoró." Líyá te pekél, χačiyá : "Dádole, χačiyóm : e číp χačkirdyóm." . . . "Me dén tre da bue² : pχudé, tak na χačósa." "Geróē χačkirdyóm : e bavál díyá pe mánđe." "Čut, čut kokoréške yakχá vikχačkirdyá 's̄s.—Slava tu dévla, so o dívél zarakχyá man !"

Gypsies are staying in a wood. Suddenly on them, poor people, come snow and rain. 'What kind of a god is this to empty his eggs on us poor people. Alas, what a god, couldn't he keep his eggs to himself ! What lightning strikes. Oh, most certainly even St. George, the Lord's head-clerk, even he can do nothing. Certainly, there is great power in the devil, when God can do nothing. He (the devil) is the more clever ! What do you think, brother ? He does greater things than God !'

'Lie down, lie down, my children ! The lightning will strike and burn out your eyes ! Lie down, lie down, my children, under the feather bed !' One little Gypsy does not fear the rain, and sticks his head out (from the tent). 'Hide yourself ! What hail is coming ! It strikes down the fir-tree, it will crush you, my children. Oh God, save my children ! Holy St. George, father God, save us ! Holy Masχari save us !'

'A great hurricane has arisen, the snow has emptied its strength. Save yourselves : but it has felled and killed a tree. A rafter is torn from the eaves. The giant without hands has broken his chains, the snow rises up, till it overcomes the world.'

'What do you think, Brother ? Since God does nothing, when my eyes are fastened up and all eyes are killed with snow. I can see nothing. It is evident, snow is the adversary of God : God can do nothing.'

'It is all up, brothers ! The children are half frozen ! Make a fire quickly, roast pig-meat.' He (a Gypsy child) begins to cook, and burns himself : 'Daddy —I've burnt myself : I've burnt my tongue.' . . . 'May your mother be defiled : blow on it, and you won't burn yourself.' 'I've burnt my leg : the wind blew upon me.' 'Almost, almost to myself my eyes were roasted out.—Thanks to thee, God, that the god saved me.'

SYMBOLISM OF THE WHIP

The important part played by the Whip in the economy of the Gypsy household would seem also to point to a very ancient period ; and its association with the ceremonies attending

¹ *Koli io.* The latter of these words seems to have no meaning ; perhaps it should be the article *o*, or the pronoun *yo* for *you*.

² For this expression compare Gilliat-Smith's note, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 198.

betrothal might be accepted by some as a relic of marriage by capture.

This *Puga* or whip is the Gypsy's most cherished possession. Without it he is rarely seen, and with it he cannot be induced to part. The stock is bound with leather, and ornamented with a leather tassel: the lash is made of the finest flax (stolen for choice) very carefully plaited. It is hung up in the house or tent of a Gypsy with as much care as the choicest icon of a peasant: no woman must touch it if she is unclean (*nané žuží*): children are not allowed to play with it; the whip is the symbol of authority of the head of the family:—

Děkxénti na čilavén¹ e čupně! Na čingérén píré pxú: a tó činéna na píro čisto štěto. Oblavén e čupně! Te dáv bengénde tuménde! Te dáv bué e dá tumariyá, odó dílňyá, so ioi tumén ponadyélala dasavé dílňén! Sbródi—bengále! Tumé žinén, so tumart dái dílňi. Tumén že xaxáv dílňén dasavén! A mé, čororó, s poslyédniga marávape te tumén kormináva; a tíme čupně míří trógaete! Bi-čupnyákiro pomérna ná xai!² Tumé žinén, so de³ čupně sarf báx. Ma rakxáu divél, podo poro jyuli—čupně ronéna pe pxú,—a podo poro jyuli saví štavéla pe čupně. Nöe da a ioi móža nané žuží. Mánge dolžnó tadi te xaseváu. Ebaxtorf měří jálu dyáke. Tumé žinén, kui o díd oblavéla lí čuvéla, što ták ní dolg velít te troginén.

Look out, not to meddle with the whip ! Do not strike it on the ground : for then you strike it on an unclean place. Hang up the whip ! To the devil with you ! May your mother be defiled, the fool that she is, that gave birth to fools like you ! Rapscallions—devils ! You know that your mother is a fool. Must I then feed fools like you ! But I, poor fellow, am well nigh killing myself to feed you ; and you meddle with my whip ! Without the whip you would die, having nothing to eat ! You know that all the luck is in the whip, God protect us, then an old woman—you put the whip on the ground—then some old woman or other stands on the whip. It may be by chance she is unclean, I must be ruined then. My luck is gone thus. You know, where the father hangs up his whip or puts it down, duty orders you not to meddle with it.

BETROTHAL CEREMONIES

In the betrothal ceremonies also the whip plays an important part. Gypsies make a doll out of a kerchief, exactly in the form

¹ The text of Dobrowolski wrongly separates the words *či* and *laven*. Patkánoff gives *te čilares* and Paspati *čilavara*; on the other hand, we have *píré* for *pír i*.

² Shortened gerund for *xaya*.

³ *de* I take to be a shortened form of *adaya*, in which case the sentence is literally 'yon whip is all luck.'

of the head-dress of a Gypsy woman: they fasten this to the whip and commit it to the care of the Gypsy match-maker (among the Gypsies, as among the lower classes everywhere in Russia, all the preliminaries are carried out by match-makers). The doll is fastened at the end of the whip-stock, and is decorated with a number of silver and paper roubles, and with expensive corals or other valuable beads. When the match is mutually agreed upon this doll is placed before the icon and, with all its decorations, is presented to the bride; but the bride's father gives as a dowry as much money as there is upon the betrothal doll. In the betrothal song the welcome of the bride, her tent, her hearth, and her grey horse are celebrated.

The description given by Mr. Dobrowolski of a betrothal is extraordinarily vivid and dramatic: the narrator appears to be giving, not an abstract account of a betrothal generally, but an animated description of a ceremony at which he has personally assisted: and one may presume that this particular betrothal was a failure, since there is an equally vivid description of the imposing of a penalty on the faithless Gypsy swain.

MATCH-MAKING AND THE MATCH-MAKING DOLL

Avén u sváti, avén ke 'da Róm, ke 'da barvaló, ko banéta, ke léskírt čái. Avén! Dé góldli Romnén i e Romén i e skripkéńza. Jásá ko sváti. Podén mánge e čúpní. Pxandéne e drévzá! Podéna bravínta! Né, Pxandén o míriklé! Romní, pódé o lové, trín šelá: me díkxáva, sít ioü n' otdéla pal' míré čavéste. Podén e mánge drévzá adó vastá, bagán!

Avén u sváti! Romá bút skedénape i o Romnyá. Né, vípiéna bravíntiža. Udrúx o dát rakítra: "Poda mánge čúpní, kóe!" Podíyá čupní léske romní.—"O míriklé podénte!"—Podíyá o míriklé léske romní.—"Podén i díkxló!" Só tumé díkxéna Romnyále? Pxandéne drévzá te žav u sváti! Kódo Rom déla, nadéla¹—a trébi popróbovat! O díkxló pe čupní pxandén, i míriklé pxandén pe mén! Né, kerdén kúkla kakaná! Ne kerdé kuklá. Yanén mánge e kúkla 'dayá: me čuváva pe láte o šeléngíre—me díkxáva, sít ioü na déla péske ča pal' míré čavéste! M' nadyéyús, otdéla; a na otdéla—fedédlr latása.

Come to the betrothal, come to that Gypsy, to the rich one, to the head one, to his daughter. Come! Call all the Gypsy-women and the Gypsies and with their fiddles. Let us hasten to the betrothal. Hand me the whip. Bind up the

¹ Probably the words *na déla* should be separated.

handle (stock)! Fetch some vodka! Now, bind on the beads [corals]! Wife, fetch the money, three hundred roubles [in notes]: I would like to see, how he would not give [his daughter] to my son. Give me the whip-stock in my hand, let us sing!

[The father of the bridegroom sets off with his company, holding the betrothal doll upright in his hand.]

Come to the betrothal! Many Gypsies and Gypsy women are gathered together [in the bride's house]. Now let us have a drink of brandy. Suddenly the father says: 'Fetch me the whip, you!' His wife gave him the whip.—'Fetch the beads [corals]!' His wife gave him the beads [corals] also.—'Fetch a handkerchief!' What are you gazing at you, Gypsies? Bind up the stock to go to the betrothal! Whether the Gypsy gives [his daughter], or whether he does not give—we must try! Bind the handkerchief on the whip-stock, and the beads [corals] on its neck! Now, make a doll now! Now, the doll is made.¹ Hand me yon doll: I will put the hundred rouble notes on it—I would like to see how he would not give his daughter to my son! I hope he will give her; but if he does not give her—we shall find a better.

The arrival of the match-makers, with the doll, at the house of the bride is followed by the greeting song *Dén Dobrídin*, the acceptance of the doll, and the marriage contract:—

Jána.—"Ján-je saré kučása, i bašavén do skrípki, a túme bagán":

Dén do-bří - din, Ro-ma - lě - le, Ax zda-róú ča - lom
 Ro - ma - lě - le, tu - ma - ryá - kye bes - ye - dá - kye.

Dén dobrídin, Romalele,
*Tumaryákye*² besyedákye,
*E gožonákye*³ čaoryákye!
 Koli ūdéná—dén devlésa,
 A na déna—sřír kaména,
 Peskirt báx na díkxéna!
 Zdoróú čalom, Romalele,
 Tumaryákye yagoryákye,

¹ The betrothal doll is made as follows: a handkerchief is bound to the whip-stock after the fashion of the old head-dress of Gypsy women; on the kerchief are hung the ornaments, often very precious corals; to the kerchief are fastened bank notes for a large amount. Gypsy men and women are clever at making these dolls.

² Note that the possessives are fully declined, as in Russian.

³ A loan-word with stem in *n*.

*Nevīnkonákye šatoryákye.
Yagorí svetlīnkó, ioi,
E šatríza nevīnkó, ioi,
Í o grastoró sivinkó, ioi,
Í o χamutó rupovó, ioi,
A vurduró soňakunó, ioi !
Bešáva me romnyása.*

Bešáva i jáva. É, romní merí, na láva tisénzř pal túte ! Kolí me váva tak tu vésa. Fededír tútř náë—tu sř garžegína ! “Zdaróù dobrídin, móre ! Tí rádo, móre, gosténge ?” “Rádo, brátež, rádo, brátež !” “Prilésa, móre, man ?—Prilésa ? Tak i drévza prilé !” “Béš, móro, běš, a drévza, čude po kúto. Man-génpe devlés ! Mí romní, pôde mánge bravínta, mortvall, i pôde mánge stakáno rupovó te pirípiyál¹ svatósá po stakáno i te čuváv liv.—Né, kolí, sváto, avéla o biyáu ?”—“A biyáu avéla pašilo Pokrovo : tadi o bakri pospyeinéne, i guromnyá činása.” “Tí bút posága désa ?”—“Dáva tûke, brátež, trín šelá i šátra i e vurdésa i e grésa i ya gamósa.² Né, kolí kamésa, čamúnde man !”—“Né, i tú čamúnde man ; né, piríparuvén angrustyá !” (Čamundíne o ženfžo nevyestásá, i o svatósí o svatósá, i e svátýa svyatýása).—“Dík, sváto, sob³ po láu t'avés vyérno ; a yesli n' adyáke kerésa, tu mánge pleskírésa : tadi pyatsót rubléè paló bezščestya.” “Kolí tu man χuxavésa, to pán[š] šelá opleskírésa.”

They set off. [The principal match-maker, the bride-groom's father, starts with his company ; in his hands he holds the doll—the doll stands on a level with all the Gypsies, just like a Gypsy girl : the match-maker gives the order.] ‘Now all of you walk nicely, and play on your fiddles, and you sing.’ [All of them play and sing, the match-maker also] :

Good day to you, Gypsies,
To your assembly,
And to the beautiful daughter !
If you give her—give her with God's consent,
If you do not give her—just as you please,
You will not see your luck !
Health we wish you, Gypsies,
To your fire,
To your new tent.

¹ There seems to be a confusion in the termination ; *al* is third person singular, but Dobrowolski treats *te pirípiyal* as an infinitive, following Patkánnoff, who classes all his verbs under *te*, e.g. *tepiyes*, to drink.

² *gamo*, a horse-collar. Russian, *χomut*. Mr. Gilliat-Smith also refers me to Turkish *gemi*.

³ This may be the Russian *čtob*.

The fire is a bright one, ioë,
 The tent is a new one, ioë,
 The horse is a grey one, ioë,
 The horse collar is of silver, ioë,
 The waggon is of gold, ioë,
 I will sit down with my little wife.

[The song here develops into a recitative ; the bride-groom fancying that he is married and is riding on a swift horse, with his pretty wife, and is shouting out]

I will sit [on my horse] and off I will go. Ah, my wife, I would not take a thousand roubles for you ! Where I shall be you will be. Better than you is none—you are like a duchess !

[Now the match-makers begin to talk over the affair.]

'Good health to you, brothers ! Are you glad, brothers, to receive us ?' 'We are glad, brother, we are glad, brother !' 'You receive us, brothers ? Then accept the whip-stock also !' 'Sit down, brothers, sit down, and put the whip-stock on the shelf [under the icons]. Now let us pray to God ! Wifie ! bring us some brandy, some vodka, and give me the silver cup, that I and the match-maker may drink cup about and pledge our words.—Well, match-maker, when shall the wedding be ?' 'The wedding shall be about Pokrov [the feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin, Oct. 1st., O.S.]: then the sheep will be fit for killing, and we will also kill a cow.'—'Will you give a good dowry ?'—'I will give you, brother, three hundred roubles and a tent and a waggon and a horse and harness. Now, if you are satisfied, kiss me !' [The bride-groom here says to the girl] 'You kiss me now, and let us exchange rings !' (They all kiss each other, the bride-groom and bride, father with father, mother with mother, [and kisses go all round]).—'But see, match-maker, that all is carried out as arranged ; but if you will not do so, you will have to pay a fine ; you must pay five hundred roubles for the insult.'—'And if you deceive me, you will pay five hundred roubles.' [The five hundred roubles each is handed over to a third party.]

The breaking of the agreement by the bridegroom, and his being fined are then described :—

Né, dík, móra : kolf te lés,—tak lé, a na lésa—bangovésa. "Me kolf spravlyús, todí láva." Tírt, brátež, správka búdit sáro véko. Tú na žinés, palé 'dava so bïvaet ? Pχandéna ke róta, sřr juklés ! Tú, móra, kírdyá láv po čáte, i tu yežéli na lésa, móra—čuváva adó sasterá tut. Dík i pričuváva ko gorákilo. Me tut oddáva adorík, kai o pitáki kérna.—" Lé vyéri ; mánge baχ, sřr láva me lá."—Na lésa, brát, na χolyasöü dík, brátiž ; písχarísa 'vésa.

Now see, brother, if you have taken,—then take, but if you do not take,—you crouch [*i.e.* pay the penalty]. 'I will take the girl after [finishing] my inquiries.' Your inquiries, brother, will be a whole life-time. Do you not know what might happen for that ? They tie you to the cart-wheel like a dog ! You, brother, pledged your word for the girl, and if you do not take her, brother—I will put you in irons. Also I will drag you by force to the police-station. I will drive you to the place where they make copper coins [*i.e.* the copper mines of Siberia].—'Believe me [*lit.* take the truth] ; on my luck [I swear], that I will take her.'—If you do not take her, brother, do not look malicious [*i.e.* do not blame me] ; you will be to blame [? You will have to pay].

In a recent number of *The Wide World Magazine* (March 1910), a description is given of what is called a 'Gypsy Wedding' in Poland. The particulars show that what the writer really saw was merely a part of the betrothal, and that purely the monetary negotiations, and not the really symbolic portion. The writer however states, quite correctly, that cohabitation frequently follows immediately on betrothal, the religious ceremony being deferred to any time which may be convenient. The following legend from Dobrowolski shows this very clearly:—

ČORT SVATAETSYA KE ŽIGANKYE

Zindyá e čái, iſis e dadéste ekχ čái te dái, tólkí iſis trín, žene barvalés.¹ Giyá čái o gadá te morél, i díkχela: žala verχóm o Róm, góžo, 'dasavó góžo, so níkái i nané. Pχenéla: "Zdoróú túke, čái! Kái tumé lodlé?" A yoë pχenéla: "A 'kadái, nádur. A ka té?"—"Ja! me sícás aváva." Ī yavyá yoř ko šátri i grés pripχandyá, i ogiyá éda šátra, i pχenéla: "Zdoróú túke pχuroróma!" O pχuroróm pučela: "Kón tu san adasavó?" Yoř pχenéla: "Me som Róm, i jáva,—tř ní žinés porubé?" O pχuroróm e rakírla: "Akadá iſi nádur e rái, tólkí yoř na lyübíne e Romén." A yoř e rakírla: "Yář! mánđra!"

Ī gíné sáre duë. Žiné. O pχuroróm třdiyá pále vérsta, a odavá giyá pe filatín. O rái pχučela: "Kón 'davá yavyá?" O lakéyo i rakírla: "Yavyá Róm."—"Bičavén adarig ké me!" Yavyá 'do χorómi; o rái les prílýá, i rakírla: "Tř 'k ženó tu?" A yoř rakírla e ráske: "Okudóe iſi mánde pe χvelda terdó vavír tovarišo." O rái bičadyá e lakeyós: "Ja, dé les góđli." Ī o dúmaň o pχuroróm, so pal' léste prastána i o daváë dálše te našel,—nasyóoli dogukalísé. Ī yavyá yoř pe filatín. Ī rakírla 'da čavó: "Tř nané túte parubé, ráiya?" A yoř pχenéla: "Iſi." Ī viližipé léske stankótír grés fédér leskeréstír, i daváë porudé.² Yeščo rái dřyá léske o pridír lové, but lové dřyá.

Yavlé kχeré po šátri, i yoř rakírla: "Pχuróma, tř naddésa tu tr'e čá pal' mánde, paló Róm?" Ī yoř, pχuroróm, pχenéla: "Sír e čáke narávíža." A e čái rakírla: "Me pa léste jáva." Ioř že rakírla: "Me yaváva e dadésa u sváti ke tu; pírdaló kurkó." Ní, yavyá e dadésa i vísavatindlé adá čá. Ī rakírla: "Oddé tu mánge tr'e čá bís vinzá; mánge kakaná nékolí o biyář te gulináv.

¹ Mr. Gilliat-Smith suggests that this should read žené barvalé = "rich people," instead of žene(n) barvalés.

² This should be porubé.

Me sómas terdó ko e krái pe ek ráskirí félfa, i o graiyá amaré pomardé léskíro maró; takakoná mánge nékolí; tr'ébí te jál k'odó rái te pleskíraú paló maró. Tak sér tu soglásno? Ti otdea tu tr'e čá pal' me čavéste? A po správkí me byář gulinása."
O pxuroróm e rakírla: "Pxučén e čáčir, ti soglásno ioř. Kolí soglásno, te me paríkíráva." Ī pučlé e čáčir. E čáti pxendyá: "Kolí me pal áadoléste ne jáva, tak me todí ní pal konéste na jáva, vyék svoë pe tuménde aváva te rovářpe." Nú, *pxuroróm e mekyá.*

Dřinén dré, e gíné; odgíné, možet bít, pančvardéš vérsti, i kirdó šátri. Ī lřiyá 'da čái o nébří¹ i giyá pálo paní, i o čavoré, o málinka, prastandené pal' láte. Ī poddkýchá ioi adá čavorénde o rógičí po seró. Ī lřiyá ioi te rovél, i golijá sodavá nané manušá, a yadava ísí o bengá. Ī lřiyá ioi te křarél peskerés romés: "Í yavén yamé ko dát, u góstí!" Ioř na kamyá te jál. Né, tólkí ioi les vikxardyá, i soglasíusya ioř te jál lása. Ī dřinén dré i yavlé ko dát.

Ó dat, e dáti rádo, so čáti yavyá ke ioné u góstí. Pxuroróm uklístyá pe gréste i giyá palé bravínta. Ī břstyá i zyatyósa e bravínta te piél. Ī zmatýyá o zyátyo, i pasiyá teló pológo. Ī ioi (čá) rakírla: "E," dadéske,² rakírla e rověla, "Já tu sřídtr palé rašaste, me yavél o rašái." Ī yavyá o rašái, i skřidýape o naródo. Ī lřiyá ioř te xristíne e šátra. Ī poddkýchá ioř adavá, adotr'ě teló pológo pasyoví, promardyá i o pológo i šátri,—i vurnyándíya ařírt,—ioř tólkí pósli léste ekx kurkoró požindyá i meyá.

THE DEVIL COURTS A GYPSY GIRL

Once upon a time there was a girl, the girl and her mother lived alone with her father, so there were only the three of them, they lived richly. The girl went to wash shirts, and she sees: a Gypsy man goes on horseback, handsome, so handsome, that there is no other like him. He says: 'Hail to you, girl! where do you live?' And she says: 'Over there not far. But where do you?'—'Go along! I will come directly.' And he came to their tent and tied up his horse, and he entered that tent, and says: 'Hail to you, old man!' The old man asks him: 'What sort of a man are you?' He says: 'I am a Gypsy, and I am going, —you don't know of a swap?' The old man says: 'Over there there is, not far away, a gentleman; only he doesn't like Gypsy men.' But he says: 'All right! it doesn't matter!'

They went along just the two of them. They go on. The old Gypsy stayed behind at a distance, but yon fellow went into the palace. The gentleman asks:

¹ *nebři.* I cannot find the origin of this word: the ordinary Russian word is *vedro*, which is the word commonly used by Gypsies in this country.

² I have altered the quotation marks given by Dobrowolski, which are obviously wrong; he gives it "*E dadéske,*" etc., apparently treating *dadéske* as a diminutive.

'Who is that fellow that came?' The footman says: 'A Gypsy came.' 'Send him in here to me.' He went into the room; the gentleman received him, and says: 'Did you come by yourself?' But he says to the gentleman: 'There is another companion waiting for me yonder in the field.' The gentleman sent the footman: 'Go give him a call.' And the old man thought that they were running after him and he began to run further away,—with difficulty they called him back. And he came into the palace. And the Gypsy fellow says: 'Have you nothing to swap, sir?' And he says: 'Yes.' And they brought out to him from the stall a better horse than his own, and they made an exchange. Also the gentleman gave him in addition money, much money he gave him.

They came home to the tent, and he says: 'Old man, would you not give away your daughter to me, to a Gypsy?' And he the old man says: 'As it suits the girl.' But the girl says: 'I will go with him.' But he says: 'I will come with my father to a betrothal with you in the course of a week.' So he comes with his father and made a match with that girl. And he says: 'I wish you would give me your daughter without the wedding ceremony; I have no time just now to celebrate the wedding. I am stopping on the border of a gentleman's estate, and our horses have trampled his corn; so I have no time now; I must go to that gentleman and pay for the corn. Well, are you agreed? Will you give your daughter to me, the young chap? But after the inquiry is, after we will be celebrating the wedding.' The old man says: 'Ask the girl if she consents. If she consents then I am agreeable.' And they asked the girl. And the girl said: 'If I don't go with this one, then I will go with no one, and I shall be wailing because of you all my days.' Well, the old fellow allowed it.

They put the horses to and they went; they went may be fifty versts, and they pitched their tents. And that girl took the pail and went after water, and the children, the little ones, ran after her. And she noticed little horns on the heads of those children. And she began to cry that these little naked things are not human at all, but yonder are devils. And she began to call for her own Gypsy: 'Oh, let's go to my father on a visit!' But he did not want to go. But she persuaded him, and he agreed to go with her. And they put to and went to the father.

The father and the mother are glad that the girl is come to them on a visit. The old man mounted his horse and went to fetch brandy. And he sat down to drink the brandy with his son-in-law. And the son-in-law got drunk and lay down under the (canopy) bed. And she says: 'Ah!' she says to her father and weeps, 'go you as quick as you can for the parson, make the parson come.' And the parson comes, and the people crowded in. And he began to bless the tent. And that fellow noticed it, as he lay there under the bed, and he broke up the bed and the tent,—and he flew out,—but she lived after him only one week and she died.

SUPERSTITIONS

We now come to the point where in my opinion Dobrowolski is weakest. It has always been my view that on the line of linguistics the inquiry as to the origin of the Gypsies has reached its limits, and that the line on which future investigation should proceed is that of customs and superstitions. This point of view does not seem to have been in any way grasped by Dobrowolski; there are many casual references to superstitions, but there is no connected attempt to analyse or to classify them, nor to trace

in any way their origin and connection with the superstitions of other families of Gypsies.

The archpriest Rudneff, as quoted by Professor Patkánoff, has said of the Moscow Gypsies: 'They are all of the Orthodox faith, and carry out their church-duties as strictly as the Russians.' (*Anthropological Report*, vol. iii. 1878.) This is no doubt perfectly true, so far as it goes. But the accounts given by Dobrowolski throw some curious side-lights on their religious system. That they profess the Orthodox faith there is no doubt, and in their veneration for the more mystical side of the religious observances they are not excelled by the most devout peasants: on account of their greater comparative wealth their icons far exceed in splendour those of the ordinary peasant; but when one reads between the lines the quaint traits of the Gypsy character show themselves.

On examining the accounts given by Dobrowolski one cannot doubt that the Gypsies of Russia are really polytheists; the saints represented in the icons are to them deities of greater or less importance; subordinate no doubt to the supreme God, but having each his own well-defined sphere of operation. Nicholas the Wonder-worker is their special object of veneration, especially when starting on a robbing expedition; to him they offer prayers for success, and to him they dedicate candles when successful, paying for special services in his honour. It may be remembered in connection with this that St. Nicholas was also in the West the special patron of Knights of the Road, 'Clerks of St. Nicholas' as they were often called. But it is advisable to have other protection besides that of the saints, and nothing is much better than a strip of the linen cloth with which the hands of a dead woman have been bound together:¹

Trébi e muléngiri 'da tryápkīža, kai o vastá īspxandlési—tak
ioi trébi ko čoribé: yeželi la pésa lésa, čuvésa addó kisík, sř
jása pe čorí, o gažé sutéstí sřr zamardé, i lés so kamésa i
našuněla níkón.²

THE HAND OF GLORY

In the story where Ivka relates how he helped to capture the celebrated robber Prokuda, there is an allusion to a still more

¹ Cf. 'The Custom of the Sānsiyás and Beriyás,' *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 40.

² It is necessary to take from a dead woman the strip of linen with which the hands were bound—this is very useful for robbery: if you take it with you, and put it in your pocket when you go stealing, the gájos will sleep as if they were dead, and you will take what you like, and no one will hear.

curious and gruesome talisman. This is a candle made of the fat of a dead man: the smoke from which, if allowed to blow into the house to be robbed will cause all who are asleep to remain so, and will render all those who may be awake incapable of movement.

Here is a glaring instance of neglect on the part of Dobrowolski: he gets a hint of a thoroughly magical ceremony and is content to leave the matter there, making no attempt to follow up the trail, or to ascertain whether this charm was in common use, nor what was its origin! To me this reference is one of the most interesting and important things in the whole book: the allusion sent me at once to the *Ingoldsby Legends*, where in the Nurse's Tale we have a story of 'The Hand of Glory,' with the same attributes: this reference switched me off again to Harrison Ainsworth's *Rookwood* and to *Les Secrets du Petit Albert*. In the last named work I found the recipe for this invaluable talisman given in full; it runs as follows:—

Elle est constituée par la main d'un pendu qu'on prépare comme suit:—On l'enveloppe dans un morceau de drap mortuaire en la pressant bien pour lui faire rendre le peu de sang qui pourrait y être resté, puis on la met dans un vase de terre, avec du sel, du salpêtre et du poivre long, le tout bien pulvérisé. On l'y laisse quinze jours, après quoi, on l'expose au grand soleil de la canicule jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit parfaitement desséchée. Si le soleil ne suffisait pas, il faudrait la mettre dans un four chauffé avec de la verveine et de la fougère. On compose ensuite une espèce de chandelle avec de la graisse du pendu, de la cire vierge et du sésame. On se sert de la main de gloire comme d'un chandelier pour tenir cette chandelle allumée. Dans tous les lieux où l'on va avec cet instrument, ceux qui y sont restent comme pétrifiés et ceux qui sont endormis ne peuvent s'éveiller, quoi qu'on fasse.

The *Petit Albert* also gives the counteracting charm:

Les voleurs ne peuvent se servir de la main de gloire quand on a eu la précaution de frotter le seuil de la porte avec un onguent composé de fiel de chat noir, de graisse de poule blanche et de sang de chouette, lequel onguent doit être fait au temps de la canicule.

The merest tiro in necromancy will see at once that the

essential elements of success are that the man of whose fat the candle is composed shall have been hanged, and that the candle shall be clasped by a properly pickled hand. In the case of which Dobrowolski tells the charm was an utter failure; and I very much fear that the treacherous Ivka, who had undertaken the job of capturing Prokuda, and was one of those on watch in the house, was guilty of 'selling a pup' to that amiable robber, since he only guaranteed that the candle should be of 'dead man's fat' and there is no mention of the indispensable candlestick.

I have a fancy that this 'Hand of Glory' may ultimately prove a very important link in the chain of evidence as to the origin of the Gypsy race; and I would strongly urge every member of the society who may come across any trace of the legend, to make a note of the particulars and send them to the *Journal*. In the West there have been references made to this legend by various writers, but for the most part they are, as in the cases of Ingoldsby and Ainsworth, mere repetitions of the *Petit Albert*. In *The Antiquary* (cap. 17) Sir Walter Scott gives a slightly different recipe, the candle being made from the fat of the bear, the badger, the wild boar and an unbaptized child.

Brand (*Popular Antiquities*, London, 1841, iii. 153-4) quotes Grose, who copies the passage from the *Petit Albert*; and also gives a paragraph from *The Observer* of January 16, 1831, relating how this charm had actually been used by thieves on the 3rd of that month, at a house in county Meath; but without success. In the preface to his work (note q), he quotes from a translation of Bergerac's *Satirical Characters* (London, 1658): 'I cause the thieves to burn candles of dead men's grease, to lay the hoasts asleep while they rob their houses.'

Dr. John Sampson has most kindly furnished me with a translation of a Shelta story on the same subject, the locality again being Ireland: in this instance it is simply the hand of a dead man, and not of a hanged man which is used;¹ which may account for failure in this case also. In fact all the attempts of which we have any report seem to have ended unsatisfactorily, doubtless from carelessness in preparing the ingredients: in these days of adulteration any member of the Society who proposes trying the experiment would do well to insist on a signed guarantee of purity and the certificate of a government analyst.

¹ I do not give Dr. Sampson's story *in extenso*, because I hope that the pressure of public opinion will induce him to print the full Shelta version with a translation.

It has been pointed out to me that Wlislocki, in his work *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner* (cap. iv. 'Blutzauber'), gives several Gypsy charms of a somewhat similar nature;¹ but I have nowhere been able to find the exact recipe given by the Petit Albert: the very slight reference made by Dobrowolski leads me to suspect that the Russian Gypsies have kept as near to it as any. In Sébillot's great book on French Folk-lore I can find no trace of the superstition.

A search in back numbers of *Notes and Queries* might give some valuable hints, but I have not the time to undertake such a search: perhaps some other member of the Society will do so. A passage in Petit Albert shows that there is another form of the incantation: in this the hand itself, being smeared with a certain salve the recipe for which is not given, becomes luminous, each finger giving a flame: the salve is doubtless of the nature of some of those described by Wlislocki, the components being distinctly uncanny.

DREAMS AND OMENS

Dobrowolski gives several examples of dreams and omens, of which I reproduce a few:—

Kolí čírikli priurnyála, dá ku fuīpé—só níbut avéla dílnipé; n'ádyake priurnyándeziya, adá si vyédma. Avéla o rodípé. Čírikli—eř yoř čoročán.

If a bird (a raven) comes flying into the courtyard, that means misfortune—something unlucky will happen; she does not come flying for nothing, because she is a witch. There will be a search [by the police]. The raven—eh, she's a witch.

Waking or in a dream it is a bad sign to see a hare run across the road. To break the charm you must with the left hand break the alders at the place where the hare ran through and say:—

Zapχágir o dróm zaizóske!

Break the road for a hare!

Gypsies think it unlucky to meet a priest:—

Strenindyómpe e rašása; ne, čúrde pal' leste pχusoró: da neχáe yemú solóma, zlidnyo.

If you meet a priest, throw a wisp of straw just behind him (i.e. as tithe): much good may it do him, the rogue.

¹ See this volume of the *J. G. L. S.*, p. 40.

Gypsies believe much in the hand; a hand may be lucky or unlucky :—

Čačunó vast, xučanó vast.

A truthful (lucky) hand, a deceitful (unlucky) hand.

If a Gypsy when setting out on a thieving expedition meets an old peasant woman with empty pails he returns home at once. To see an empty pail is unlucky; full pails are reckoned very lucky omens :—

Pxérde sostrinindyá,¹ yaménge avéla pxerdó.

Meeting full ones, fullness will come to us.

Gypsies count some days as lucky, others as unlucky. Monday and Friday are unlucky days for stealing :—

Adá dívés ponedyalkóstir naští to čorés; o dívés nané baxtaló.

It is of no use stealing on Monday ; the day is not lucky.

DREAMS

To dream of dead parents is a sign of hard frost.

To dream of corn in the ear is lucky.

To dream of honey means wealth.

To dream of gathering nuts means money.

To dream of kissing a pretty girl means a hundred rouble note.²

To dream of worms means many children.

Dikxyóm me suné: e sóva déla gódlí. Tak adavá prinaležít ke čai, so yoř se buzní³ i bianéla yoř čá.

I saw in my sleep : the screech-owl cried. That is a sign for a girl that she is pregnant and will give birth to a daughter.

To dream of a roach means the birth of a girl, a perch means a boy.

Dikxyóm me suné, dikxyóm kirkó—porúm xáva: kirkó yavéla.

I saw a dream, I saw bitterness—I was eating a leek : bitterness is coming.

¹ A double gerund, both Romani and Russian termination.

² There is no hint whether this is payable or receivable.

³ Can any one parallel this use of *buzní* as meaning pregnant? The only meaning that I know is 'she-goat'; though Borrow seems to use it as identical with *lubni*. Cf. his *sungalb*=‘traitor’ and ‘he-goat.’

Dikχyóm me suné rués—adá búχ.

I saw a wolf in a dream—that's luck.

Dikχyóm me suné lisizá. Adá da búχ barí: kái ná jasa, tak paruvésa, péskī baχ díkχésa; i jás te čorésa, tak čorésa.

I saw a fox in a dream. That is great luck : where you go you will make such a swap that you will see your own luck ; if you go to steal, you will make a big haul.

To dream of a bear means a search, the constable is coming.

To dream of a rope means prison ; cutting a rope, escape.

(To be continued.)

IV.—RUSSIAN GYPSIES AT MARSEILLES AND MILAN

By AUGUSTUS E. JOHN

WHILE passing through Marseilles in the early part of February 1910, I took a seat one afternoon on the *terrasse* of the 'Bar Augas,' a spot I recommend to any thirsty *Rai* not too particular about the quality of his drinks. Opposite me, at the foot of the Porte d'Aix, lounged a group of Gitanos of Almeria, with bright *diklos* over the shoulder, their jetty black hair brushed rigidly forward over the ears and there snipped abruptly, their staves in their hands, and the instruments of the craft of the *tondeur de chiens* hanging at their sides in little bags. From time to time young *Romis* crossed the *Place*, aloof and enigmatic, like nuns of some unknown and brilliant order.

I was to make the acquaintance of these folk later. What presently riveted my attention was an even more remarkable figure which now hove in sight. It belonged to a tall and bulky man of middle age, attired in voluminous high-boots, baggy trousers decorated at the sides with insertions of green and red, a short braided coat garnished with huge silver pendants and chains, and a hat of less magnificence if of greater antiquity upon his shaggy head. This singular personage was making his way slowly across the *Place*, looking this way and that, while puffing at his great German pipe, and acknowledging with dignity as he passed the salutations of the loungers. I rose, confronted him, and 'entered into conversation' with an unceremonious *Sar san, Kako?* After recovering from a momentary stupefaction, and having made a

few inquiries as to my condition and provenance, the Russian Gypsy (for as such I had recognised him), with an amiable hand-shake, readily consented to my proposal that we should consummate our acquaintance at a neighbouring tavern.

There, over a bottle of *lac̄i mol*, I learned that my new friend, Džanos Storikin by name, was one of a party of Gypsy copper-smiths who, having arrived at Marseilles from Belgium on their way to Italy, were waiting to recover their baggage, lost on the journey, before proceeding to Milan to rejoin another detachment which was headed by one Todor,¹ a great and wealthy man. My informant, however, was thinking seriously of betaking himself to Algiers with his wife and one son, but was not sure whether Corsica were not a country of even greater attractions, and asked eagerly if I had visited, and could recommend, these places. After having practically 'done' Europe, not to speak of occasional excursions south of the Caucasus, this old nomad still felt the thirst of travel as keenly as ever. But finally, upon ascertaining the price of the fare to Algiers, exorbitant in his opinion, Džanos Storikin decided to accompany the rest of the band to Italy.

As the evening grew late I was nothing loath to accept the proffered invitation to dine with the Gypsies. To spare my genial old friend undue exertion I thought it well to take a cab, and arriving thus, not without a certain *éclat*, at the abode of the tribe, I was introduced to, and received cordially as a curiosity from *Anglia* by a company of some score of persons. Having dined, the evening wound up with songs and dances in the Russian manner, executed with unheard-of brilliance by various members of the *société*.

Upon rising to take my leave I was pressed to remain the night, which I was glad to do, and was soon slumbering *Romanes* in a corner of one of the single-roomed huts occupied by my friends. Though each room was provided with a bed, the Gypsies did not avail themselves of this commodity, preferring to dispose themselves upon the floor. A week passed thus before I finally took leave of the band, and then only upon the distinct understanding that I should rejoin them at Milan.

¹ For this Gypsy surname cf. Dillmann, *Zigeuner-Buch* (München, 1905), p. 60. His 'Dodors,' however, claimed to come from the Pyrenees. See also Miskow's note in this number of the *J. G. L. S.*, and Mik. iv. 55-6, where Tûdor occurs as the equivalent of Theodore. Dillmann has also a Bosnian Totor, p. 286.

No work was done by the party at Marseilles, but the men occasionally paid visits to the Russian Consul to see about their lost baggage—stolen by the gâjos, they said. Their chief and perhaps only anxiety in life was the fear of being robbed, an attitude for which I saw good reason when Miloš and Terka his wife, whose house I shared, showed me one night an almost fabulous hoard of gold, silver, and precious stones knotted up in a towel. They said that to have kept their *love* in a *moxto* would have been likely to arouse the cupidity of the ever-predatory gâjos. Their fears were not unfounded, as will appear later, and my friends the Demeter family were unsuccessfully burgled at Cherbourg two years ago by *čora*, whom they put to flight with revolver-shots.

One morning, at dawn, as we lay upon the floor, Miloš recounting a *paramic* to his diabolically lively children, there came a knock at the window, and presently entered three young *Roma*, strangers to me, bearded and dishevelled, in the garb of their race. There ensued a thunderous conversation, and Terka suddenly burst into hoarse lamentations, slapping her face, knotting her braided hair about her throat, and calling upon God—*Ai Devla, Devla!* The messengers had come to announce the death of their *dai* in Belgium: the *Romni, terni ta zoráli*, had fallen down and died of some mysterious seizure; and the entire company to which she belonged had forthwith journeyed to Marseilles and had but now arrived. As the ill-news spread, the wild grief of the women became painful to witness, and I walked up to the station to find some thirty Gypsies squatting round their samovars on the floor of the waiting-room, eating and conversing, oblivious of the collection of gâjos who surveyed the scene askance. I discerned several beautiful damsels among the party, and was shown the husband of the *muli*—a forlorn and solitary figure. I joined the newcomers in the search for lodgings, but it was long before they found a gâjo intelligent and courageous enough to admit them.

Next day a funeral feast, at which all the Gypsies and myself were present, was held in a densely packed room. After a deafening palaver, the food, consisting chiefly of boiled *baličo* and *šok*, was set in our midst, and three long candles were stuck in a loaf and placed at the side. Then the bereaved *Rom* lit incense and carried it round, after which the men fell to eat and drink. When the feast was over the chief mourner collected the broken meat and bread in a cloth, and, accompanied by the men, pro-

ceeded down to the port, where he solemnly deposited his burden in the sea.¹ He then disappeared, leaving the rest to repair to a *kirčuma* and carouse.

One Patika informed me that another such ceremony would take place in six months, and yet another later. I told him that in my country we occasionally burnt the belongings of the deceased, *wordon* and all; upon which he replied that that was also a practice in Russia.

After the songs and dancing that night I reluctantly bade farewell to my hosts, in spite of their entreaties to stay just one more night—‘*Beš, prala, beš kati mensa koda rači, ta džas tihara*,’ says Miloš; and ‘*Beš, prala beš; paro som te trades*’ echoes the beautiful Terka. ‘*Na, na, džava me kerači ando Italia, ta dikava tume palpale ando Milano, prala ta peni. Naiš tumengi, ta de Devla bač!*’

On February 13 I found at Milan a camp of more than twenty tents. To our mutual amazement my old friends the Demeters² and I met again, while some of the Marseilles tribe were there, with many others I did not know—a grand reunion. Strange to say, their fear of robbery had been realised, for the *Corriere della Sera* of February 10 reported that three youths had crawled under the chief’s tent and stolen, amongst other things, a large cane staff covered from top to bottom with decorations in chased silver—an object of notable value, which, being a wand of office, cannot be carried save by the chief himself. The ornamentation of the stick, according to this newspaper, indicates exactly the rank of its owner, that of the second in command of a troop being decorated only at the handle.³

A terrific *kelipen* was taking place on the evening of my arrival, and was continued the next morning when I visited the camp and took down the song *Šunta, Mimi, šunta!* from a youth named Putzardinka—no easy task amid the din of twenty hammers beating twenty copper vessels of all shapes and sizes, and the yelling and vociferation of the wildest crew on earth.

In the tent of pleasure sat Todor, an elderly man, in a condition approaching frenzy, with the elders of the tribe on either hand. Todor had insisted on his wife assuming all her jewels,

¹ Cf. *Džanos e Puškasa*, p. 234, ‘*O mas ačia čudem ’do pai.*’

² See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 197.

³ See Wlislocki, *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 31-36; and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 178.

including a massive belt of elaborate metal-work, and dancing before him; and he hoarsely shrieked for his great gold mugs¹ to be fetched, filled with wine, and placed on the *skafdi*. There they stood, a foot high, and elaborately chased. Todor in his Bacchic ecstasy would shatter his great German pipe, only to be handed another; to charm him the surrounding *Romnia* lifted up their voices and sang wild songs, and a ſukar &i danced with a grace that was antique. But Todor beat the time upon the table until the bottles leapt. Behind, three young men swayed in an inextricable embrace, their countenances illuminated with sombre shining eyes. Without the tent a crowd of *gđje* surveyed the strange scene in a state resembling hypnotic trance.

The absolute isolation of the Gypsies seemed to me the rarest and most unattainable thing in the world. The music, which surged and died away like some natural phenomenon, affected me strangely. . . . 'Kerela te kamav te rovav,' I murmured to my neighbour, and tore myself away with difficulty.

These Gypsies intended to work through Italy, probably for six months or a year, and then they talk of invading England. During my visits at Marseilles and Milan I collected the following vocabulary, songs, and tales. The dialect is not the ordinary Romani of northern Russia. To judge from its Rumanian character and Wallachian loan-words,² it may have had its origin in or near Bessarabia, though the Gypsies themselves had travelled far and talked glibly of such places as Tiflis, Baku, and Nijni Novgorod, while one of the band had posed as a model in St. Petersburg. They bear considerable resemblance to Gilliat-Smith's *Lálere Sinte*.

I. VOCABULARY.

adžukar, wait. Vaillant, *Gram.*, 79 *ajuc'ar hanři*, 'attends un peu'; 86 *ajuc'indem tut*, 'je t'attendais'; 94 *ajucera*, 'attente, espoir,' *ajucerao, ros, rdim*, 'j'attends, espère'; etc. Mik., v. 9, 'ažakar vb. warten . . . ažučar impt. sg. 2.'

¹ Wlislocki also found gold cups in the possession of Gypsies. See *Vom wan-dernden Zigeunerrolle*, Hamburg, 1890, p. 14.

² I have received valuable help in tracing the loan-words in this vocabulary from Dr. Malcolm Burr, Miss M. Edith Durham, Mr. B. Gilliat-Smith, Dr. D. F. de l'Hoste Ranking, Dr. John Sampson, and especially from Mr. Sidney W. Perkins.

akatá-lo, here it is. Mik., v. 6, ‘ákəs adv. sieh ecce, ákə-təs-lo, ákə-ta-lo. ta ist, wie es scheint, eine den impt. verstärkende Partikel.’

baho, ice. Pott, ii. 344; Mik., viii. 29 : but always with *p* instead of *b*. Cf. *butar* below, and Vaillant's *bapin* (*Gram.*, 97). Gilliat-Smith's *Lálere Sinte* appeared to say *bai* for ‘water,’ and *braho* for German Gypsy *praxos*.

baχ, luck. Mik., vii. 14, gives this form for Sirm., Pol., and Russ.

baličo: *puviako baličo*, hedgehog. This form is not among those collected by Pischel (*Beiträge*, 1894, pp. 26-30). Literally ‘little earth-pig.’

barta, comrade. Vaillant, *Gram.*, 69 *bade* ‘mon cher.’ The word is Rum. for ‘elder brother.’ By metathesis from Russ. or Bulg. *brat*, ‘brother,’ or, popularly, ‘my friend.’ See also *kamado* and *moro*.

bešava, I dwell, stay, sit. Pott, ii. 427; Mik., vii. 20.

bišterava, I forget. Mik., vii. 22, but always *bist-*.

brič, razor. Mik., vi. 23, (Zig. in Sirmien) ‘*briji* vb. rasieren; *brijil pes er* rasiert sich, serb. *brijati se*.’ Rum. *briciū*, Bulg. *brič*.

buči, work. Mik., vi. 23 and vii. 26, gives this form for Sirm. See also *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 126, fn. For the change of *t>č* see Mik. ix. 29, and cf. *čugno* and *rači* in the texts.

bučumo, tree, vine. Wallachian *bučum* ‘der Klotz, Rumpf, Stock.’ Cf. Ješina, *bučumos* ‘Baumstamm, Klotz.’

bušava, I call myself. *Sar bušes tu?* *Me bušava Yanko Baladuno.* Mik., vii. 25, from Rum. Vaillant, *Gram.*, 80, *sar bus'el*. Scaliger (1597) ‘ser buchos? Quomodo nominaris? ch. Hispanicum.’

butar, open. *Butar o filastr.* Mik., v. 50, ‘*puter* vb. öffnen, losbinden.’ See also viii. 46, *phutr.* For the change *p>b* see above s.v. *baho*.

čadava, I vomit. Pott, ii. 207; Mik., vii. 29.

čai, tea. Russian; but in general use in the Balkans. Distinguished from *čhai*, ‘girl,’ by absence of aspirate. The Rum. form is *ceaiū*.

čikanalo, juicy, fat. *Nai čikanalo o kukalo, pagliem les, šuko.* Pott, ii. 177, ‘*Cziken* m. das Fett.’ Mik., vii. 32.

činelo, exhausted. Mik., vii. 80 quotes a similar form of *khino*, viz. Hung. *činilo*. Vaillant, *Gram.*, 53-4 *sam cino*, 73 *s'ino*. Paspati, *Journal of the American Oriental*

- Society*, vol. vii. (1861) p. 176, under 'to cut' gives *chináva* 'I am tired,' and compares it with Greek *κόπτω*. The change of *k>t* occurs regularly in Rum. Gypsy before *e* and *i*: see Mik., ix. 30. Cf. *pučinava*.
- čon*, month. Pott, ii. 194; Mik., vii. 35.
- čuči*, breast. Pott, ii. 180; Mik., vii. 37.
- čugno*, sorry, sad. Pott, i. 122, *thugano*, etc., ii. 307; Mik., i. 41 (no. 552). For the change *t>č*, cf. *buči* above.
- čukáno*, hammer. Pasp. *tchokános*. Eperies Gyp. dialect *chökános*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 229. Rum. *ciocan*.
- čungalo*, ugly. Mik., vii. 38, gives this form only for the Grk. and Span. dialects.
- čuvava*, put, throw. *Čudia mas and' o pai*. Pasp. s. v. *tchiváva*, 'tirer, jeter,'—'pron. par quelques Nom. *tchuváva*' Pott, ii. 183; Mik., vii. 34-5. Cf. Von Sowa's *chúrdau*, 'a contracted form of *chiir-dau*', *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 296.
- darava*, I fear. Pott, ii. 315; Mik., vii. 41.
- devel*: *o devel, o del*, God. *De devla baχ*, 'Give happiness, O God !'
- dilo*, crazy. Mik., vii. 43, gives this form of *dinilo* for Rum., Bukov., and Serv., but not for Russ. *Lálere Sinte*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 4 and 6, *dillo*.
- dopo*, anvil. ? Rum. *dóba*, 'drum' (a thing beaten). See Mik., v. 18; he gives it, at ii. 64, for 'file' in a Hung. Gyp. vocab.
- duvar*, twice. Pott, i. 228; Mik., v. 19.
- džili*, song. *Džilabé mangi džili*. Mik., vii. 56, gives this form for Hung. and Sirm.; at ix. 30 he quotes it as an example of the change of *g>dž*.
- filastr*, window. *Butar o filastr*. Mik. gives—Galicia *feléstra* (ii. 37, no. 109), Sirm. *feljastro*, Buk. *ferjástā* (vi. 25) 'aus dem rumun,' and Sirm. *freljastr* (vi. 37). Rum. *fereastră*.
- galbáno*, yellow. Mik. gives—Hung. *galbeno* (ii. 64) 'aus dem rum. *galbin*', Buk. *gálbsnu* (v. 21), and Sirm. *gálveno* (vi. 25).
- gladži*, bottle. Wallachian *glaže*, 'das Glas, die Flasche.'
- gor*, autour de la ville. Mik., vii. 5, *agor*. Gilliat-Smith's Sofia Gs. used *ando agór e dizakoro* for 'on the outskirts of the capital.'
- gožnardo*, wise, intelligent. The only similar forms given by Mik. vii. 56-7, s.v. *godi*, are Karp. and Skand. *gošvardo*.

guglo, sweet. Vaillant's Rum. form. See Mik., vii. 58.

guru, bull. Pott, ii. 141; Mik., vii. 58.

haliovava, I understand. Pott, ii. 168; Mik., vii. 5, *achal*. Anglo-Rom. *haiováva*.

χaðkiré, thrown. Apparently connected with Mik.'s Buk. verb (v. 25) *chasard'ov*, 'zu Grunde gehen, verschwinden.'

χertiya, paper. Mik., v. 24 (Buk.)—'*hərtijz* subst. f. Papier.—rum. *chærtie*' Vaillant, *Gram.*, 108, *herti*. Rum. *hărtie* or *χrtie*.

χindo, befouled. Pott, ii. 166; Mik. v. 25, *chənd'i*, 'bekacht.'

χolevi, méchant, choleric. From Song iii., where it may be an adj. in *-avo*, from *χoli*.

χoraχai, Turk. *Xoraχai and' o pai drab čivela*. Pott, ii. 127; Mik., vii. 64; Ascoli, 27.

χulai, 'patron de chevaux.' Pott, ii. 170, *chulai* 'Mann,' *cholei* 'Wirth'; Pasp. *khulai*, 'seigneur, homme distingué'; Mik., vii. 65. Anglo-Rom. *həlono*, 'landlord.'

χurdo, small. *χurdi lōve* 'petite monnaie.' Pott, ii. 159; Mik., ii. 45, *nāne hurde lōve* (Buk.), and vii. 65.

kalzi, breeches. Mik., ii. 31 (no. 119) *kálči* 'Hosen' (Russ.); Byhan, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47, '*káltsa*, breeches (cf. Greek *κάλτσα*, "stocking"); Simson, *History of the Gs.*, p. 315, *calshes*, 'breeches.'

kamado, comrade. See also *barta* and *moro*.

kamič, cane, bamboo. Russ. *kamiš*, 'reed, cane'; Bulg. *kaməš*; Turk. خامش

kamni, gravida. Mik., vii. 77.

kangli, comb. Pott, ii. 104; Mik., vii. 54 (s.v. *gand*).

kariya, boots. Mik., ii. 64, *kérá* Stiefel (Hung.) and v. 30 '*khərē*, *kərē* subst. pl. Schuhe . . . slavon. *čerja* Schuh.' See also *skornia* and *papuč*.

kat, shears. Mik., vii. 75.

kati, *katki*, here. See Mik., v. 29, s.v. *kathé*.

khanč, nothing. Mik., ii. 36 (no. 52) *kandž* (Gal.), v. 28 *kanči* *kanč*, 'irgend etwas, wie lat. quidquam, mit na nihil.' Vaillant, *Gram.* 82, 111, *kans*'.

kilelohasi, big hotel. It has been suggested that this word may contain Hung. *haz* 'house,' and mean, perhaps, a dancing-house. There are also Rum. words *lăcaş* or *locas* meaning 'home,' 'house,' 'lodging,' and *chili* is vulgar Rum. for 'to drink.'

kiradava, I cook. The usual form is *kiravava*, Mik., vii. 83. The word resembles the passive *kird'ov*, 'I boil.' Perhaps a false inference from a preterite in -*do*. Cf. *raklava*.

kiral, cheese. Pott, ii. 257; Mik., vii. 76.

kliašta, tongs. Pasp. *kláshta*; Mik., i. 16 (no. 185) Bulg. loan-word; vi. 27 *kljáštu* (Sirm.) and vi. 41. Rum. *clește*.

kodo, this. Mik., vii. 85.

kolumpilya, potatoes. Mik., ii. 62 (no. 86) *kompira* (Gegend von Unghvár); ii. 64, *kolompire* (Hung.); vi. 27, *kolompirja* (Sirm.); vi. 42, 'Magy. kolompér.'

kopidi, chisel. Mod. Greek for 'knife' or 'dagger.'

koršo, chimney. Mik., vi. 28 (Sirm.)—'košo subst. Rauchfang. Dunkel.' Rum. *cog*, 'basket,' *cog la casă*, 'chimney': Wallachian *košu*, 'der Rauchfang.'

kovlo, soft. *Kovlo rup*, 'good (soft) silver.' Pott, ii. 106; Mik., vii. 87.

kuč, valuable. Pott, ii. 93; Mik., vii. 87. Anglo-Rom. *kuč bar*, 'diamond.' French Gyp. *kuž-ba*, 'dear (dead) father'; *kuž-nona*, 'grandmother'; *kuž-papūn*, 'grandfather.'

kurava, coire. Mik., v. 32 and vii. 88.

-*lo*, enclitic pronoun: *akatá-lo*, 'here it is.'

loloži, flowers. Pasp. *luludi*. Mik., viii. 9, gives also Rum. *luluji* *loloji*, and says 'Ngriech. λουλούδι Aus dem türk.'

mačovasa, we will get drunk. *Mačilem*, 'we [? I] have got drunk.' Cf. Pasp. *máttiliom* 'je suis devenu ivre' from *máttiovava*. -*em* is common in Rum. Gypsy for the first person sing. of the Pret. See Mik., xi. 46, and J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 11, where Gilliat-Smith's *Lăiere Sinte* used *araklém*, 'I have found.' Cf. Vaillant's -*im*, Gram. p. 46. Mik. does not record it for the plural.

mai, more. *Akakana tu nasfalo, ta mai nasfalo aves*. Mik., v. 36 (Buk.) *o maj bharó*, 'der grösse, grösste'; vi. 28 (Rum.) 'maj adv. mehr, dient zur Bezeichnung des Comparativs'; vi. 42 (Sirm.), vi. 54 (Serv.); at x. 47, among different ways of expressing the comp., it is given only for Rum. *Mai* is the Wallachian equivalent of Latin *magis*.

makés, oil, grease. Also

makliava, rub, lubricate. Pott, ii. 434; Mik., viii. 10.

mine, *miš*, pudendum muliebre. Mik., viii. 16, the *n* is lost only in the Rum. forms. Byhan, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48, *mīš*.

misali, table. Pott, ii. 448; Mik., viii. 16. See also *skafidi*.

moro, comrade. Servian: Mik., viii. 18, and Gilliat-Smith, *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii. 11. See also *barta* and *kamado*.

mřngaretso, donkey. Mik., ii. 25 (no. 59) *magarí* (Bess.) and vi. 28, ‘*magárc*, *magárco* subst. *Esel*, serb. *magarac*.’ Rum. *măgăriță* (dimin.); Bulg. *magáre*, *magáretse*.

muravava, to perform one's toilet. *Muravdan tut*, *Džanos*? ‘Hast thou washed thyself, John?’ Pott, ii. 442; Mik., viii. 19. In Paspati's sedentary dialect *muráva* is the word for ‘I rub’ or ‘I scour’: *muravava* generally means ‘I shave.’ ‘Chez les Zapáris et la plupart des Nom. *muraváva*, signifie, rendre propre.’

mřrderava, I kill. *Mürderdan o pralés*. Pasp. *murdaráva*, assassiner, éteindre; Mik., viii. 20, s.v. *murdal*.

naïš tuki, thank you. Mik., viii. 21, gives this word only for Rum.: Byhan, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47, *nařestukí*; Gilliat-Smith, *Lálere Sinte*, *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii. 11, *naís mōra*; Mik., v. 40 (Buk.) *naís*; vi. 43 (Sirm.) *nais*; Vaillant, *Gram.*, 53 *naï stüki*, 54 *na is tuki*, 55 *naís tu ki*, 56 *naís tuki*, 75 *nai stüki*, 118 *naistuki*.

nasfálo, sick. See s.v. *mai*. Mik., viii. 23, spells the Grk., Rum. and Eng. forms with an *f*. Vaillant, *nasfalo*.

nepes, now. This word was given for *maintenant*; it is just possible that it may be a corruption of Russ. *ne pozže*, ‘not later,’ or that it may contain the Magyar *nap*, ‘day.’

ongara, coal. *Kašteno ongara*, ‘Charcoal.’ Pott, ii. 54; Mik., vii. 8.

paler, park, estate. Mik., i. 31 (no. 399), ‘*polje* campus. pole čech.—*andro poly* in die Felder Puch. 75, *pal o poly* in Feldern 73.’

pandar, shut. Denominative from a participle of *pandava*: Pott, ii. 387.

pani, *pai*, water. Pott, ii. 343; Pasp. nom. *pái*; Mik., viii. 31.

papuč, shoes. Byhan (Rum.), *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii. 48, ‘*papúd'e*, shoe (Greek *παπούτζι*, Turk. *papudž* and *papuč*, -*uš*, Serb., Bulg. *papuč*).’ Mik., v. 44 (Buk.), gives ‘rum. *pəpuk*, pl. *pəpuči*.’ See also *karýya* and *skornia*.

paraχodo, steamboat. A Russian word.

paramič, story, Pott, ii. 359; Mik., viii. 32, gives this form for Sirm.

páro, heavy, sad. *Páro som te tradés*. Pott, ii. 379.

pato, bed, bed-covering, feather bed. Mik., ii. 34 (Buk.); *pátu*, ii. 36 (no. 78); *pató* (Galiz.), iii. 14 from Grk. πάτος, v. 44 (Buk.); *páto*, *pátu*, from Rum. *patu*; Vaillant *patu*, 'chalit.' Rum. *pat*.

piperi, pepper. Pasp. *pipéri*; Mik., iii. 29 = Grk. πιπέρι, vi. 45 (Sirm.); 'piperi' subst. Pfeffer.—Buk. *kipér*. Rum. *piper*.

piráno, lover, -i, mistress. Pott, ii. 353; Mik., viii. 48 (*pirjav*).

pišli, stupefied, unconscious. ? Pasp. *pishava*, part. *pishlo*, 'moudre,' used metaphorically. Rum. *pisa*, 'to stamp.' Or mistake for *pašli*.

plai, mountain. Pott, ii. 363, *pljai*; Mik., ii. 26 (no. 147) *plaín*, 'Berg,' (no. 151) *taló plai*, 'Fuss des Berges,' (no. 158) *pchář plai*, 'Eisberge' (all Bess.); ii. 30 (no. 70) *pljai* (Russ.), ii. 37 (no. 127) *plai* (Galiz.), v. 47 *play* (Buk.), vi. 31 *plai* (Sirm.), vi. 51 *plái* (Serb.). See also iii. 27 where it is given as a Rum. loan-word in Ger. Gypsy. Rum. *plaiă*.

porharho, glass, tumbler. Hung. *pohar*, and Rum. *pahar*, 'glass,' 'cup.' See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 19, 37, and 48.

prinčani, eyebrows. Mik., ii. 65 (Hung.). Rum. *sprinceană*.

pučava, I ask. Pott, ii. 375; Mik., viii. 43.

pučinava, I pay. Pott, ii. 344; Mik., ii. 76 (no. 137) *pokinava* (unknown origin), vi. 45 *počin* 'zahlen' (Sirm.), viii. 50. Vaillant, *Gram.* 66, *poc'inao*, 68 *poc'ao* 'je paie.' Perhaps *kinava* with the Slav. prefix *po-*. Mik., ix. 30, gives the change of *k*, before *e* and *i*, into *č*, as a characteristic of the Rum. dialect. Cf. *činelo*.

puška, gun. Pott, ii. 365; Mik., viii. 53; Rum. *pușcă*. See also *yagéri*.

puviako baličo, hedgehog. See s.v. *baličo*.

raklava, I find. Pott, ii. 268; Mik., viii. 54; Anglo-Rom., *rak tuti*. Paspatti's form, *arakáva*, appears in Song iii., and both forms in *Džanos e Puškasa*. Perhaps a false inference from a preterite in *-lo*. Cf. *kiradava*.

retíya, spirits, schnapps. Mik., vi. 51, 'racíja subst. Brantwein, serb. *rakija*'; Gilliat-Smith's *Lálere Sinte*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 7, *ratjéa*, *ratsia*, *rakia*. Rum. *rachiă*.

- roita*, skirt. Probably Serb. *roite*, 'fringe'; or, possibly, for *rotja* = Bulg. *rokja*, 'dress.' Rum. *rochie*.
- skafidi*, table. Mik., vi. 55 (Servia, Timok), '*skavidji* subst. Tisch.—Ungr. *kafid'i*, span. *cafidi*'. See also *meali*.
- skornia*, boots. Pott, ii. 233; Mik., i. 37 and viii. 72; S. & C. *skrúnya*. See also *kartya* and *papuč*.
- soste*, why. Mik., viii. 66, s.v. *so*. The Rum. form.
- stato*, body. Wallachian *statu*, 'die Statur, der Wuchs, die Taille des Leibes'; Russ. *stat*, 'form,' 'chest.'
- strugoro*, grapes. Wallachian *strugure*, 'die Traube,' Rum. *strugur*.
- sūv*, sew. Pott, ii. 236; Mik., viii. 65. The Rum. form.
- šatr*, tent. Mik., ii. 57, *šatori* (Hung.); ii. 83 (no. 50) '*šátro* Zelt; russ. *šaters*' (Taganrog—Russ. and Crimean Gs.). Rum. *satră*.
- šelo*, rope. Pott, ii. 231; Mik., viii. 71.
- šildlo*, cold. Pott, ii, 231; Mik., viii. 72. See also *šudro*.
- šol*, whistle. Pott, ii. 232; Mik., viii. 72, under Gk. form *šon*.
- šor*, beard. Mik., v. 58; vii. 36; at ix. 40 he states that the change of *č* to *š* is characteristic of the Rum. *ursarij* and not of the *vstrašij*: it is found also in the Banat.
- šudro*, cold. *Pi phrala, avel to čai šudro*. Pott, ii. 232, has *szudrárav*, ich kühle, from Puchmayer; Mik., viii. 74; Ascoli, 32.
- šuri*, knife. Mik., vii. 39, the form with *š* occurs in the Buk. and Bess. dialects. Cf. *šor* above.
- tihara*, to-morrow. Pasp. *takihára*, *takhára*, chez les Zapáris. Mik., viii. 76, gives similar forms for Rum. and Hung.
- tō*, prepare, clean. *Tō mangi tan te sovav*. Mik., viii. 82.
- tradava*, depart. Pasp. *trádava*, tirer, guider; Mik., viii. 85, but always transitive. Gilliat-Smith's *Lálere Sinte* used it for both 'depart' and 'bring'—J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 10, '*Zā! trade, tra lokes!* Go! away you go!' and 12, '*Trade leste ander roma.* Bring him before the *roma*'.
- tuhan*, tobacco. Mik., ii. 62 (no. 81), *duhanos* (Unghvár) 'offenbar aus dem Magyarischen'; ii. 64, *duhano* (Hung.); Borrow, *Zincali, trujan* (Pott, ii. 297). Rum. *duhan*, 'tobacco.' See also *tuvaslo*.
- tuvaslo*, tobacco. Mik., viii. 83, has not this form. See also *tuhan*.
- uštila*, arise. Pasp. *ushtiáva*; Mik., viii. 90, s.v. *ušti*.

- vas*, hand. Pott, ii. 86; Mik., viii. 94, quotes this form from Pasp.
It occurs also in other dialects.
- wolitsa*, street. Borrow, *Zincali*, *ulíča*; Pott, ii. 75; Russ. *ulitsa*;
Rum. *uliță*.
- wordón*, cart. Pott, ii. 80; Mik., viii. 96.
- wundžia*, finger-nails. Mik., vi. 48, *vundža* (Sirm.); vi. 51,
vúndjija (Serb.); Gjorgjević, p. 131, gives it only
for the *Zeltzigeuner* as *vudjija*; Byhan, *J. G. L. S.*,
New Series, ii. 49, *únd'i*, connects it with Rum.
unghie.
- yagéri*, gun. Mik., vii. 67, has not this form, and the only example
he gives of the suffix *-éri* (x. 19) is the Hung. *bokéri*,
'Semmel.' See also *puška*.
- yilo*, heart. Mik., vi. 10, *jilo* (Galiz.); v. 27, '*jiló*, *jilú* subst. m.
Herz. slavon. *jiló*'
- zailisailim*, swoon. I heard this phrase used repeatedly to
describe a woman's death, and by pantomime gathered
that it meant a 'stroke' of some kind,—'*tête fermée*',
the Gypsy said, adding '*či mato*.' 1st pers. past passive
of *zāli-uvava*; from the Mod. Grk. ζάλη, 'giddy.' Cf.
Thesleff, *zālavā*, 'in Ohnmacht bringen,' *zāliboski dukh*,
'Ohnmacht,' 'Epilepsie'; etc.
- zen*, saddle. Pott, ii. 253; Mik., viii. 98.
- zumav*, probiren. Mik., viii. 99, quotes the word from the Rum.
dialect only. Origin—'Dunkel.'
- zumi*, soup. Pott, ii. 254; Mik., viii. 99.

II. ROMANI DŽILI. ZOGAR

(Marseilles)

<i>Kai sa nastro Zogar?</i>	Where is Zogar gone ?
<i>Po Romano platza</i>	In the Gypsy camp
<i>Hai čo¹ gras merela.</i>	His horse is dying.
<i>Le čavoré rovenu.</i>	The children weep.
<i>Lengi de penela,—</i>	Their mother says,—
<i>'Na roven, i čavori !</i>	'Weep not, children !
<i>Džava po plai,</i>	I will go on the mountain,
<i>Čua mi šatr.</i>	I will set up my tent.
<i>Avel tumaro dad;</i>	Your father is coming ;

¹ Given by Mik., v. 63, s.v. *to*, as a Rum. form for 'thy.'

Čorel due gren e wordon.¹
 Dava andré² e našava
 Le bare wešénga,
 Džomnnone droménsa :
 Džilibava droménsa.
 Na dara tu,
 Roma tradasa.'
 Bare droménsa
 Dikasa due gadžen po drom.
 So gadžé penena ?
 'Tu ! Miro Roma, Roma !
 Kai lián lači gren ?'
 'He ! Gadžo ! Me Rom barvalo.
 Pūčinava star gren,
 Love tuke dava,
 Kai me barvalo !'
 O gadžo penel,—
 'Nane grai Romano !
 E grai raikano me dikav :
 Pe tire yaka me dikav
 Kai tu Rom čor !'
 E Romni—so penel
 Romniesko ?³—'Roma,
 Le puška, mřídar gadžén !
 E gadžé amaro šero χan.'⁴
 Džala gadžo and' o gav,
 I penela rai baro.
 Lela gadžo e graiéñ,
 I amen pandaven.
 I lela gren,
 Lela gadžo rupa !
 O gadžo pendia
 Ko rai baro
 Romes zailini.⁵

He will steal two horses and a wagon.
 I will hide and escape
 To the great forests,
 On the highroads :
 I will sing on the roads.
 Fear not thou,
 We Gypsies are departing.'
 On the highroads
 We see two gájos on the road.
 What say the gájos ?
 ' You there ? O my Gypsy !
 Where didst get fine horses ?'
 ' Ha, gájo ! I am a rich Gypsy.
 I can pay for four horses,
 I will give thee the money,
 For I am rich !'
 Says the gájo,—
 ' No Gypsy's horse is that !
 A beautiful horse I see :
 By thine eyes I see
 Thou 'rt a Gypsy thief !'
 The Gypsy wife—what says she
 To her husband ?—' O Husband,
 Take a gun, slay the gájos !
 The gájos will eat our head.'
 The gájo goes into the village,
 And the squire speaks.
 The gájo takes the horses,
 And they imprison us.
 He takes the horses,
 The gájo takes the silver !
 The gájo spoke
 To the squire
 And they arrested the Gypsy.

¹ The stealing of horses is described in Miklosich's *Die geraubten Pferde* (iv. 61).

² Dava for džava.

³ There is evidently a mistake here : ? romeski.

⁴ See J. G. L. S., New Series, iii. 192, § 20, for a similar expression in Bulgarian Romani.

⁵ In my notes I have astardi as an explanation of this word, which may be simply lini for línd, with the prefix za-.

<i>Pandia Romés :</i>	He imprisoned the Gypsy:
<i>Liné wordon :</i>	They took the wagon:
<i>Liné gren, i rupa.</i>	They took the horses and the silver.
<i>Roven Romani i e čuvé.</i>	The Gypsies and their children weep.
<i>Ašunés tu, Devla ?</i>	Hearest thou, O God?

III. MIMI TA LAKRO ROM. A DIALOGUE¹

(Marseilles)

'Kaski sūves, Mimi,	'For whom art sewing, Mimi,
<i>Kodo lolo gado?</i> '	That red shirt?
'Le tzigné čaveske,	'For the little lad,
<i>Le terne Yorškaski.'</i>	The young Yorška.'
'Avda keri, Mimi!	'Come thou home, Mimi,
<i>Ka te xurdi čave.</i>	To thy little children.
<i>Pendem tuki, Mimi,</i>	I told thee, Mimi,
<i>Rači dena piles.</i> ²	We were to depart to-night' [?].
'Le čaci giliventsa! ³	'With my true loves [go I]!
<i>Le čaci pralentsa!</i>	With my true brothers!
'Haida ⁴ mansa, Loli,	'Come with me, Loli,
<i>And 'o kilelohasi.</i>	Into the big inn.
<i>Nax xolévi, Loli.</i>	Be not angry, Loli.
<i>Anda xurdi love.</i>	Bring small change.
<i>Lava tuki, Loli,</i>	I will get for thee, Loli,
<i>Star ava 'po cafe—</i>	Four [cups of] coffee—
<i>Nax xolévi, Loli!</i>	Be not angry, Loli!
<i>Lava tuki star gladži;</i>	I will get for thee four bottles;
<i>Pala kodi, Loli,</i>	After that, Loli,
<i>Star ava 'po gladži.</i>	Four more bottles.
<i>Dela šu tem,</i> ⁵ <i>Loli,</i>	.
<i>Tu molati tusa,</i>	To drink wine with thee,
<i>Mulati 'va tusa,</i>	[beaucoup boire avec vous]

¹ Compare Song ii., *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 198. The song printed on page 119 of the same volume also contains similar lines.

² Cf. *dena piren* in Story v. The translation given was 'nous partir ce soir,' in broken French. Mr. Gilliat-Smith suggests *rači te na pires*, 'I told you, Mimi, not to go out at night with the true lovers.'

³ Rum. *cilibi*, 'gallant.'

⁴ See Mik., v. 23.

⁵ Perhaps, as Mr. Gilliat-Smith suggests, *tele čutem*, 'I have thrown down,' referring to the previous line. The explanation given was 'm'expliquer avec vous, but this may have been a misunderstanding.'

<i>Trin dies trin rača !</i>	Three days and three nights !
<i>Či kostalila but.</i>	It will not cost much.
<i>Trin poša late,</i>	Three [days] near her,
<i>Pala kodo, Loli,</i>	After that, Loli,
<i>Trin beršengi—</i>	For three years—
<i>Či koda nai but !</i>	And that too is nothing !
<i>Mai t'amande, Loli,</i>	More for me, Loli,
<i>Trin dešenga,</i>	For thrice ten years !
<i>Seleno dešenga !</i>	Green periods of ten years !
<i>But mol mai pilem,</i>	Much wine more have I drunk,
<i>Ači matžilem.</i>	Yet am I not drunken.
<i>Ci si moto ; zaili-</i>	It is not drunk [I am];
<i>Sailim—zailisailim !¹</i>	But faint—Ah ! faint !
<i>Moto ?—avava—</i>	Drunk ?—I am coming—
<i>O drom arakana !'</i>	Let them find the way !'

IV. FRAGMENT

(Marseilles)

<i>Džav mangi, dali, bari Rusiati.</i>	I am going, mother, to great Russia.
<i>Gadži na prežaren</i>	The gâjos do not know
<i>So romelai pirdem</i>	How much, O Gypsies, I have walked
<i>Kan čiči² kerdem.</i>	Doing no work.
<i>Ferde yek čori taligu,</i>	Bring out a poor wagon,
<i>Te yek graigoro.</i>	And a little horse.
<i>So romelai pirdem !</i>	How I have wandered, O Gypsies !
<i>Li gilivés ha raklem.</i>	I have found a lover.
<i>Mai drobot³ a džiliven,</i>	More greetings they sing,
<i>E naiš džiliven . . .</i>	And thanks they sing . . .

V. PARAMIČ

(Marseilles)

' Aleš peni, čačimasa, kerelu te kodel burtu, tu, pe yek pato mangi, ime pokavel pato de truisaras ande-kan ! Tihara tradav,

¹ Cf. vocabulary.² Dr. Sampson suggests that just as in Anglo-Rom. *či* and *čiči* exist side by side, so in this dialect *kanciči* may be a variant of *khanč* (see vocab.).³ Cf. *Lilere Sinte*, J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 11, *droboi-tu*.

peni, and' o baro foro, te kinav paler, te kerav o ker.' E gadže tenaven, e čora dena piren, e gadže dena čumiden.¹ . . . 'Wo gelo,' penel, 'gelo po wolitsa.' Penel 'Na čumidén.' Yávia keri račasa. I penel 'Butar, penie, e wudar; me avaiom, me kiniom; de man, peni, pai!—Šutil o mui.' I pe na dia pai: dia leski drab. Yo piá—peló mulo! Pendia phral 'Kon tuki pendias te kerés mangi, te des man drab? Sar kerdian, pene? Kadya tu te merés!' O keri ačia, o ker bikindi: iač nepes čorori. I pe našel po wolitza—dili. Akana o raklo, 'Na kamav te lav tut; Kaia phralés dian drab; o phral muiá, e man kames te mürderés.'² 'Na kamav.' 'Šukar rakli san. Soste murderdan e phralés? Me darau ke mangi des o drab, e me merav.' 'Na kamau.'

The whole of this tale seems somewhat confused.³ The man who apparently in the absence of a comrade is making love to a girl says words to this effect: 'For me, O sister, how good it will be to rest with thee, to sleep together in one bed, and always live together! To-morrow I am going away, sister, into the great city, to buy an estate and prepare the house.' . . . The gájos come (in his absence), the thieves depart, the gájos embrace her. 'He is gone,' she says, 'gone down the street.' She says, 'Do not kiss me.' At nightfall he came home. 'Open the door, sister,' he says, 'I have arrived, I am tired; give me, O sister, water! My mouth is dry.' The sister gave him no water: she gave him poison. He drank—fell down dead! Said the brother [? of the dead man], 'Who told thee to treat me so, and give me poison? How hast thou done, O sister? Here thou shalt die!' He stayed at home, sold the house: she remains now poor. The sister wanders in the street—mad. Now the fellow, 'I desire not to take thee; for that thou didst poison the brother; the brother died, and thou wouldest like to murder me.' 'I do not want to.' 'Thou art a beautiful girl. Why didst thou murder the brother? I fear thou wilt give me poison, and I shall die.' 'I want it not.'

VI. DŽANOS E PUŠKASA

(Marseilles)

Sodoya Džanos kerela and' o veš puškasa. Džala and' o veš i čiriklen te marel. Na rakliá čiriklo; arakliá dué puré manuš, dué čavoré. O mardiá e puškasa. Kerdya buro yag, e kiradá e

¹ Mr. Gilliat-Smith proposes to include this sentence in the husband's speech, translating, 'Let not the gájos come, let not the thieves walk, let not the gájos kiss you.'

² Here I have the side-note, *murderdan o phralés, e man murderesa.*

³ It contains Rumanian words. *Aleš* may be Rum. *ales*, 'chosen,' 'distinguished'; *kodel* from Rum. *codi*, 'to tarry'; for *traisaras* cf. Rum. *trdi* and Vaillant, Gram. p. 61, *Na s'ti seras ti traieseras iek bi arresko*, 'Nous ne pouvons vivre l'un sans l'autre'; *ime* Rum. interjection, 'Vois! regarde un peu!' *Ande kan* is probably, as Mr. Perkins points out, Miklosich's *andiktán* (=and *ek than*) 'zusammen,' v. 61, s.v. *than*. Dr. Sampson ingeniously suggests that the third Romani sentence, the husband's prohibition, is untranslated; and that the Romani of the sentence, 'The gájos come (in his absence),' etc., has been omitted. I have indicated this by inserting dots in both the text and the English version.

raklorén te χaia. E i 'čiabes o mas čudia and' o pai. Avéia keri nasfálo. Sas nasfálo enia berš. Penela peski daki, 'Tō mangi tan te sovav; me som nasfálo. Džan¹ mangi rašai—del yag momeli,—merav.' Momeli na χačerel. O rašai avilo—'Sar e momelá muli!' I dai pučel 'So kerdian ke tu san nasfálo?' Wo penel, 'Me mardem rakloré; χaióm mas. O mas [te] ačiá čudem 'do pai. Akakana me nasfílo.' I dai penel, 'Na mišto kerdian mardar raklorén. Bare besexa² angl' o Del kerdian, Džanos. Akakana tu nasfálo, tu mai aves nasfálo.'

John goes shooting in the wood. He goes into the wood to kill birds. He found no bird; he found two old men and two little children. He shot them with his gun. He made a great fire, and cooked the children and ate them. And what remained of the meat he threw into the water. He came home, sick. He was sick nine years. He says to his mother, 'Prepare me a place to sleep; I am sick. Go to the priest—let him light a candle—I am dying.' The candle does not burn. The priest came—'All the candles are out!' The mother asks, 'What hast thou done that thou art sick?' He says, 'I killed children; I ate the meat. What meat remained I threw into the water. Now I am sick.' Says the mother, 'Thou didst not well to slay the children. Thou hast committed great sins before God, John. Thou art sick now, but thou shalt be yet more sick.'

VII. A SONG AT MILAN³

(13 February 1910)

<i>Šunta, Mimi, šunta!</i>	Listen, Mimi, listen!
<i>Avesta⁴ kerí!</i>	Come home!
<i>Nasfálo oi Yorška,</i>	Yorška is sick,
<i>Dukala o šero.</i>	His head is aching.
<i>Avta, Mimi, avta!</i>	Come, Mimi, come!
· · · · ·	· · · · ·
<i>O diklo paruno</i>	[With] the white kerchief
<i>Te pandav leskro šero!</i>	Let me bind his head!
<i>Beša paš amendí</i>	Sit with us.
<i>O Rom gožnardi.</i>	The Gypsies are wise.
<i>Hai!⁵ Avilo keri.</i>	Lo! He came home!

¹? Plural Imp., *dža an*, 'go bring,' or 'go beg.'

² Paspati, *bezéh*; Mik., vii. 20, Rumiun. *bezéch*.

³ This song was croaked to me by a nonchalant youth, Putzardinka, while he was engaged in whacking a copper pot. It is full of difficulties, no translation was obtained at the time, and the English version is given 'without guarantee.' As Miklosich said of another Rumanian text, 'ist mir auch hier Manches grammatisch räthselhaft.'

⁴ This seems a somewhat unusual example of the suffix *-ta*.

⁵ Rum. interject. 'Come' or 'Ah'

<i>Hai ! Mardala romnia !</i>	Lo ! He beats his wife !
<i>Hai ! Puridela lakri krač !</i>	Lo ! He kicks her thigh ! ¹
<i>Na rovena, &avorale !²</i>	Weep not, little children !
<i>Avela tumaro dad :</i>	Your father will come :
<i>Čorel le grasnaie</i>	He will steal the mares,
<i>Ai in bičinasa,³</i>	And we will sell them,
<i>Ai baro love lasa.</i>	And get a great sum.
<i>Hai ! Pormo χliasa !⁴</i>	
<i>Hai ! Džala and' o virrto !⁵</i>	Lo ! He enters the inn !
<i>Hai ! Mangala molo.</i>	Lo ! He demands wine !
<i>O Rom, O gožnardo,</i>	O Gypsy, O wise one,
<i>Paš ama beš !</i>	Sit with us !
<i>Hai ! Mardela pai kūia.⁶</i>	Lo ! He strikes his elbows [on the table].
<i>Hala lači kola !</i>	Eats good cakes !
<i>Hai ! Pala gelo and' o foro !</i>	Lo ! Afterwards he went into the town !
<i>Hai ! Dine li ko mui !</i>	Lo ! They hit him in the face !
<i>Aio so kerela ?</i>	What will he do ?
<i>Keri kai avela</i>	When he comes home
<i>Čavoré dikena,</i>	The children will see,
<i>Mala ven' kai rovena.</i>	Friends will come and weep.
<i>Kai sanas tu, dad ?</i>	Where hast thou been, Father ?
<i>Kai gilan tu, dad ?</i>	Where wentest thou, Father ?
<i>Da⁷ paglé čo mui</i>	They have wounded his face,
<i>Du kerde čo sar o mui.</i>	Yes, damaged all his face.
<i>Hai ! Kerde o gropā⁸</i>	Lo ! They have made a hole
<i>Pundo mui.</i>	In his face.
<i>Gater.⁹</i>	It is finished.

¹ *krac* perhaps = Rum. *crac*, Bulg. *krak*, dimin. *krade*; and *puridela*, *punro-dela*: but the explanation is purely conjectural.

² Perhaps *Na rovena, O &avorale !* *Na* occurs instead of *ma* in 'Zogar,' line 15. Mik., v. 40, mentions this Rum. usage.

³ *bičinasa*. *č* for *k*, as in *pucinava*. Mik., v. 11, *bit'indis*, vi. 23 *bicin* (Sirm.), vi. 37, vii. 21 Rum. *bit'indu*.

⁴ This line I cannot translate.

⁵ Rum. *birt*, 'eating-house.' Cf. Colocci *rierta*, 'osteria' (with refs. to Predari and Cogalniceano), and the Piedmont *ripta*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 246. Pott, ii. 80, from Mod. Gk. *βίρην*.

⁶ *Kūia* may be the Bukovina *kuj*, 'elbow' (Mik., v. 32). Pott, *kuni* (ii. 100).

⁷ *Da*, Rum. for 'yes.'

⁸ ? *Groapd*, Rum. = 'ditch,' 'grave.'

⁹ Rum. *gata*, 'ready,' 'finished.'

NOTES AND QUERIES

27.—OBSERVATIONS ON 'TEXTES EN ROMANI RUSSE'

(See *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 121; October 1910)

These few observations may be of use to some of our members in studying the specimens of Russian Gypsy. Without a knowledge of some Slavonic tongue, it is not easy to disentangle the Russian element from the pure Romani in a number of instances.

Russian prepositions prefixed to verbs in these texts are:—*do* (*do-redáva*) ; *s* (*s-kedáva*) , *pri* (*pri-tíráva*; cf. Welsh Romani *tiláva*) ; *raz* (*roz-kedáva*) ; *ob* (*ob-thováva*; cf. *továva*, 'to place,' 'put' Paspati) ; *u* (*u-dikháva*) ; *pere* (*pere-meráva*) ; *za* (*za-číváva*) ; *po* (*po-peráva*; cf. Welsh Romani *perrava*, 'to fell trees') ; *vi* (*vi-puráva*) ; *pro* (*pro-khosáva*) ; *pod* (*pod-kedáva*) ; *ot* (*ot-psiráva*) ; *vz* (*vz-dikháva*).

The following are obviously Russian loan-words:—*Trébi*, 'need'; *Kúskico*, 'morsel,' 'little bit'; *Stakáno*, 'glass'; *Strah*, 'fear'; *Choladéncia*, 'police,' from Russian *Gorod*, 'town,' cf. Russian *Gorodovo*, 'policeman'; *Choladítko*, 'nasty little town' (diminutive of depreciation); *Polje*, 'fields'; *Réka*, 'river'; *Šátro*, 'tent'; *Zachačkirla*, 'rises,' Russian *Zachodit*, 'to set': the proper word for rise is *Voschodit*; *Chrebtúčno*, 'spine,' 'back-bone'; *Skrikater*, 'tedium'; *Brezater*, 'birch-tree,' Russian *Beryóza*; *Li*, interrogative particle (Tale 3, line 12); *Ko*, 'to'; *Užakiráva*, 'hear,' Russian *Ushát*; *Taki*, 'so'; *Sveto*, 'world'; *Sivo*, 'grey'; *Sedo*, 'grey'; *Duma*, 'thoughts'; *Dumindjom*, 'think'; *Zorkica*, 'dawn,' Russian *Zaryá*; *Zeleno*, 'green'; *Bomažkénica*, 'paper'; *Rozneslástno*, 'unhappy'; *Súdba*, 'judgment'; *Zabótica*, 'anxiety'; *Drevcásia*, 'little tree'; *Čestjása*, 'honour': *Telega*, 'carriage'; *Tjomninko*, 'dark'; *Cháčkir*, 'rise,' Russian *Chodit*; *Zarl*, 'dawn.'

The following seem to be German loan-words:—*Štuba*, Ger. *Stube*; *Molo*, Ger. *Mal*.

Kófu may be connected with Russian *Kopit*, 'to store,' 'gather,' 'amass.'

It is further to be remarked that palatalization is very frequent in Russian. This is expressed in these texts by *j*. Several words are clearly recognisable when this *j* is ignored; e.g. *perejúč*, 'stop,' from *ačíra*; *je* for the definite article *e*, *jo* for *o*.

Usá, 'always,' may be Russian *u*, 'by,' 'to,' 'at,' 'on'; and Romani *sá*, 'all.'

With the foregoing exceptions and perhaps a few more, the Romani is exceptionally pure. The accentuation should be compared with that of the Greek and Welsh dialects.

Tedrabakir is interesting. Apparently, in this dialect, both this word (literally 'to read') and *tedorikir* are used for 'to tell fortunes.' *Gožo* seems to be an instance of the rare use of *-o* as a feminine termination (e.g., Song 6).

The omission of the verb 'to be,' present indicative, is a characteristic of Russian syntax.

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

28.—GYPSIES IN DENMARK

Last summer (1909) a band of about a hundred Gypsies—who bore letters from King Haakon to the authorities permitting them to remain in Denmark for three years, 1907-9—passed through the country on their way to Sweden. Three families were, however, soon banished and came back in the autumn to Sjælland, where they have since stayed. I have been told that the rest intend to return to

a great meeting, but they will encounter many difficulties, and I doubt whether it will take place. The following are the names of some of the band :¹—

Johan Columbar, born at Helsingborg (Sweden), 17th January 1879
 [Married to Maria Cabarus, born in Norway ; sister of Rose Cabarus.
 wife of Anton Fejer. See below.]

Johan Demitri, of Gellivara (Sweden), born in 1848.

His wife, the sister of Andrew Toikon.

His children. (See below.)

Anton Fejer, born in France in 1855.

His wife, Rose Cabarus. [Born in the north of France.]

Their children, Punca Toikon, married to Becka Toikon.

Demetre Toikon, married to Dika Toikon.

Andrew Toikon, born at Toulouse, 28th April 1859.

His wife, Elisa Betta, born 1862.

Their children, Marietta, married to a Danish Gypsy grinder named Rosen-hagen.

Anton, born at Stubbeköping, 16th January 1887.

'Princess Nina,' born at Skive, 7th June 1888.

Martin Phillip, born at Bornholm, 20th February 1894.

Sofie, born at Ribe, in April 1895.

Albert, born at Melby, 5th February 1897.

Andreas, born at Falster, 16th January 1899.

Josef, born at Skibby in 1909.

And a baby.

Bessika Toikon, born in France in 1862.

Demetra Toikon, born in Sweden in 1864.

Katharine Toikon, about seventy to eighty years old ; mother of Peter Toikon, and of Sofie and Terka.

Peter Toikon, born at Toulon in 1861.²

In the middle of April 1909 I was informed that a family of *Sindi* was travelling in Thy, the district where the town of Thisted is situated, and that their route would bring them to Broust. A fortnight later I met a Gypsy, a

¹ The two additions in square brackets are from information supplied by Mr. Ehrenborg, who, on June 2, 1910, met at Linköping a band of about twenty Gypsies, mostly Taiküns, of whom eight were infants. The leader was Johan Columbar, mentioned above, and the vice-leader in his absence was his stepfather, Joseph Andreas Taikün, born in 1855 (month and day unknown) in Norway—so he said. He is a widower, but had had many children by Johan Columbar's mother. One only, Oscar Andreas Taikün (thirty-six years old, born in Norway), was with the party. Joseph Andreas Taikün has a phenomenal command of most European languages—even English, Russian, and Hungarian—but his Norse is poor and his Swedish not very good. No Demetris were present.

² It is noticeable that the leading woman of a party of similar Gypsies whom Mr. Ehrenborg met at Opphem (Sweden) also claimed to be French. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 72. A similar statement was made almost unanimously by a band of evidently related Gypsies which came into contact with the Munich police in 1891. This band consisted of (1) Joseph Deikon [i.e. Toikon], born at Pau in 1857 (son of Nikolaus and Saga Deikon); his wife Maria Rasa or Barko, born on the Franco-Spanish frontier in 1855 or 1856 (daughter of Gögerasa and Dunadie Rasa); and their child Katharina Deikon, then fifteen years old : (2) Anton Demeter, born at Boncourt in 1850 (son of Surga, or Georg, and Marie Katharina Demeter); his wife Maria Müller, born 1867 or 1869 ; and Buscha Demeter, brother of Anton, born 1847-51 : (3) Georg Dodor, born at Perpignan between 1849 and 1854 (son of Anton and Maria Katharina Dodor; his wife Maria Bellinger, born between 1856 and 1860 ; and their two children Joska, born at Perpignan in 1878 or 1879,

small man, lame by some accident to his knee,¹ and dressed in a short braided jacket, a waistcoat with silver buttons, red woollen shirt, high boots, and a soft hat. He was slim and very dark, with long hair and beard, and he appeared to be about twenty-five years old. A half-grown lad followed him. I addressed them in Romani, whereupon the older man inquired if I were a Romnicel. The family, it appeared, had pitched their tent at Skousgaard, a neighbouring town, and these two had arrived in advance to make arrangements with the manager of the hotel for hiring a hall where they intended to give a performance the next evening.

A little later we met again in the hotel, where Josef Demitri, for such was his name, was refreshing himself with a glass of beer, and, our local musician happening to be there with his violin, we made the Gypsy play for us. He played Ole Bull's 'Sæter jentens Söndag' (*Solitude des montagnes*) exceptionally well, besides various popular melodies, and asked me to accompany him on the piano. I made inquiries about various Gypsies I had met before, but he was disinclined to answer, and pretended that he knew nothing about them. On the other hand, he was curious to know who I was, asked if I were a Baron—a title which, later on, he and his family generally gave me!—and informed me that his mother Katharine could tell me how to get rich.

In the evening I went out to their tent at Skousgaard and met the family—Johan Demitri himself, then travelling as Karl Petterson, a tallish man of about sixty, with handsome, regular features, and hair that was still black; his wife, the sister of Andrew Toikon, a stout dark woman like a farmer's wife; their two grown-up daughters, of whom the elder was pretty and had a low forehead, dark almond-shaped eyes, straight nose, and large mouth; my lame friend Josef of the afternoon; and some small boys and girls. They had also four married sons then travelling in Denmark, whom I had met before. All the women wore many-coloured gowns, made double, and had silver and amber jewellery round their necks and in their hair.

At first they were uncommunicative, and would only complain that people seemed unwilling to *gauter* them. The old Gypsy was very insolent, and openly called the farmers *Kartoffelbauern*, the cause being that he could not make himself understood. But after the show they relented, and I had a cup of coffee with the family.

The next day they passed through our town, Broust, in an open cart, and behaved in an extraordinary manner. When they returned a copper kettle, which they had obtained for repair from the squire's hall, they demanded 80 kronen (more than £4), ten times the value of the work they had done, and twice as much as the kettle was worth. Ultimately, after swearing by heaven and earth that they were good Catholics and never cheated, after falling on their knees, and trying every possible means of persuasion, they accepted 40 kronen; but the

and Zinna, born at Mainz in 1886: (4) Vora Dodor (also known as Katharina Vora, Chomann or Gomann), who professed to have been born in 1878, but seemed older (daughter of Gauderasch and Liesa Gomann, or otherwise of Johan, or Milosch, and Lena Chomann). It is not improbable that these Gypsies said they were French because they wished to enter French territory; if so, their wish was gratified, for the Bavarian police expelled them over the French borders at Altmünsterol on 7th April 1891. For fuller details see Dillmann, *Zigeuner-Buch*, München, 1905. Mr. Augustus John met Gypsies in France and Italy who bore the names of Demeter and Todor, spoke a Rumanian dialect of Romani, and professed to be Russian. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 197. They are evidently of the wide-wandering stock which is equally at home in all countries.

¹ This injury may not have been accidental, but, possibly, a punishment. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 310 and 355.



curious thing was that, had the squire not reminded them, they would have forgotten to ask for the return of the 50 kronen they had deposited when they took the kettle away !¹ In the meantime Erga, one of the girls, about fourteen years old, visited all the shops systematically from end to end of the town. At the draper's she asked to see some goods suitable for her small sisters. She examined half the contents of the shop and kept the salesman busy translating metres into yards. But after disputing with him about the price of each individual object, she ended by clapping him familiarly on the shoulder, saying, 'Master, you may keep them all !' and left the shop. Something similar happened at the jeweller's, and at every shop she honoured with her patronage.

I met the family on their way to a neighbouring inn, obtained permission to drive with them, and thus made a ceremonial entrance into Halvrimmen. A crowd gathered immediately, but it did not seem to trouble the Gypsies, who took all attentions with princely indifference. We had a meal of *melli mit sano maro*, and in the evening people crowded to the inn from far and near. In the midst of a terrible hubbub, Josef and I played, and the girls Lolo and Erga danced. Poor Josef got very drunk, but nevertheless made rather a good collection in his hat. They stayed three days in this place, giving a great performance on the last, for which occasion the girls dressed their hair stylishly and made themselves new silk aprons. The charge for admission was 25 ore (about 3½d.). Afterwards they travelled south to join the rest of their tribe in Sjælland.

It is said that Johan Demitri professed to have been in England for a short time. He had certainly travelled in Germany, and his older children spoke German imperfectly as well as French. He has various aliases: having been banished several times under the names of Johan Demitri and Karl Petterson, he adopted last autumn in Sjælland the name of a wandering grinder, of Gypsy race, called Oskar Möller; and he has also been known as Karl Pihl.

Andrew Toikon first came to Denmark in 1884. He is a coppersmith and horse-dealer, and his family was considered rich, possessing American dollars and French notes, as well as Danish money. In 1890 he went for a fortnight to Norway, and married Elisa Betta in the Catholic Church in Kristiania. All foreign Gypsies were banished from Denmark in September 1897, but, by pretending that he was a native, and that he had a home in Roskilde, he managed to prolong his wanderings for several years. However, in May 1902, it was proved that his residential claim was based on nothing more substantial than the payment of one month's rent, and he and his family were expelled.

In 1903 he reappeared, banished from Sweden, and taking advantage of an accidental meeting with the King, who was hunting, he asked and obtained permission to travel in Denmark.

In 1907 an enterprising music hall manager engaged the troop. The mother, Marietta, and Anton danced, while Martin played, and they all told fortunes. The performance of these children of nature proved a great attraction in over-cultured Kopenhagen, and the manager engaged, not only a dancing-master from the Opera to train Marietta, and a professor of music for Martin, but even a governess for the younger children. His effort at civilisation failed. Marietta indeed dressed herself fashionably in hat and gloves, and became engaged to a grocer. But during the summer some Gypsies (Toikons) from Norway visited Kopenhagen, and before autumn she had left the town to resume her wandering life.

In the winter of 1908 the family reappeared at the same show, reinforced by old Katharine, who is a good fortune-teller and held in great esteem among the Gypsies, and by the 'Princess Nina.' The novelty had, however, worn off, the

¹ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 136.

performance was not a great success, and the manager, tired of the constant police attention which numerous Gypsy visitors caused, soon ended the engagement.

Andrew Toikon is a big and heavy man, a genuine Gypsy, with blue-black hair, large mouth, strong teeth, and glittering eyes. He has a weakness of the chest, for which he has consulted doctors in Göteborg, Kopenhagen, and Berlin; and on that account seldom leaves his wagon during the winter months. His wife, who is pretty, manages the business; and the family, besides Romani, speaks Danish, German, and French.

Another family of Demeters is also known in Denmark, but I do not think that they belong to the same tribe as those I have described:—

Johan Demeter, born at Warasht (Buda-Pest), 18th May 1843.

His wife, Rebekka Edes, born at Buda-Pest, 12th April 1863.

They have five children or more, and a brother-in-law, Borsico, who was born at Kristiania, 1st May 1871.

Johan was banished in 1883, but reappeared in 1890, and was banished again in 1897, in spite of which he continued to travel in Denmark until he was finally expelled in May 1903.

JOHAN MISKOW.

Post Broust, Denmark.

29.—*Ambruli* 'SHOES'

May not *ambruli* 'shoes' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 253) have the same derivation as the following word in Alfred Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte*.

Ambes, Les jambes,—dans l'argot des voleurs, qui serrent de près une étymologie ; ἀμφω en grec, *ambo* en latin, d'où *ambes* dans l'ancien langage français—trois mots qui ont la même signification, *deux* : les jambes vont par paire.

SIDNEY W. PERKINS.

30.—BOSNIAN AND RUMANIAN GYPSIES

In Mr. Harry de Windt's *Through Savage Europe* there are far fewer references to Gypsies than one would expect to find. In chap. vii., describing the bazaar of Bosna-Serai or Serajevo, he says: 'On work-days the "Bezestan" swarmed with strange nationalities, Bosnians, Croatians, Servians, Dalmatians, Greeks, and Turks. The "Tziganes," or gipsies, were also very numerous, and here do not, as usual, earn money as musicians, but as iron and brass workers. Socially, they are looked down upon by all other races, chiefly on account of their women, whose mode of life was indicated by brazen manners, rouged faces, and a profusion of cheap jewelry.' The only reference to the Servian Gypsies is in chap. xii., where it is stated that 'some strolling "Tziganes" were compelled to play over and over again' Draga's March in the Public Gardens of Belgrade the night of the tragedy of June 1902.

Rumanian Gypsies are briefly noticed in chap. xvii., descriptive of Bukarest: 'Rumanians are the most polite people in the world, and a stranger here meets with nothing but courtesy, even in the lower quarters which we occasionally visited in order to hear the "Tziganes" play and sing—a very different performance to that of the so-called "Hungarians" in London restaurants. Only the genuine gipsy can do justice to the weird, barbaric melodies of his people—certainly not the red-coated impostor who frequently hails from Berlin or Hamburg!'

The book contains one photo, by Schwaz of Bukarest, entitled 'Rumanian Tziganes.'

ALEX. RUSSELL.

NEW. SERIES

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CONTENTS:

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. DIE ZIGEUNER ALS MUSIKER IN DEN TÜRKISCHEN EROBERUNGSKRIEGEN DES XVI. JAHRHUNDERTS. Von FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPOHL	241
II. THE GYPSIES OF CENTRAL RUSSIA (<i>Continued</i>). By D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING, LL.D.	244
III. CAPITAINES DE BOHÉMIENS. Par S. G. MONSEIGNEUR J. DE CARSALADE DU PONT, Évêque de Perpignan	259
IV. STORMS AND INTERLUDES. By THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON	262
V. ZIGEUNERISCHES. Von ENGELBERT WITTICH	271
VI. A GYPSY AND A TALE. By JOHN MYERS	272
VII. THE GYPSY LATHE. By JULIUS TEUTSCH	275
VIII. NURI STORIES (<i>Continued</i>). Collected by Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	279
IX. THE ORGANISATION OF SOUTH GERMAN GYPSIES. By ENGELBERT WITTICH	287
X. THE SOUND R. By BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH	292
REVIEWS	296
NOTES AND QUERIES	301

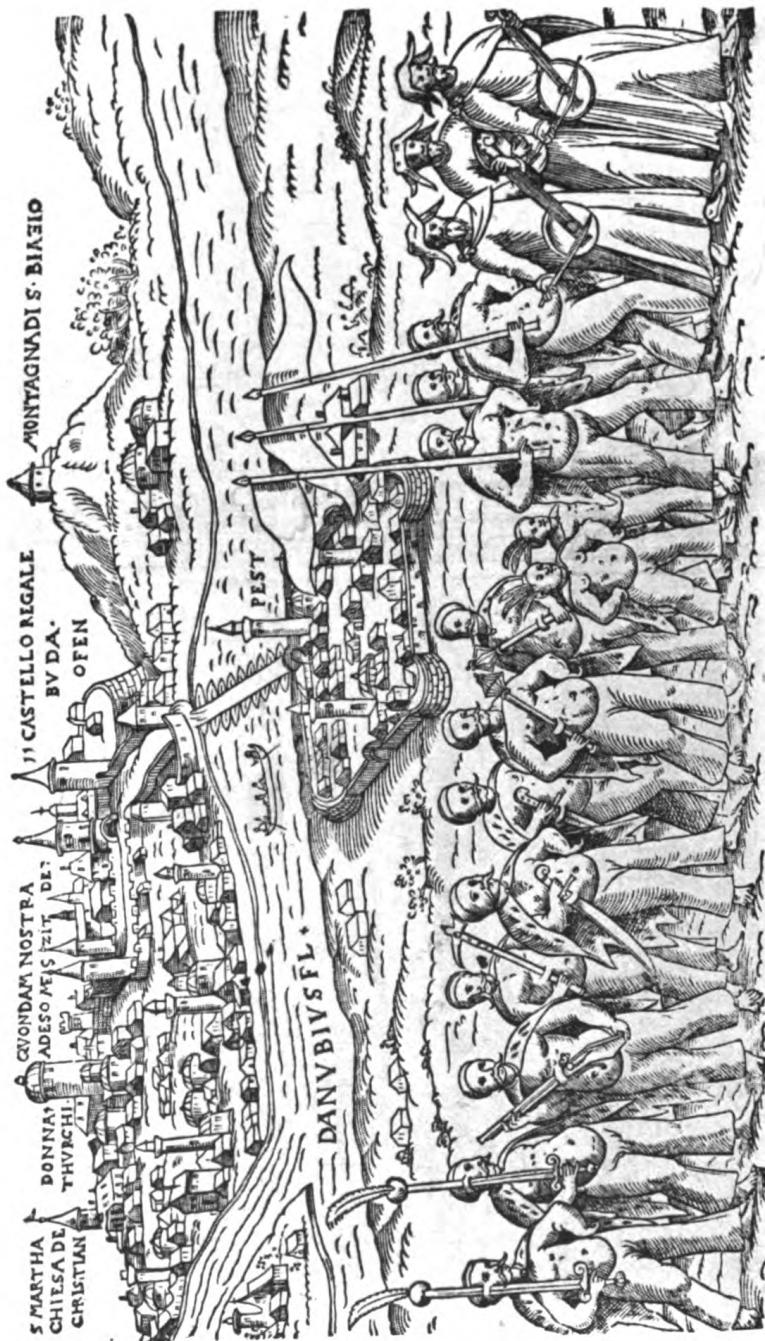
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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began in 1888 and ended in 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several copies of Vol. III. at the original cost of £1, and also most of the numbers of Vols. I. and II. at the original cost of 5s. for each number.

The New Series of the Journal began in July 1907, four parts and a supplementary index-part making a volume. Three such volumes have been issued, those of 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1909-10. Copies can still be obtained at the subscription price of £1 for each volume, but they are sold only to members of the Gypsy Lore Society. Single parts cannot always be supplied: when copies are available for sale to members the price is 5s. each, with the exception of the index-parts of Vols. I. and III., for which only 2s. 6d. is charged.

Günstiger lieber Sefer/diese Figur (von Beschreibung eines Ægyptischen Specaculus)
gehört bei die Zahl 18. und 19. des Buchstabens F. dohn man sie
größchen ein binden mag lassen.



JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. IV

APRIL 1911

No. 4

I.—DIE ZIGEUNER ALS MUSIKER IN DEN TÜRKISCHEN EROBERUNGSKRIEGEN DES XVI. JAHRHUNDERTS

Von FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPOHL, Wiesbaden

BEM Studium alter Chroniken der Balkanstaaten, zwecks Abfassung einer Geschichte des Königreiches Montenegro, stiess ich in einer alten türkischen Chronik auf eine interessante, die Zigeuner betreffende Notiz. Dieselbe dürfte Anhaltspunkte für die Ursache der Verfolgung der Zigeuner als 'Verräter und Kundschafter an der Christen Landen,' wie es bekanntlich in den Reichsabschieden des alten römischen Reiches deutscher Nation heisst, geben.

Die Notiz befindet sich in dem 1590 in Frankfurt am Main erschienenen Werk: '*Neuwe Chronika Türkischer Nation, von Türken selbst beschrieben, und in 4 Bücher abgeteilt*' von Hans Lewenkaw von Amelbeurn,¹ 2. Buch.¹ Sie beschreibt einen Festzug anlässig des Empfanges einer, unter der Anführung des Fürsten Heinrich zu Lichtenstein und des Erzherzogs Mathias von Oesterreich stehenden Friedensgesandschaft im Heerlager des

¹ *Neuwe Chronika Türkischer Nation, von Lewenkaw von Amelbeurn, Frankfurt, 1590, bei Andree Wechsels seligen Erben.* 2. Buch, Seite 118 ff.

Sultans zu Ofen (Budapest). Dieselbe datirt vom Jahre 991 der mohammedanischen Zeitrechnung, also im Jahre 1584 n. Chr. und lautet: 'Erstlich giengen vorher, durch ein grosse mennig dess Volks, so von allen Orten zusammen gelauffen, *drey Zingani* oder *Zigeuner* welche von etlichen für Egyptier, von andern für Arabier gehalten werden, auff Türchisch bekleidet. Der Mitler vnter diesen dreyen schlug auff einer *Lauten*, so etwas grösser dann gewöhnliche Lauten: die andern beyde spieleten ein jeder auff einer kleinen *Geigen*, so ein scharpfen vnlieblichen Thon gaben vnnd *mit einer Barbarischen Stimm sangen sie darein*, was von den Osmanischen Sultanen verricht. Vnnd theten in diesem Gesang sie alle gar ordentlich nacheinander erzehlen vnnd rühmen sampf ihren ritterlichen Thaten bis auff den gegenwärtigen Sultan Murat den dritten.

'Auff diese drey Zigeuner folgte drey vnsinnige tolle starcke Kerles, so nur Vngrisch so oder Türkisch Hosen (Gattie) trugen sonst nackend am gantzen Leib, aussgenommen dass jnen die Spitz dess Kopffs mit einem runden kleinen rothen Häublein bedeckt: vn gleichssfalls die blosse Schultern mit einer vmmgehencnken vnn vom Halss herab langenden Tigerhaut vmmgeben vnn geziert. Gedachte 3 Kerles tantzten nach dem *Seitenspiel der Zigeunner* vnnd hatte derselben ein jeglicher ein rothen Türkischen Fahnen dessen Spiess oder Stang jhnen in der Haut so mit einem Messer eröffnet vnd im Bauch steckte: vnnd sahe man viel Bluts herauss rinnen.'¹

Aus dieser Notiz geht direkt zweierlei hervor:—

1. dass auch im Gefolge des türkischen Heeres sich Zigeuner befanden, die als Musiker Verwendung fanden.

2. dass diese schon damals Streichmusik betrieben, Lauten und

¹ Die Sperrungen im Text sind vom Verfasser dieser Abhandlung. [There was an earlier Latin edition of the book in which the plate did not appear:—

Annales sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis era lingua scripti: . . . a Ioanne Gaudier dicto Spiegel, interprete Turcico Germanice translati. Ioannes Levnclavits . . . Latine redditos illustravit & auxit . . . (Francofurti apud Andreass Wecheli heredes, Claudiu Marnium & Ioannem Aubrium, MDLXXXVIII.).

In it the above passage, which occurs on ff. 166-7, reads:—

'Primum magno populi concursu, tres habitu Turcico præcedebant Zingani, quos Ægyptios nonnulli, Arabes alij vocat. Horum medius testudinem, vsitatis maiorem, pulsabat: reliqui duo duabus fidiculis, admodum stridulis, strepitum faciebant; & voce barbara Sultanorum Osmanidarum res gestas, omnibus ad hunc usque Muratem ordine recensis, accinebant.'

Hos sequebantur tres lymphatici robusti homines, caligis tatum induti, cetera nudi; nisi quod capitis vertex paruo pileolo rubro, & humeri nudi superinecta, deque collo pendente pelle tigridis, exornabantur. Hi ad concentum Zinganorum tripudiauit, tenentes singuli vexillum Turicum rubri coloris, cuius hastile intra cutem & abdomen ventris, emanante multo sanguine defixum erat'].

Geigen besassen, welche von den Instrumenten des Abendlandes abwichen, indem sie einen weniger angenehmen Ton gaben und auch grösser resp. kleiner waren.

Ferner bestätigt die Notiz, was allerdings heute allgemein anerkannt ist, resp. als feststehend gilt, dass unter den 'Aegyptern' der alten Balkanstaaten Zigeuner zu verstehen sind.¹

Indirekt giebt diese Schilderung aber Anhaltspunkte dafür, woher die Anschuldigung, die Zigeuner seien Verräter an der Christen Landen im Abendlande, stammte. Offenbar haben Kriegsgefangene die Zigeuner beim türkischen Heer als Musikantern gesehen. Heimgekehrt waren sie erstaunt, dieselben auch im Abendlande zu finden. Sie kombinierten: Die Zigeuner bei den Türken und die im Abendland sind miteinander in Verbindung. Hieraus entstand der Verdacht der Spionage, um dessentwillen nachher so viel unschuldig Zigeunerblut geflossen ist. Man gab sich eben damals nicht die Mühe, zufällige, scheinbar zusammenhängende Erscheinungen zu prüfen und urteilte nach dem Schein.

Aber auch die erstgenannten Ergebnisse sind für die neuere Zigeunerforschung nicht ohne Bedeutung. Zunächst ergibt sich aus Punkt 1 die Tatsache, dass die Zigeuner nicht, wie oft angenommen wird, bei Einzug der Türken in Europa aus dem Byzantinischen Reich flohen und dass nicht dadurch ihr Auftreten im Nordeuropa veranlasst werden konnte. Es zeigt sich vielmehr, dass sie auch den Türken willkommene Musiker waren und deshalb von diesen geduldet wurden. Ihre Wanderung nach dem Norden kann daher keine Flucht gewesen sein. Sie scheint vielmehr auf den alten Wandertrieb der Zigeuner zurückführbar zu sein. Dies schliesst allerdings nicht aus, dass die veränderten Verhältnisse Griechenlands die Ursache des Wiedererwachens des alten Wandertriebes waren. Dadurch würde aber die Auswanderung der Zigeuner nur indirekt auf die Eroberung Byzanz zurückzuführen sein. Möglich ist immerhin, dass die Zigeuner von den Türken zu Kriegsdiensten gezwungen wurden, resp. dass sie als Musiker nicht freiwillig dem türkischen Heere folgten, sondern dass von den Türken ein gewisser Druck ausgeübt wurde, weshalb ihre Freiheitsliebe und ihr Freiheitsdrang den alten Wandertrieb wieder neu aufwachen liess.

Zu Punkt 2 und 3 möchte ich bemerken, dass die von Franz Liszt geäusserte Meinung, die Verbindung der Magyaren mit den Zigeunern habe erst die Schaffung der Zigeunerstreichmusik

¹ Falmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea* (Stuttgart, 1830), Anmerkungen.

ermöglicht, hiernach nicht ganz zutreffend zu sein scheint. Die Zigeuner haben, wie wir sehen, schon im türkischen Heere Geigen besessen und ihre Streichmusik ausgeübt. Da diese Geigen kleiner als die abendländischen waren, können sie nicht von dort kommen. Es scheint daher, als hätten die alten Zigeuner diese Instrumente selbst angefertigt, denn der Beschreibung nach haben sie auch mit der 'Gusla' jenem alten einsaitigen Instrument des Balkans, nichts gemein. Wohl mag die Vermutung von Franz Liszt, dass die ungarische musikalische Veranlagung der Zigeuner Kunst entgegen kam und dadurch den Zigeunern Gelegenheit gegeben wurde, ihre Kunst weiter zu entwickeln und auszudehnen richtig sein. Allein auf die Ausbildung dieser Naturanlage der Zigeuner war das Ungartum dann ohne Einfluss.

Noch etwas tritt hervor: Die in der türkischen Chronik genannten Zigeuner singen zu ihrem Spiel. Es scheint, als hätten sie diese Art der Ausübung der Kunst aufgegeben. Ich habe oft Zigeunervorstellungen beigewohnt, aber nie singende echte Zigeuner getroffen. Wohl singen sie im vertrauten Kreise ihre Volks- und Nationallieder, aber nie geben sie diese gegen Bezahlung preis.

Noch weniger sind sie zum direkten Vorsingen zu bewegen. Es scheint demnach, als wenn sie einem Zwang gehorchend im türkischen Heer als 'Sänger' auftraten.¹

II.—THE GYPSIES OF CENTRAL RUSSIA

By DEVEY FEARON DE L'HOSTE RANKING

(Continued from page 217)

THE GYPSIES OF KISILEFKA

THE village of Kisilefska, in the district of Prudkofsk, is the chief dwelling-place of the Gypsies in the Department of Smolensk. The position of Kisilefska is very picturesque: the

¹ Wohl giebt es Zigeunerinnen, die in russischen Städten Vorstellungen geben und auch singen. Ob diese aber, neben anderen unschönen Eigenschaften der russischen Kultur, nicht auch die Verläugnung ihres Nationalstolzes angenommen haben ist zweifelhaft. Bekanntlich lassen sie sich ja auch mit russischen Lebemannern ein. Sie sind also für die Beurteilung des Zigeuners ohne Wert, da sie degenerirt sind und die schönsten Eigentümlichkeiten der Zigeunernation verloren haben. (Vergl. auch Franz Liszt, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. 6, *Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn*, Leipzig, 1883.)

hamlet stretches along the bank of the Xmara, a clear, winding stream, with steep banks overhung with bushes. On the southwest, south, and east, Kisilefka is shut in by woods, which extend to the Department of Mstislafsk in the Government of Mogilefsk, and to the Department of Roslafsk in the Government of Smolensk. Two versts from Kisilefka, up the stream of the Xmara, lies the village of Fitsofka; and two versts, or rather less, down stream the village of Xmarsk; in these villages live some Gypsy families.

GYPSY THEFT

The chief occupation of the Gypsies is—stealing; they usually steal horses and sheep. If when crossing the Xmara you ask why there are so many sheep's trotters scattered about the bottom of the river, the inhabitants will reply: 'That is the work of the Gypsies; in summer, from St. Peter's day, they begin to steal sheep, and they throw the trotters into the river.'

Early in the morning, before dawn, the Gypsy lads go out to graze their horses. They establish themselves, for the most part, on the edge of a wood, lie on their stomachs near a fire, bake potatoes, and roast fat pork and mutton, and jabber about it in their own language. They do not always stay in an open camp; when there is need they hide in thickets of birch and fir, fasten their horses to trees, and themselves lurk somewhere in the neighbourhood. But sometimes the Gypsies stand close by the horses, which have been lately stolen, keeping a sharp look-out; even holding the bridle in their hand while they are grazing, so that in case of sudden attack they may mount quickly and ride off. Sometimes you will see the Gypsies rush by, all looking suspiciously behind them as if they scented pursuit, and urging on the horses behind them; and for a certainty some weeping peasants will wander up in a short time questioning passers-by about their beloved horses.

In case of a search, the extraordinary sharp-wittedness of the Gypsies, and their power of clever dissimulation, pulls them through. The following incident occurred in the district of Yelninsk. A village constable followed hard on the track of some Gypsy thieves, and the Gypsies saw that certain calamity was overtaking them. Then they pretended that an old Gypsy woman was at the point of death, stretched her out on a table

with the goods under her, and threatened her: 'Look here, mother; if you so much as breathe there'll be an end of you; we'll roll you out flat!' The old woman stretched herself out; scared to death, she lay like a corpse, white as a tablecloth. They came into the tent to search, but the Gypsies were weeping, drowned in tears and lamenting loudly: 'Oh, dear mother! Why have you left us orphans torn with grief?' The constable entering saw the candles burning, and the still figure on the table. 'Your worship, do not be vexed with us, do not scold us, we cannot bear it just now: we are in great sorrow. Search where you like.' The constable searched everywhere, but could not make up his mind to disturb the corpse: 'Do not disturb the bones of the dead.' And, as may be guessed, he found nothing.

A Jew goes to a Gypsy to search for a goose which has gone a-missing: 'Mr. Constable, my goose is roasting in the oven! there is a smell of roast goose coming from there!—'Ah! Do you so hanker for a bit of sucking-pig?' shouted the Gypsy to the Jew. With these words he took away the wooden cover from the stove, snatched out the goose, and shoved it right under the nose of the Jew: 'There! Eat your sucking-pig! choke yourself with it!—'Eat it yourself; and the devil choke you!' And the Jew slunk away.

The Gypsy modes of theft are very ingenious. Sometimes they put boots or felt shoes on the feet of stolen cattle, so as to conceal the tracks. Some Gypsies drove a cow to the steading of a man named Yarasha. It was a good cow, from a rich man's herd; shod with felt. They put her in a shed in the straw; there the cow stood two days, till the search was finished. In the evening came two Gypsy men, and turned the cow out into the yard. She began to run, kick, and shake her head. The farm hands were all laughing, and chaffing about her being a real good one. The yokels and the women kept crying to the Gypsy, 'You'll never catch her now.' A Gypsy in long cloth boots sprang to the cow, caught her by the horns, and turned her round and round himself. She kicked out with all four legs and fell. Another Gypsy rushed up with a long hedging-bill and cut her throat. They whipped the skin off her; the lights, tripes, and feet, and a little of the meat they gave to Yarasha, and cut the carcase in two. Each put his share on his sledge and drove away home.

The Gypsies raise small store-sheds with levers, take out whatever stores there are, and then let them fall back in their place on the ground.

The Gypsies make a boast of the way in which they are fitted out for stealing:—‘Why sir, we have handspikes.’ If the stables have strong locks, the Gypsies break up the roof and haul the horses out with ropes. ‘Why are your sledges shod with felt, Ivka? You should have good ash runners.’ (Ivka is a well-to-do old Gypsy of Kisilefska.) ‘See here, sir; in these sledges you slip along silently, just as if you were in a boat; they do not make a sound.’

The first night the Gypsies will poison the dog, and the next they will approach the sheep by twos and threes. For the stealing they choose a dark night in autumn. They begin to steal after St. Peter’s day, because it is easier to dig into the folds after the manure is carried away. They dig in with sharp spades like sickles, most often under the wall, seldom under the threshold. Two Gypsies, or one only, stand on guard by the horses: they are armed with sticks and bludgeons, seldom with firearms. They rob the storehouses by torch-light; but they steal sheep in darkness. They say that a Gypsy never takes a bad sheep, even in the dark: ‘Look you; a fat sheep breathes hard.’ Gypsies steal sheep from an inexperienced shepherd-boy even in the open field: children seeing the sheep rushing in a fright do not suspect the presence of a Gypsy stealing them: they fancy that a wolf has flurried them. If a Gypsy is surprised on the scene of his crime by some of the neighbouring lads, he throws away the sheep, but himself withdraws into the bushes without any particular confusion.

GYPSIES AND HORSES

Stealing sheep is only a secondary occupation for a Gypsy; his principal business is stealing horses, and then swapping them in markets and villages, commonly getting from a yokel a good lot of all sorts of grain as a luck-penny:—‘That’s what I live by, sir!’ From his very cradle, sleeping or waking, a Gypsy dreams of horses. You ask a Gypsy what his business is; he answers, ‘I am a horse-couper.’

The midwife or the godmother examines the ears of a male

child if a Gypsy child is newly born: 'Give him here, I will look at his ears, to see whether or no my little one will thrive.' If he has firm ears he will thrive; and more, in all probability he will be a horse-couper, a chanter; like his father, he will 'be busy with horses' (*te zelelpe grenze*).

Gypsy children love to depict horses with chalk on the wall, or with pencil on paper, or in the dust with their fingers. Father Polubinskie, who used to teach some years ago in the school at Dankovska, told me that Gypsy children were no slower in learning than other children. On one occasion he noticed the inattention of some Gypsy children who were not listening to his explanations. With extraordinary absorption they were drawing horses on their desk!

A Gypsy loves to ride fast, and whips his horse unmercifully, trying to hit with his whip about the horse's legs, just below the girth, which will make the slowest horse quicken its pace. It is a popular saying: 'he rides like a Gypsy,' that is headlong. According to the Gypsy expression, a Gypsy sits lithely in the saddle like an eel, the peasant sits like a log of wood. A Gypsy rarely gets fond of a horse, though for a time he likes to ride a swift horse, and to try one which goes like a greyhound. A Gypsy once stole an untamable horse, but for a long time he would not give up riding it; 'I nearly pulled my hands off, sir!'

When he has thoroughly used up a good horse a Gypsy passes it off on some one else, though he is himself a farrier, and himself doctors horses with cabbage-brine, eggs, and copperas; this is a common Gypsy recipe. If a horse eats badly, a Gypsy rams down his throat the warm entrails taken from a living fowl.

Nobody makes any secret of their failings. In the good old times the landed proprietors themselves were fond of talking to the Gypsies about trotters, and sometimes gave a Gypsy an illicit commission to procure a trotter or a galloper. Such an incident as this has happened:—In markets or crowded places owners have recognised their own horses; farmers have angrily claimed their own property, and have forced those riding stolen horses 'to get down into the mud off another man's horse.' When a Gypsy sells a stolen horse, he indicates to the buyer the direction in which it is safe to ride it.

TRAMPING GYPSY WOMEN

Gypsy women often go about with sacks begging ; in the course of which they look carefully about to see where there is something they can sneak, and, for a future time, into what farmyard it will be easiest for the Gypsies to break ; they, so to speak, collect information as to the domestic economy of the farmers. At the fast of St. Philip (Advent, Nov. 14 to Dec. 24) the peasant stores up for himself flesh-meat for the coming feast : in storehouses and larders are spread out beef, mutton, and pork ; the object of the Gypsies' thoughts - and the Gypsies' envy. The Gypsies both beg for this, and try to steal it, an attempt which, owing to the want of care and forethought of the peasants, often succeeds. The Gypsies say : 'At the time of St. Philip the peasants fast, but we "scuff" meat like turnips !'

The Gypsy women are very wheedling : they would get your soul out of you with their prayers : they complain of the hard times, of poverty, they promise to generous housewives good luck and prosperity. But for God's sake do not offend them ! Fail to give them alms or food, assail them with rough words, and they vow to bear it in mind ; they begin to mutter to themselves : 'These farmers are getting too uppish, they are forgetting, they are altogether too proud ; if you do not steal from them you spoil them, we shall have to arrange a raid on them !' These threats have a very marked effect on the farmer. He thinks to himself : 'You never know what they are up to ! It is good advice—Don't anger God, and keep friends with the devil.' He scratches his head and brings out food to the Gypsy women.

This is the usual form of the Gypsy entreaty :—'Mother house-keeper, give me a dear little bit of meat, give me some meal, give me a tiny bit of butter ; I want to grease my head : Give me a teeny egg, and a grain of salt : dear little mother ! Give us a drop of cream out of that brimming bowl of yours ; and God will give you them full to the brim ; full to the brim as eggs are round, and plenty of them ; so that from my lucky hand plenty of everything may flow to you, round and brimming full. Won't you pity me, lady, and give me a whole carcase, so that I may have plenty of all ! Give me your hand, lady, I will tell you all your fortune ; send out your dear little children, I can tell by their ears if they will live and be lucky, only don't be stingy in anything.' The

goodwife gives a measure of oats, a measure of rye, sometimes a lump of fat, and a bit of meat.

A heedless hen, or a stray sucking-pig, finds its way into the sack of the Gypsy woman ; hens they sometimes catch cleverly with a hook and line : with one hand they are taking alms, but with the other they are for ever sneaking the good wife's things, an egg or a bit of fat from the stock-pot. These same trampers hold themselves out as fortune-tellers, they examine the hand, or feel the ears of children, and foretell their fate.

The Gypsy women also conjure in this way: they form a cross of four threads twisted in pairs; they spit on where the twisted threads are crossed, and at the same time make a screaming noise, and say mysteriously to the credulous peasant woman: 'Do you hear? Some one is shrieking'—'Yes, some one shrieks'; answers the peasant woman fearfully. 'As these threads twist, so will the bowels of your enemies twist'; and the gammer, quite contented that her enemies should perish, produces an alins for the fortune-teller.

The Gypsy women do not confine themselves to prowling about the farmyards and to petty thefts, the more fearless of them accompany their husbands on their freebooting expeditions. The wife of Vaska of Fitsofka follows her husband unshrinkingly when he rides out to rob; it is a trifle what she does, stands on watch by the horses. Anyütka, wife of Ivka, stole fiercely, and loved to ride with the Gypsies on a foray. She would never miss a single chance of going with them. She herself begged to stand by the horses. Once the Gypsies broke into a store near Elna: they secured a lot of goods, put them on their horses and rode off, but Anyütka stayed rummaging among the silks. The house caught fire, and she, seeing the fire, fled headlong from the place; but she did not leave the goods behind,—with her arms full of bundles she ran on foot two versts, to the appointed rendezvous.

The peasants are long accustomed to look on the Gypsy thefts as the usual thing, and among the Gypsies hard shamelessness and insolence have almost developed into a system. Some Gypsy women were going begging; as they went they saw that the storehouse of Kuzma was unlocked, and hanging up under the rafters were two fore-quarters with the lights. They went to the house and were given something, then they began to beg for meat. Kuzma refused: 'You would never have done begging for meat!' The Gypsy women got angry: 'Nothing but no, master! No

comes quite glib to your tongue.' They went off home and began to talk: 'We saw two sets of lights hanging up; the stock-pot is a fat one.' At night a Gypsy went and stole all. Some time after the neighbours were gathered at the smithy: the Gypsy thief and Kuzma came face to face. The Gypsy began to sling it into Kuzma: 'What have you been up to, Kuzma? You've poisoned us. I'll have the law of you. Who ever heard of lights being salted in that fashion? My children are bursting themselves with water: they suck away at the river like pigs!' There was no escaping it; to pacify the angry Gypsy, Kuzma promised him a fowl and a sucking-pig.

The peasants do not stand on ceremony with the wandering Gypsy women, especially if they are alone, without relations, and consequently unprotected. On this point a peasant girl told me the following:—'A one-eyed Gypsy woman, Tatyana, was going with her little daughter to Samaχotofka. My aunt had a pet hen. My aunt would say to the hen, "Sit down," and it sat down. My aunt looked about after the Gypsies had gone by: the hen was nowhere to be seen. She ran after the Gypsies as far as yonder linden tree: the old Gypsy was stuffing the hen into her sack. My aunt was in a fury: she snatched away the hen from her, and caught the old woman by the sleeve. "You come along with me, or else to the constable. Come along, come along; I'll let you know all about it!" The old woman hung back, but she had to go. "Maria! Maria!" croaked my aunt to a neighbour: "Just bring me here a good stout ladle; I'll baste this old Gypsy hag over the head a bit." The daughter began to run and cry: "Oh light of my heart! goodwife! goodwife! Let up! Let up! Do not kill my poor old mother!" That old blind Gypsy never comes near our place now.'

RELATIONS WITH THE PEASANTS

Gypsies, if surprised in a night-theft, resist desperately; it is pretty difficult to arrest them. On one occasion a number of carriers surrounded them in winter; the Gypsies on swift horses, harnessed to light sledges, succeeded in breaking through, and, so to speak, overleaping the barrier. Some of the Gypsies were captured. In order to rescue their comrades, the remainder fell upon the peasants with bludgeons. The scheme was successful. Taking advantage of the tumult the prisoners escaped, and all the Gypsies evaded pursuit by great good luck.

The nearest neighbours of the Gypsies, if they detect them in theft, sometimes do not lay a charge against them in the court, but recover their losses by mutual arrangement. One night some Gypsies poisoned a dog, the next they stole some oats. They were caught; they paid three roubles for the oats, and two more for poisoning the dog. The peasants of Medvedofka, two versts from Kizilefka, are rich, progressive, and devoted to hunting; they notified the Gypsies of Kizilefka that they had better not come riding about Medvedofka by night, 'Or we will certainly shoot you.' The Gypsies do not meddle with the people of Medvedofka. From the villagers at a distance the Gypsies steal very boldly. Kizilefka has twice been burnt; the peasants of Yelninsk set fire to it out of revenge; and the Gypsies of Kizilefka still bear them a great grudge about it. Among the peasants of Krasninsk and Yelninsk the Gypsies of Kizilefka bear a well-merited evil reputation, and the Gypsies fear to come before the court when there are peasants from Mogilefsk or Krasninsk on the jury: 'However innocent you may be you will go to Siberia; these peasants do not even listen to the counsel, they just say: "The Gypsy is guilty, he is guilty on all counts, there is no mercy for him," and there's an end of it.'

In the popular tales, legends, and proverbs, the Gypsies are represented as professional thieves, with an insolent and mocking wit. Some time ago, a landowner asked a Gypsy why they were exclusively engaged in robbery. His answer was—'This was handed down to us by our fathers from all ages.' Here is a peasant story, showing their opinion of the Gypsies:—A Gypsy met with St. George the Victorious. St. George was riding on a magnificent horse, shod with gold and silver. The Gypsy began to complain bitterly to St. George about his own miserable lot. St. George listened with great attention to the complaint of the Gypsy, and reported the matter to the Deity. The Deity replied: 'It's a thievish race, so it has been, and so it will ever be; it is useless pleading for them. But where are your horse's shoes? You were so busy pitying the rascal, that you never noticed that he was stealing the shoes while he talked!' In another popular tale a Gypsy and a farmer sow money. Having sown a comparatively small amount, they got back each morning their capital with some addition, much to the delight of the farmer. Then they sowed a big sum, and got back—nothing! The farmer began to blame the Gypsy for advising him to sow money. The

Gypsy answered, ' Well, it 's nobody's fault that there was a sharp frost early this morning ! ' A popular proverb says, ' The farmer winnows the heap, but it is the Gypsy who warms his hands at it ! '

RELATIONS WITH THE AUTHORITIES

The Gypsies take a lively but indirect part in the village elections. They cannot take a direct share in the elections : first, because the majority of them are reckoned among the urban and not the village population ; secondly, some of them who are villagers have for ever lost their electoral rights through being convicted of theft. In their own interests the Gypsies show themselves strong partisans of some persons who are selected as candidates for the post of headman of a village. To influence the better the choice of the villagers they put various means into operation ; for instance, they terrify the timid and uneducated inhabitants of the villages with threats of robbery : ' Gentlemen, we will steal all your sheep if such and such a person is not elected headman.' The more enlightened of them understand thoroughly what are the duties of the judge and the headman, they have accurate city information ; but they use their knowledge only in a negative manner, sometimes in jeering at the clumsiness of the peasants, sometimes in trying to turn it to their own advantage. Ivka, a very clever old Gypsy of Kizilefka, delights in attending the village courts, and he tells with a grin of the things he has seen and heard there, leaning against the bar opposite the headman, ' till I laughed fit to split myself.'

The villagers are very careful not to offend the Gypsies of their own village, not wishing to have any disputes with them, nor desiring to create dangerous enemies in the same village ; and therefore any searches which are carried out with the assistance of the villagers are often not very thorough ; if the matter depends on them, they will often conceal both the thief and his booty. Even the constable does not always succeed in keeping a Gypsy in his grip. A constable of weak character, a ' helpless body ' as the peasants call him, can make no hand at all of them. If a constable is ' uppish ' with the Gypsies, and they find out that he has a weakness for wine, or a pretty girl, they do not fail to take advantage of it ; and if a chance arises they will give him a thrashing, or humiliate him as much as they can.

Some years ago there was a constable in the district of

Prudkova, who thoroughly restrained the thievish instincts of the Gypsies; he did not allow them to steal either from their neighbours or from those at a distance. This constable was a strong, thick-set Russian, with a keen intelligence. He dealt severely with the Gypsies, beating those whom he caught in theft mercilessly with a *nagayika*, almost into a fever. In his searches he was very cool and cautious, and always kept a revolver in his hand. This was because the Gypsies, a very hot-headed race, never consider consequences when they are irritated, and people who go to them to search for their own property must be well armed; even in the days when the serf laws were in force, the Gypsies would venture to offer violence to the police agents, whoever they might be, though the offender would certainly have to suffer for it.

GYPSY ORGANISATION

The Gypsies are powerful in this respect, that they form societies for robbery; they steal in company, they hide in company, and they divide the stolen goods among them by arrangement. If crime is brought home to them, they decide who is to bear the responsibility for it, and the person fixed upon, whether guilty or not, and in whatever degree he may be implicated in the commission of the crime, submits to the general verdict. Some of the Gypsies are distinguished by their keeping separate; they are not popular, and keep themselves apart. The Gypsies of Kizilefka are strong through their solidarity with the Gypsies of Yelninsk and Roslafsk, with whom they are often connected by marriage.

The Gypsies of Kisilefka have a head; a cunning and experienced man who exercises authority over them. Ivka, for so their leader in peace and war is named, regulates the relation of the Gypsies towards their neighbours; on whom they shall make raids and on whom not, whom they shall touch and whom not. Sometimes, at the request of neighbouring landowners or notables, Ivka directs Gypsies to return horses to a proprietor from whom they have been stolen, and he is obeyed: quite by accident, as it were, the person injured finds his property in an appointed place.

In his governing of the Gypsies Ivka acts with a certain amount of policy; he guarantees to a district inspector or a constable that during a certain time the Gypsies shall not, in such and such a district, under any pretence disturb the inhabitants by their thefts; and to bind the Gypsies to obedience Ivka

exacts an oath from them. The Gypsies consider the oath a heavy one, and it makes a profound impression on them; they weep while taking it; they hold it impossible to evade; its literal sense is not to be escaped by any trickery or mental reservation, nor by any twisting, as the peasants sometimes do with their oaths; they hold the oath inviolable. Their children take part in it, for the Gypsies swear before God by their very dearest possessions, their children. Moreover, the oath is that of the community, binding on all the Gypsies of the neighbourhood.

THE GYPSY OATH

(*Taken down from Ivka, a Gypsy of Kizilefka, sixty years old. The form of oath which I give is retained to the present day.*)

The Gypsies with their chief take an oath that for a specified time they will not steal in a certain district.

'The Gypsy oath is made like this: we light a candle before the icons; we place one icon on a table; we place in front of it an empty pail, and a bent iron poker. All these are placed on the table. Thither the Gypsy brings his child, a young girl or a youth, and places himself on his knees and puts the child in front of him, and the boy too is on his knees, and he raises his hands above him.

'And the Gypsy pronounces these words:—*If I do not keep my oath, then may I never see this my child, who is dearest to me of all, and may I bury him, and may he be hidden from me, if I do not keep my oath. As this pail is empty, so may my house be empty, and may my manhood be emptied from me, and may I be twisted like this poker, and may I fall into the three hells.*

'The oath is taken with tears:—*That I will not save my son, and my son must not save his father (the son must give up his father and the father must give up his son). From whatever side wrongdoing shall come, from the father's side, or from the son's, or from any other quarter, there shall be no rescue, all must be given up, all must be revealed.*

'The same form of oath is administered to all, that each one will not favour his nearest relations. There is no possibility of evading this oath, which is generally made for three years. The father weeps, the son weeps; their hearts fail them; if there is any bystander, he too weeps and joins in. A peasant often takes

an oath, but intends differently; but you cannot forswear yourself in the presence of your children.'

Still quite recently some Gypsies broke their oath. In the canton of Prudkova there were several cases of theft; the constable began a search among the Gypsies of Kizilefka. The Gypsies said to him: 'Do not worry yourself unnecessarily, Mr. Constable; we have sworn not to steal in this neighbourhood.' 'You *are* stealing, all the same,' answered the constable, 'we found a stolen goose in the house of such-and-such a Gypsy this very day.'—'It was with him?' 'Yes, with him.' 'Well, don't punish us, your excellency; that fellow is a regular loony.'

HALF-BREEDS

Some of the inhabitants of the district have become, after the example of the Gypsies, impudent thieves, and their temperament is fiery and audacious in critical moments. It is wonderful that their skill in handicrafts has not suffered from this; the people of Kizilefka are considered excellent workmen. A Gypsy woman who marries a peasant becomes an energetic worker, fully fitted for village life; a peasant woman who marries a Gypsy becomes an idle slut; she loses whatever good there may be in her nature or possibilities, and adopts the Gypsy lawlessness. 'She has benumbed us,' say the Gypsies of such a gypsified woman. There is a popular proverb: 'A gypsified person is more to be feared than a Gypsy.' In Kisilefka and in the neighbouring villages there is to be found a type closely allied to the Gypsy; swarthy, black-haired, occasionally curly-haired, graceful, able to undertake village labour, intelligent, agile and quick; this is a mixed type.

The Gypsies do not ordinarily like competitors in robbery, and therefore they appear as spies and informers. They are greedy of commendation, and are not loath to earn praise and a reward. Daring thieves and robbers, who had terrorised the district, have been captured by their aid, thanks to their recklessness and boldness. They do not fear the peasants of their own villages, and by chance, or in the course of a quarrel, they discover their plots.

GYPSY FOOD

The food of the Gypsies is almost the same as that of the peasants, but there is some slight difference in the mode of preparation. The Gypsies are careful to see that there are no

'kernels' in their mutton. Round the neck and lower shoulder-blade are found lumps with a kernel like a nut; the Gypsies call these *zalozozki*, or, in their own language, *parkotini*. These kernels they cut out, because, if they are left in, the meat is strong and stinks. Peasants have a custom, when they kill a sheep and begin to wash it, of rubbing the entrails with their shoes of woven bark. A peasant when he kills a fowl seldom cuts off the rump, the beak, or the crop. A peasant's food would make a Gypsy 'heave.' A Gypsy told me: 'Once a peasant treated myself and the headman of the *volost*. He roasted a fowl, but left the beak on whole; when you stirred the crop with a fork the grain ran out of it. The headman ate away about the ribs of the fowl, but it was too much for me: I had had enough.'

A Gypsy is fastidious: he finds fault with the village women. A peasant woman goes to fetch water, and at the same time relieves nature—*kxandela*.

A Gypsy will not cook food nor fill up the kettles with water drawn over-night.

A peasant cooks eggs hard, so that you can cut them with a knife, but a Gypsy cooks them soft. A peasant woman cooks meat to rags, but a Gypsy eats it underdone with the juice in it. A peasant eats mushrooms almost raw, but a Gypsy always boils or roasts them thoroughly. Gypsies cook crayfish till they fall apart, and so they do with fish; but a peasant considers that fish is ready as soon as it ceases to quiver; and when the crayfish ceases to crawl about, it is cooked enough. Gypsy women have intelligence and a quick hand, and cook quite well. A peasant woman cannot cook porridge so well on a stove as a Gypsy woman can on an open fire in an outhouse.

Gypsies are fond of *verenina*, which they call *χvīza*. *Verenina* is a peasant dish which is prepared as follows:—When water is boiling furiously it is taken off the stove; in the meanwhile meal has been roasted in front of the flames till it turns red. The meal is poured into the water and replaced on the stove for half an hour. Those who like it put butter in it; those who prefer, eat it with crushed hemp-seed. Gypsies eat it with butter; they will put from three to five pounds of butter in the pot.

The cakes of the peasants are different from those of the Gypsies. When the potatoes are ripe the peasants bake potato-cakes. About the Feast of the Intercession (Oct. 1, O.S.; Oct. 14, N.S.) they make cakes with carrots, with sour milk, and, later in

the autumn, with pease or lentils ; and then they make their cakes with pancakes of peasemeal, cutting the pancakes into small pieces and stuffing the cakes with them. Gypsies make small cakes with eggs and curds, and call them *jirogi* (*i.e.* fat cakes).

Gypsies salt their meat much more than do the peasants, and boast that they feed much more tastily than they do. ‘Our fast days are better than your feasts.’—‘Our Advent is better than your Christmas; we “scoff” meat like turnips.’—‘We are not like you; we are not going to wait all the year for a pheasant; a tomtit in the mouth is better.’ Only he does not always get fat to eat: ‘If I were Tzar I would eat fat, and fat on the top of that, and cover it all with fat.’

When his thefts are not successful, he too fasts ; and then the peasant jeers in his turn :—‘The Gypsy is half a nobleman, he is not a pagan, only his body is brown with smoke; he has got a frog in his inside.’

THE GYPSY DRESS

A Gypsy woman ties her kerchief in a different fashion from the peasant woman ; she ties it under the angles of the jaw-bone. The kerchief is not tied smoothly, but hangs down behind like a little bag ; in front there hang a sort of wings ; the kerchief lies about the head like that of a Jewess. The smocks of the Gypsy women have particoloured borders.

The Gypsy men wear long coats and thigh-boots, like the retainers of great houses. Like these latter they love to have their boots in accordion-pleats, with a number of wrinkles and then a smooth hoop alternately. The Gypsies have good waist-belts. Their horse-cloths are good linen ones. The reins and girths are of plaited ribbons. These plaited ribbons are stolen from the peasants ; the peasants prepare them in the hope that they will be able to use them on feast days, but have to use reins of hempen rope.

Summer and winter a Gypsy wears a scarf; and the children wear scarfs also. Their fur coats are sewn like those of household servants. A peasant’s fur coat is sewn over the breast-bone, with scallops down the spine ; but that of a Gypsy has only an opening behind. A peasant’s fur coat clings close to the body, but a Gypsy’s sticks away from it.

(To be continued.)

III.—CAPITAINES DE BOHÉMIENS¹

Par S. G. MONSEIGNEUR J. DE CARSALADE DU PONT,
Évêque de Perpignan

LES gouvernements se sont préoccupés à juste titre de ces tribus nomades, *Égyptiens*, *Bohémiens*, *Gitanos*, *Zingaris*, etc., qui depuis des siècles errent à travers le monde, conservant dans leurs migrations continues, et avec une opiniâtreté remarquable, l'intégrité de leur race, leur langage, leurs mœurs, leurs lois, sans que les efforts tentés pour les faire disparaître ou les assimiler aient jamais pu aboutir. Étrangères à la civilisation qui les entoure, elles sont encore de nos jours telles qu'elles étaient au moyen-âge, ayant la même organisation, les mêmes chefs aveuglément obéis, exerçant les mêmes professions, nécromanciens, acrobates, tondeurs de chiens, vanniers et surtout pillards.

En France, les mesures de police les plus sévères et souvent les plus cruelles ont été impuissantes à vaincre leur obstiné vagabondage et à les refouler au-delà des frontières : il a fallu s'accommoder de leur présence ; le document que nous allons citer en est une preuve.

A défaut des recueils judiciaires qui nous manquent pour traiter cette question de police, ce document nous montre qu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle, le Roi s'était réservé la nomination du chef de ces tribus nomades. Il l'instituait capitaine avec pouvoir de déléguer partie de son autorité à des subordonnés. Il est à croire que ce capitaine était responsable devant les lois des actes de la tribu qu'il commandait, et par contre qu'il devait avoir une part principale dans les profits de la troupe. Nous laissons à d'autres le soin d'éclaircir la question ; voici, en attendant, ce curieux document.

Bail de lieutenant par Georges de la Haye, égyptien

Dans la ville et cité d'Aux avant midy se seroit présenté en personne le susdit George de La Haye, capitaine de troys menaiges d'Egyptiens, lequel de son gré suvant le bon plaisir du Roy et provisions à lui accordées par Sa Magesté, le doutziesme sep-

¹ Réimprimé de la *Revue de Gascogne*, 1896, avec la permission bienveillante de sa Grandeur l'auteur.

tembre mil cinq cens quatre-vingtz-quinze, a nous exhibées, a faict, créé, nommé, constitué son lieutenant et de sa dite companie de troys menaiges d'egiptiens, Etienne La Combe, cappitaine present, pour aller venir passer repasser avec les troys menaiges ou partie d'iceulx, par tout le royaume de France ainssin qu'est contenu aux susdites provisions et comme ledict La Haye feroit en personne. Laquelle charge ledict La Combe, cappitaine, a accepté et requis acte leur estre retenu par nous notaire, tabellion royal héréditaire dudit Aux soulsinné; ce qui a esté faict à leur requisition le vingtiesme juin mil six cens ung. BEGUIER.¹

Cette mesure de police était encore en vigueur au XVII^e siècle. Les registres des audiences du sénéchal d'Armagnac² renferment un arrêt d'expulsion prononcé le 26 janvier 1657 contre les nommés Henri Cristophle et Laplace, *capitaines de bohémiens*, et Balercha, soldat de la compagnie de Cristophle, qui s'étaient rendus coupables de vol la nuit avec effraction. L'arrêt porte que les capitaines seront bannis à perpétuité du ressort de la sénéchaussée 'tant eux que leurs femmes, enfants et autres de leur suite.'

Le vol qui provoqua cet arrêt d'expulsion est relaté dans un document conservé aux Archives départementales du Gers. Les détails en sont curieux: ils jettent quelque jour sur la vie que menaient au XVII^e siècle ces gentilshommes de l'Armagnac, chez lesquels l'atavisme réveillait en toute occasion l'impérieuse passion des armes. Tout leur était prétexte à bataille; l'un d'eux même avait pris à sa solde la compagnie de bohémiens du capitaine Cristophle, et partait en guerre contre ses voisins, comme aux temps héroïques.

*Lettres de grâce d'abolition et pardon des sieurs Darqués,
Baluet, Lapoutge et autres*

Louis, par la grâce de Dieu, Roy de France et de Navarre, à tous presans et advenir, salut.

Avons receu l'umble suplication de Bertrand et Louis de Mendousse, frères, sieurs de La Poutge, Pierre-Jean et Jean Deymier, frères, sieurs d'Alous (*sic* pour d'Alias),³ quatre de nos mosquetaires, et François Augé de Lamesan, sieur de Baluet, con-

¹ Archives de l'auteur.

² *Archives départementales du Gers*, B. 149, fol. 303.

³ Aymier, seigneur d'Arquès et Lias, près l'Isle-Jourdain.

tenant que led. Bertrand de Mendorse, l'un des supplians, ayant faict informer par le juge des lieux d'un vol à luy faict de deux jumens et quelques brebis par le nommé Christophe, capitaine d'une compagnie de bohemes, il auroit obtenu decret de prise de corps contre luy, pour lequel apuyer et faire metre à execution, ayant apris que led. Christophe avoit la protection de François Duchemin,¹ sieur de Lauraët, lequel lui avoit non seulement donné retraite dans sa terre, mais encore à tous les Bohemes de sa compagnie, il se seroict faict accompagner des supplians et de quelques autres de ses amis et voisins, auroit prié led. Pierre-Jean Deymier, l'un desd. supplians, d'aller faire civillité et complimens aud. Duchemin, afin de soufrir que led. decret de prise de corps decerné contre led. Christophe feust mis à execution dans sad. terre. Lequel procedé bien qu'il feust dans les termes d'honnêteté et de la bienséance, au lieu de produire un bon effaict, n'auroit servi qu'à irriter led. Duchemin, lequel, prenant pour injure l'execution dud. decret dans sad. terre, seroict aussy tost monté à cheval et criant: Aux armes! auroit excitté et obligé tous lesd. Bohemes à faire rebellion auxd. actes de justice. Et s'estant advancé precipitement avec led. Duchemin et de Marrast au devant desd. supplians ils auroint faict une sy rude descharge de coups de pistolletz et de mosquetons que trois de la compagnie desd. supplians et principallement led. Jean-Pierre Deymier, l'un d'iceux, feurent grefvement blessés. Et pareillement led. Duchemin, en retournant en son chasteau et n'y pouvant entrer à cause d'une charrette qui avoit embarassé la porte, il auroit receu un coup de pistollet au bras; et bien que le faict soict arrivé sans aulcun desseing premeditté desd. supplians, quy ne pensoint qu'à rendre civillité aud. Duchemin, pour l'executer des actes de justice contre un voleur averé, neanmoings il en auroit esté informé d'autorité du parlement de Toulouse et procedé extraordinairement à l'encontre desd. supplians. Aulcuns desquels s'estans rendus prisoniers auroint esté eslarris par arrest de lad. Cour, à la charge de se presanter toutes fois et quantes quand il en seroict ordonné. Mais comme ils ont esté depuis dans les troupes de nos mosquetaires, ils ont apris qu'il s'en seroict ensuivy un autre arrest de contumasse contre eux aud. parlement, par lequel ils ont esté condamnés à avoir la teste tranchée; ce qui leur a donné subject de recourir à nous pour leur estre sur ce pourveu de nos

¹ Duchemin, seigneur, baron de Lauraët et de Marrast, canton de Montréal-du-Gers.

lettres de grâce, remission, pardon et abolition sur ce nécessaires, qu'ils nous ont faict suplier leur vouloir accorder.

A ces causes scavoir faisons . . . que nous avons . . . remis, pardonné . . . etc.

A Paris, le 24 juin 1661, BOURSET, signé et scellé de cire verte.

Enregistré à Auch suivant jugement présidial du 13 janvier 1666.¹

IV.—STORMS AND INTERLUDES

By THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON

IT was late in the afternoon of one of the many fine, clear days that there were in the early part of September, and the encampment was about a mile from Kendal, on the Windermere road. The newly painted waggon looked gay in the bright sunshine, in striking contrast with the dull green of the neighbouring hedge, and the earthy hue that was common to the tattered, little, 'cuckoo' tent and the bare ground around it. A good many old rugs were scattered about, forming a crude circle around a fire-bucket, full of red-hot coke, before which a toothsome, fat *hočiwičū*—the first of the season—was neatly spitted.

The Gypsies were old friends—none other than Shandres and Lavinia Smith² and their numerous offspring. Very few of them seemed to be about. Diddles was sitting on a stone, on the handle of a saw, making a dancing-doll perform on the oscillating blade. The baby, Freeda, was taking a childish, and therefore noisy, interest in the performance. Vensalena was seated on the bank, doing nothing at all except looking bewitchingly handsome. But Lulu and Nornas could not have been far away, for all at once they burst in upon us, begging for 'a dear, dotty bit o' *máro*', with a winsomeness and persistence that seemed irresistible.

Nornas, by the way, is an extraordinary child. He is a brown lithe, little fox-cub of seven, with a dimpled face, and long, black curls, and two merry devils dancing in his coal-black eyes. In a very few minutes he can be loving, kind-hearted, considerate,

¹ *Archives du Gers, série B. Sénéchaussée d'Auch, Registre des Insinuations, 1664-1677, fo 137, v°.*

² Shandres Smith is the son of Ned or Edward Smith and Mary Ann Smith, both of whom died at Cheltenham; and Lavinia one of the many daughters of Simpronius Bohemius Boswell and Savaina Lovell.

polite, insulting, deceitful, treacherous, and passionately angry; these moods come and go like rain showers in May, but he is steadfast in his disobedience and untruthfulness. I suppose that the bad in his character does really outweigh the good, but still everybody loves him. Lulu is similar in many respects, but lacks the physical beauty, cleverness, cunning, and charm of his younger brother, as well as his treachery.

These two imps of darkness must surely have succeeded in their request, had not Nornas spied the hedgehog's 'livers' roasting on the coke. Never hesitating a moment, he snatched them from the glowing cinders, and exultantly fled up the field, amidst a shower of curses and missiles from Vensa. Once at a safe distance, he stood still to revile her for a moment, and then disappeared with his treasure, Lulu following behind to try and secure a share of the booty.

I sat down, a welcome guest, by Vensa's side, and listened to her continuous flow of delightful chatter. 'Onst at Brough Hill,' she informed me, 'we had a hedgehog spitted as might be that one there (God love it), an' some dear, poor mumpers [potters] com'd past. "Is that hoo thoo cooks thi hedgehog, lass?" they axes me. "Yes," I says. "Why, we cook oor'n i' clay," they says, "wi' t' brus'les ontul it an' ivverything." "D'y'e eat the bristles then?" I axes. "Noa, lass," they ansters. "When we smash t' clay off t' brus'les cus wi' t', dusn't ta see?" "But d'y'e eat the insides?" I axes. "Coorse we deea," they says. 'Dádi! ēavi, my heart ris'd into my mouth, an' I couldn't have spoke another word to them for all the golden sovereigns into England. They was worser 'an that black boy, Starkey, for he used always to set me by rexaminin' the hedgehogs' insides to see what they lived on. Onst me an' him had a big argifyng as to whether they'd eat mice or not. We couldn't regree which was into the right, so a day or two ar'terwards he bring'd home two mice, and tethered 'em with string to a stick he'd druv into the ground. Then he put down a big, owld hedgehog, what my daddy had caught, near by to them. *Dádi, díri duvla!* Will, I was fit to bu'st my sides with larfin', for there was this owld, fat *hočiwičū*, a-chasin' and a-chasin' them two dear, dotty, little mice round an' round an' round. Long an' by last they got the string all rentangled with the stick, an' then it eated them up—an' the string as well.' 'And was itself in turn eaten up by the cruel Gypsies?' I queried. 'Owli, ēd, it was,' she assured me. 'An' my daddy had the fat for

his ears; he'd been a bit deaf for a day or two. Hedgehog's fat, you *jin*, can't never be still; it's always all of a quiggle; it's got virtue into it like; and that is for why we uses it for deafness or earache.'

By the time that Vensa had finished her discursion on the natural history of the hedgehog, it was already well after five o'clock, but we had to wait quite another quarter of an hour before Lavinia came home. When she did eventually arrive, she was full of grievances against the 'poverty, starvation place,' and thoroughly out of temper with the world. There was no one upon whom she could vent her pent-up anger, except her impish children, who were clustering round her, and mischievously feeding and fanning the flame, knowing full well that they would escape unscathed. How she did 'scowld' them! No one who has been denied the privilege of an acquaintance with Búi's daughters can imagine the scene. Shrieking and raving like a Fury, she consigned them one and all—'Toad's Face,' 'Frog's Nose,' 'Pig's Jaws,' 'Macfarlane's Lips,' and 'Spider's Legs,'—all the 'Hellhound breed' of them in fact—to dreadful, unmentionable places, for they were merely encumberers of the earth, with no more right to exist than 'Solomon Taylor wid the hump on his back,' 'Ring-Tailed Isaac' his brother, Alice Wood, Major Lovell, 'Thick-Lippéd Charlotte,' and many another of her deformed or disreputable relations-in-law, whose 'splitten images' they were. They were a pack of 'ring-tailed monkeys,' of 'creeping cockle-roachs,' of 'stinking hounds,' of 'jumping pups,' and, with help from above, she would 'poke the two eyes out of' them, and 'blind' them, and 'stiffen' them, and 'roast' them, by all that she held most sacred she would. However, when she had said and done all, never a one of them was any the worse. True, she had aimed blows, kicks, crockery, old boots, a concertina, a bird-cage, and a bucket of water at them, but the combined effect of it all was productive of just as little personal injury as was her vigorous and unconventional language.

Then a curious incident occurred. On rearranging the contents of her basket, after Lulu's depredations, Lavinia found two small flukes, and, strange to say, her anger there and then disappeared in mirth. What could there be so very amusing about those two small fishes? I am quite certain that I should never have guessed, but it was because they 'were made up on two *ratvoli*, howld *lubanis* at eleven o'clock at night.' I realised to

the full what a truly incomprehensible thing Gypsy humour was.

In spite of their associations, the two miserable flukes were served up to tea with the hedgehog, the remains of the *bokensi's pur* that they had had for dinner, and the other delicacies. Lulu and Nornas, of course, could not wait to be served, but snatched at everything until a kick and a blow from Vensa laid them low. 'Now yous won't get none tea now, you greedy monkeys, no more 'an my dear Aunt Lily what's dead and into her grave,' she swore; but a few seconds later she was kissing and fondling them, and giving them whatever they fancied.

For a time there was peace, every one being preoccupied with tea, except Vensa, who was feeding the little black kitten from a saucer that she had fashioned for it from a scrap of brown paper, so that it should not defile any of their all too limited supply of unbroken crockery. Presently Diddles hurled back a slice of bread at his *dai*, because she had allowed it to touch her dress whilst cutting it. Lavinia quietly gave it to the dog. 'That's the way wid all our fambly, Will,' she explained; 'we can't none on we stomach hanythink what's *moxadi*. I wouldn't have gid it to the child if I'd a-noticed, but them moiders me so, an' fair hags the heart out'n my belly, until I don't know what I's a-doin' on. But there's my child what's just been *romado*; he ar'n't got none renjoicement out'n his vittles ever since he had that potter girl. He's seen her washin' the things what he eated off'n into the same dish, an' wid the same piece of soap, what she had used for washin' of herself, and in course he couldn't stomach his vittles ar'ter that 'n'. He gid her a bran' new tin out'n his basket in parpose for to wash his bits o' cups an' things into, but next day there was she washin' her blouse into it. So what did he done but he took'd the hatchet, an' smashed all his cups an' saucers an' plates an' things to smidereens. S'help me *Duvel* he did, Will; an' I says it wid the dear God's bread into my mouth.'

'S'help me *Duvel* he did; an' I says it wid the dear God's bread into my mouth.'¹ I had never heard that oath before, but it reminded me of another occasion at tea when Lavinia had rebuked Starkey, in tones at once angry and sorrowful, for 'scussin'' and distorting his face so as to look like a blind Chinamen. 'An' wid

¹ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 173, where a story is quoted from the *Pester Lloyd* of July 1, 1881, in which Hungarian Gypsies swore on a large cross, to the top of which was fastened a piece of bread sprinkled with salt.

the dear God's bread into your mouth, you graceless monkey,' she had added. 'May the Lord Almighty show yous an example.' I could not help thinking, too, of the Norfolk Grays, who, in times past, used to sew a piece of bread inside their horses' collars to prevent them being 'witched';¹ of Tom Lee crumpling a whole loaf of bread around the tent when Bendigo was born; and of poor, old, one-eyed Sandi Lovell feverishly unbuttoning his shirt front, and clutching a loaf of bread to his naked bosom, every time he 'seed things.' Did Lavinia know anything about these odd uses to which bread was sometimes put? Yes, she did. 'Bread,' she explained, 'is one of the most powerfulest things the' is, for if yous sprinkles it onto hanyone (as I done onto my howdest child Meera onst), it will bring a blessing onto them, an' if yous sprinkles it about a place no evil spirits nor *mulos* durst to come nigh it, nor yet can any badness an' violence be done to yous there.

'The' is only one more powerfuler thing, whether it be to lay *mulos* or to reserve yous from badness an' violence, an' that is a woman what is *šuvali*. We was stoppin' onst at Cabbage Hall into Liverpool, these ten or eleven years agone, an' our fellow, bein' dealin' in horses at the time, had took'd a howld house close by for to serve as a stable. He was just a-goin' along there when a howld man what picked up rubbidge stopped him, an' towld him that no sooner should he be into the place wid the horses than he should be a dead man, for robbers wid big knives was waitin' there just in parpose for to kill him. Well, he com'd back. "Lavinia," he says, "I should just like for yous come along wid me to the horses." "I ar'n't got none time, man," I says busy-like. "Come on," he says, "for I dares not to go wi'out yous." Then I know'd what for he wanted me, me bein' *šuvali* at the time, d'ye *dik*? wid my child what's dead. So I gone, an' along the way he towld me all what the howld man had said. He was all of a dither, an' tremblin' like a leaf, when we gone into the stable, but we got the horses out'n it all rightly, an' not a hair onto his head was touched, me bein' present what was into that certain condition what I have named.' Perhaps, reader, you are not convinced that it was Lavinia's pregnancy that saved her husband's life (even if you believe that it was ever in danger), but Hubert and Vensa and Starkey are.

Tea was almost over now; at least every one was *pordo* except

¹ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 22.

Nornas and Lulu, who were whining sometimes alternately, sometimes in chorus : 'Cut-us-a-dear-little-bit-more-bread, dear-mamny.' 'My Saviour! childern!' ejaculated Lavinia, flabbergasted. 'Yous would eat half'n a dead donkey, for yous don't know the measure of your bellies.' 'No more don't yous know de measure of your belly,' was Nornas' prompt reply; 'nobody does—only Gād.' But even when they had eaten their fill they did not cease to 'moider' their *tūri dai*. Her patience with them reached breaking point. 'May the *Duvel* stiffen yous,' she shrieked, 'for yous is never still a minute; yous is like'n flies onto a lump o' *prastermengro's ful*. An' just keep your dirty mouds shut, or, s'help me Moses, I'll jump down your throats, an' gallop your livers out.' But Nornas realised at once that this was a vain threat. 'Well, do it, then; do it, then; do it, lookee,' he challenged defiantly. Almost needless to say, the next minute sufficed to see them pitched neck and crop out of the tent, and sprawling on the ground outside 'scussin' like devils out'n Hell.'

Some considerable time elapsed before we saw or heard them again, and what they had been 'up to' in the meantime I do not know in the least. Now it was Nornas' whine coming from somewhere behind the tent: 'Give-us-a-dear-little-bit-o'-bacca, dear-brother, an' I'll give yous two apples to-morrow.' 'Swear de oath den—onto your knees,' Lulu commanded. A few seconds passed in silence, and then we heard Nornas swearing slowly, solemnly, and clearly: 'By my dear, dead gran'father I will.'¹ Nornas certainly enjoyed his projected smoke, but I very much doubt whether he gave Lulu the two apples as he had sworn to do. Many times previously had I heard his *dai* lecture him earnestly and vehemently for breaking the same solemn oath. 'That's lying, you little varmint,' she always wound up—a doubly interesting indictment, giving as it did an insight into her conception of lying, and her opinion of those who indulged in it. For Lavinia divided all living creatures into three great classes: 'Christians—them's people. Hanimals—them's dogs, an' cats, an' horses, an' cows, an' bulls. Varmint—them's things what crawls.' And she only applied the epithet 'varmint' to people who were particularly loathsome.

The moon, meanwhile, had crept up the sky, and was shining

¹ When Josh Gray and his wife, Lenda Williams, were children, this was their most binding oath: 'By my dear, dead gran'father what was killed with thunder and lightning.' The common grandfather referred to was, of course, Taiso Boswell.

in upon us through the apertures of the tent. It was in its second quarter, for ten days had passed since Lulu, Nornas, and I had noticed the appearance of the tiny crescent, and had solemnly held up half-pennies towards it, 'heads topmost,' 'for to draw the luck onto we.' Its white, misty rays were stronger now, and, together with the red glow from the cinders, they sufficed to illuminate Lavinia's features as she sat there immobile, her black 'cutty' firmly fixed between her set teeth, her hand stayed on its way to poke the fire. I was curious to touch her, to assure myself that she had not been turned into a statue of bronze, as a punishment for her misdeeds. But a voice arrested my attention. 'The' is none Hell,' it announced with startling suddenness, 'leastways only but and axceptin' onto this earth. I'm not renyin' as the' is none Heaven. I'm not renyin' as if we done none badness an' violence to our hown flesh an' blood, and as one Christian by another Christian, but what the dear Lord won't then open the ground for we to pass into Heaven, where we shall have plenty, an' shall want for nothink. But if hanyone done badness an' violence by his hown flesh an' blood, or as one Christian by another Christian, then the Devil might come an' pinch him, an' squeedge him, an' make him to see things, here onto this blessed earth, but the dear Lord would never open the ground for he to pass hanywheres—like be to Hell as they says—for that would be foolishness for the dear Lord to bother wid sich a repterbate.' It was Lavinia who had been speaking, and now, having decided this tremendous and difficult problem to her own satisfaction, she again puffed out clouds of white smoke, and again poked the unoffending fire. I vaguely wondered why it was that she was always telling people to go to a place in whose existence she did not believe.

After a time Lulu tried to get back into the tent again, but his *dai* aimed a dish of dirty water at him, and effectively stopped him. 'The Lord Almighty look on yous, woman; for that's the way to treat your children,' Vensa protested. Then she tried to console the victim, who was rolling on the ground in speechless rage, and ripping his shirt to pieces in revenge. Things were just beginning to look lively again when it was whispered that Shandres was coming. The news acted like magic, for every one was behaving perfectly when he drove into the field.

Shandres had experienced quite a good day, for had he not obtained a *grai* in exchange for two almost valueless knee-rugs!

A veritable old 'crock' it was in sooth, but surely amenable to the art of a past master of 'horse-doctoring.' He was not pre-occupied with business-trickery that night—a sure sign to one who knew him well that he was thoroughly satisfied with his day's work. Instead, after eating his tea with a hearty relish, he reclined at his ease amongst the blankets and straw, half oblivious of everything around him. He was too sleepy even to smoke his pipe properly, so he replaced it by a small hedgehog's foot that he was in the habit of chewing. Then presently, when his drowsiness had passed, he called for his fiddle, and played us a selection of the hornpipes and jigs that he used to hear at the little country fairs in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire when he was a boy.

'You know, Will,' he explained, 'I used to go to all the little feastés them days, just in parpose for to climb the greasy pole. I'd wait till everybody else had tried—an' rubbed off some of the grease, d'ye see?—an' then I'd come forward an' say it was as easy done as drinkin' a pint o' beer. I'd have the inside of my breeches smeared with glue, an' then sanded; and into my hands I'd have two little bits of leather with tin-tacks driv through, an' bird-lime or glue onto the backs on them. Then up I'd go for all the world like a monkey right to the top every time, whiles all the people 'd gape and wonder howsoever it could be done so easily.' He smiled his beautiful child-like smile, and was filled with pride at the recollection of his own youthful cleverness.

'And another thing as I may not have told you about, Will,' he continued as soon as he had lighted his pipe, 'is how John Musty¹ [of Cheltenham] onst eated the heart out'n a snake for to put heart into him when he was a-fightin'. Then who should he come to meet but Francis Stephens, what had married my howldest sister [Mizelli]. They fit two or three rounds, an' then France threw him clean over his head, an' he should fall flat onto his back, an' should say: "Oh! bloody oh!" Up he jumped at onst, and atted his man like a bull, but my brother-in-law was too clever for him, an' finished him right off the same round. That was at Down Hatherley into Gloucestershire, and I wouldn't be not no size to mention at the time.'

'That's enough, man, for I tells yous we don't want to hear none more about sich rotten rubbridge as your Mustys an' Stephenses,' Lavinia interrupted. Had he been talking about the

¹ For some account of the Mustoes of Cheltenham, see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 205-207.

Herons and the Lees instead it would have been just the same, for she considered that all Gypsies outside her own family were nothing but 'rotten rubbidge.' And, strange to say, she was afraid of many of them too, especially the Bosses. 'For the *dīrī Duvel's* sake, child, don't yous go up to they,' she had once implored of me when I told her of a proposed visit to Hale Moss, 'for theys will witch hevery penny out'n your pockets, an' put a spell onto yous so as yous will do none more good as long as yous may live. Yous will see nothink only but bad luck an' povertiness an' rescease into all your days, so now I'm a-warnin' of yous. An' yous'll come back here wid it all into your clothes an' things, an' it'll pass onto we, and onto all our childern. Don't yous go, Will, neither for your hown sake nor for our'n.' Shandres, for once, was in too good a temper to take offence at her interruption. He merely indulged in a little pleasantry at the expense of her more immediate relatives, and then resumed his fiddling.

All too soon it was ten o'clock, and time for me to start on my tramp home. As we emerged from the tent Vensa gripped my arm. 'Dāddi! ēavi, dik at him, dear Curly-Head, dear God, dear love him.' My attention had already been arrested, for there was Nornas breaking out of a cramped step-dance into a series of wild, but rhythmic, movements, quickly and skilfully executed, his long, black curls waving madly about, and his little brown legs flashing in the moonlight. We were sorry when he realised that we were watching him, for he stopped abruptly.

'Is you goin', Tit-Willow?' he asked. 'I'll come wid yous to de gate.' He put a small, grubby hand into mine. 'If I was to tell yous a little song all into *Romani*,' he bargained, 'would yous bring me a dear, dotty, little *swagla* to-morrow, dear Will?' I stooped down for him to whisper in my ear a wicked little couplet of his own composing. 'All right, dear Nornas, I'll try and remember,' I promised. 'Kuštī rāti.' 'Kuštī rāti, ēavi.'

V.—ZIGEUNERISCHES

Von ENGELBERT WITTICH

'O NIEL WELA!'

I Genaben i Sendester (richtiger I Genaben o Sendenter)

GÄMLE TSCHOWALE honeñ. Gei da dickehe, dickeh tschie her lauter Gib, u. schil hi, da beren o Tschirkli drana Bola-
ben dele. Dike schuker hass da hañes werkel ano badadiko baschi Moosbach, mensa Wurtum baschi Wesch haltamen. Hass deisar-
lakero ochtenge nascham o Trom bre año Wesch, abo jek moli rükertam mr Biro sungehe tschomone latsches rotam, abe jek mole hatzamles, ho denkere ho hass! I dickno Veigili hass! O, her i gamle Gschmaga. Her da gamel da pakerdumles dele, raschleres tschomone ani Bur me schrekañ, aber ho hass gañ! I dikni Liserta hass sonerwel-besgili, gaña wella babse dato. Me naschañ gome dureter bre drin ano Wesch rotam Nigli abo jekmoli hon-
tam: 'Kukuk, Kukuk,' gañlo Barodebel diki heimliges u. ball mr Schero ano Ruck giwen o Tschirkli. Aua gamle Tschowle gaña wella babse o Niel. Me giam babse drana Wesch wi, miro Romni wies drano Gab wi, andess mange i Gotter Mass u. i Gotter Maro u i bresla Kateschiti, Gamle Tschowale gaña wella i schuker Ziro gaña tschiwaua her o Barotebel ano walschtiko Temm.

P.P. dies ist eine Erzählung wie sie von den Z. in Württemberg erzählt werden. Ich habe mit Absicht die halbdeutschen (Faulwörter) Wörter u. die Abkürzungen gelassen. Vielleicht interessiert die Leser dies gerade? Z. B. und (=da), ball statt bale, mr statt miro, Tschowle statt Tschowale, miro ist nun falsch bei einem Weibe=miri, tschiwaua statt tschidaua, Tebel statt Dewel, dikni Veigili nicht digno, Kateschiti richtiges Wort Chatscherdi, walschtiko richtiges Wort walschodiko, u.s.w. Elsässer Zigeuner sagen statt gamle auch gamla.

'O TSCHORELO SENDINGER TSCHAWO!'
Sendinger Gili

'Me hom i dikno tschorelo sendinger Tschawo.
Mr Dai muies u. mr Data hi stilto.
Gañlo Baro Debel me hom giage tschorelo.
Und mr Dates ano Stilben les hi Bokelo.'

*Man hi tschi her mr Baschmasskeri.
Me laula u. tschantum ani Gateschemi.
Hr da hass i bresla Lobe mañ.
Naschaua bascha mr Data ani Stilibeñ,
Diumles go Lobe job hass froh:
Gana hilo leiderum butter genk Bokelo !'*

ANMERKUNG: Lied von den Württemberger Zigeunern. Zu *les hi Bokelo*=heisst eigentlich genau: 'er hat—hungrig'! Richtig müsste es heissen: *les hi Bok*='er hat Hunger'! *Gateschemi* richtiges Wort *Getschema*, *Debel* richtiges Wort *Dewel*, *Stilibeñ* richtiges Wort *Stilaben*, *Lobe* rechtes Wort *Lowe*.

Zu: *genk bokelo*=‘keinen hungrig’! So heisst es genau! Richtig muss es lauten: *genk Bok*=‘keinen Hunger.’ Das Wort *leiderum* ist mir gänzlich unbekannt! Soll etwa soviel heissen wie ‘leiden,’ ‘dulden.’

Bemerken will ich noch, dass ich Lied u. Erzählung—ganz anders—ohne jedes Faulwort d. h. genau *Romenes*—für mich besonders aufgeschrieben habe, wo es ein wenig anders lautet als hier niedergeschrieben.

Aber so sind die Zigeuner, in dieser Beziehung nehmen sie es gar zu leicht!

VI.—A GYPSY AND A TALE

By JOHN MYERS

I MET Syrenda Lovell on the debatable ground which lies at the junction of the modern 'road' of jerry-built shops, and its tributary—an old unspoiled lane, whose turn reveals low-roofed servitors' cottages nestling beneath an ancient time-stained mansion.

Here he sat, heedless of the attention he attracted. His immobile dignity seemed, by all that is fitting, to belong to the lane, and yet, requiring *luva* to *pesur* the *drum*, he must pay court to the bustle of the 'road.' Equally unmoved, the old white mare stood in the shafts of a huge gaily painted frame-work, which held what had been in a less glorious state, a grinder's barrow. The old man's sleeved waistcoat, stout fustians, and well-shod feet, give him an almost 'gorgeous' air of respectability,

which is, however, neutralised by the yellow *dikler* and the rakish angle of his tight-fitting alpaca cap. His hair is crisp, curly, and white, his nose—the ‘true Roman,’ and his wandering brown eyes confirm Œli Lee’s summary: ‘There now, ’e’s a dear old man, but *poš kovolo!*’ His chief pride is in his tinker’s craft, his chiefest dread, the terror of ‘moving on.’ *Pūro čovenó!* he suffers from an internal malady, and piteously asks why he cannot *ač* as in the old days.

I learn where his tent is pitched, and in the evening hurry to his fire.

After the first exchange of news, and when the pipes are in full blast, I recite Groome’s weird little tale of ‘The Creation of the Violin.’ Syrenda is genuinely stirred to admiration, and whilst the iron is hot, I demand a tale in return. To my delight he complies, with a pathetic appeal that I shall not laugh at him. (One is led to imagine that the ridicule of a younger generation is extinguishing Anglo-Romani folk-tales.)

A few meditative puffs, and Syrenda rapidly pours out the old folk-tale ritual: ‘Once upon a time, when there was kings an’ queens in every county, an’ that was neither in your time, nor my time, but ’twas in somebody’s time’—and here, drawing breath, he continues in normal strain—‘There lived a farmer oo ’ad seven cows an’ a wery wild son. Now this son ’ad run ’is father into all kinds of debt, an’ ’e couldn’t pay ’is rent. So ’e sends Jack off to the fair with one of the cows, an’ told ’im to get all the money ’e could for it.

‘On the road, Jack sees a man, oo axes ’im where ’e’s goin. “To the fair,” ses ’e, “to sell my cow.” “Ah,” ses ’e, “don’t take ’er to the fair, swap it with me for this wonderful stick,” ses ’e. “It’s the wonderfulest stick wot ever was, an’ if you’re ever in danger of your life, you say, “Up stick an’ at it, an’ it’ll bate all your enemies senseless.” So Jack swaps the cow for the stick.

‘One ’e comes, an’ there’s the cloth spread on the table, an’ all the vittles. “Well, my child,” ses ’is father, “Wot did you get for the cow?” Ses Jack, “I swapped it for this wonderful stick.” “You young rascal,” ses ’is father, an’ ’e gets a stick to bate ’im. But Jack ses, “Up stick, an’ at ’im,” an’ the stick bates ’em up an’ down, from one side o’ the room to the other, till they ’ad to cry for marcy. So Jack calls ’im off, but ’e ses, “For God’s sake don’t say no more about that stick, or I’ll set ’im on again.”

‘Well, time went on, an’ they got poorer, an’ the next fair cum
VOL. IV.—NO. IV.

round. An' the old man sends Jack off with the second cow. "Get the best you can," ses 'e. So, on the way, Jack sees the very selfsame man again. An' the man ses, "Swap the cow for this dear little bee, it's the wonderfulest singer as ever was, an' you'll draw people from all parts to listen to it." An' with that, the bee begins to sing the 'lightfulest songs as ever was sung. So Jack swaps 'is cow for this dear little bee, an' sets off home. "Well," ses 'is father, "'ow much did the cow make?" "I swapped 'er for this dear little bee," ses Jack, an' with that the bee began to sing the 'lightfulest songs as ever was 'eard, an' people from far and near cum to 'ear it.

'So when the next fair cums round, off Jack sets with the third cow, an' on the road 'e meets with this same man again. "Jack," ses 'e, "I've got the beautifulst fiddle as ever you see'd," ses 'e. "It'll play the 'lightfulest, beautifulst music as ever was 'eard, an' it'll draw people from far an' wide an' foreign parts to 'ear it." An' with that, the fiddle played the wonderfulest music of its own accord. "Swap the cow for the fiddle," ses 'e—an' so Jack swapped. When Jack goes 'ome, 'is father was in a terrible way, for 'e owed a matter o' two or three 'undred pounds.

'Now, the King's daughter in them parts, 'ad never bin known to smile, an' the King said as any one as could make 'is gal laugh three times should marry 'er. There was Lords an' Squires, an' Kings an' Princes, an' wealthy men cum from all parts of the globe, but nary a one of 'em could make 'er smile. So up goes Jack in 'is ragged clothes, an' with "Up Stick an' at It," an' the Bee, an' the Fiddle. An' the Bee sings 'is dear beautiful songs, an' she smiles. An' then the Fiddle plays the 'lightfulest music as you ever 'eard, an' she smiles again; an' then the stick up's amongst 'em all an' knocks 'em about all ways, an' she laughs outright. It would 'ave made the Devil laugh.

'So Jack 'as to marry the King's daughter, an' they 'aves a big party, an' merrymaking an' feasting. On the fust night they goes to bed. Well, Jack just lies, an' doesn't turn this way nor that, but just as if 'e's made of stone—an' 'e was to 'ave a 'undred pounds for that—that was to pay for the fust cow, you *dik*. In the morning she ses to the King, "What kind of a man is this, 'e never turned to me all night." "Oh," ses 'e, "perhaps 'e's strange, an' aint got used with our ways of living." So the next night they goes to bed, an' Jack never turned to 'er—that was another 'undred pound for the second cow—but *lest'e hinged adre the wodros*. So



Fig. 6.

SPOON-MAKING GYPSIES AT WORK.

(Photos by Julius Trutsch.)



Fig. 6.

in the morning she ses, "Pa, what sort of a man is this?" "'e kelled the *wodrus tikkū*." "Oh," ses 'e, "perhaps 'e aint 'customed with our livin' an diet: but," 'e ses, "if 'e does it again, we'll throw 'im into the lions an' tigers to revour 'im." So they sends for the blacksmith to put a plate in the bed. The next night Jack does the same—an' that's a 'undred pound for the third cow. So in the morning they throws 'im into the wild beasties, but 'e takes 'is stick an' ses, "Up Stick an' at It," and the Stick bates the lions senseless, an' when she see'd what a proper man 'e was, she changed 'er mind an' married 'im, an' they 'ad basketsfull of children.

'An' if they aint dead, they're livin' yet. An' there's my tale!'¹

VII.—THE GYPSY LATHE²

By JULIUS TEUTSCH

IN the 'Burzenländer sächsische Museum' at Kronstadt may be seen the tools which I obtained from spoon-makers in the Gypsy settlement of Kutusch, situated north of Kronstadt, near Crizba. Occasionally I have also heard another name for this colony, namely, *Satu negru* (Black village); it is, however, disliked by the Gypsies, being probably an appropriate nickname, invented by the peasants of the Magyar parish of Crizba with reference to the dark complexions of their Kutusch neighbours. Kutusch is inhabited exclusively by Gypsies, of whom there are about twenty-five families, housed in very remarkable round huts plastered with clay, and making their living by the manufacture of brooms, spoons, trays, shovels, spindles, etc. The answer to my inquiry as to the number of inhabitants was given in an interesting form:—'There are about twenty-five chimneys (*fumur*).' This implied that the settlement contained the same

¹ The motive for abstention from cohabitation for the three nights is missing, but it may be suggested that, either the king conditionally offered Jack the one hundred pounds for each night, in order to bring disgrace upon him by trickery, and so avoid a *mésalliance*; or, that the man who owned the three wonders had instructed Jack as to his behaviour.

² Published in *Die Karpathen*, a fortnightly journal edited by Ad. Meschedörfer, iv. 7 (1911), pp. 222-4 (Kronstadt, Brassó, Verlag H. Zeidner), and now translated from the original German.

number of hearths, homes, and therefore families;¹ a method of enumeration which must have been usual in prehistoric times.

Like a white raven in a flock of normally coloured birds, my acquaintance in Kutusch contrasted strikingly with his black compatriots of the village, in that his hair and beard were red. He and his ugly little wife willingly allowed themselves to be persuaded to bring out their lathe and tools and exhibit the process of carving spoons and spindles, the method of which I will try to explain in the following lines.

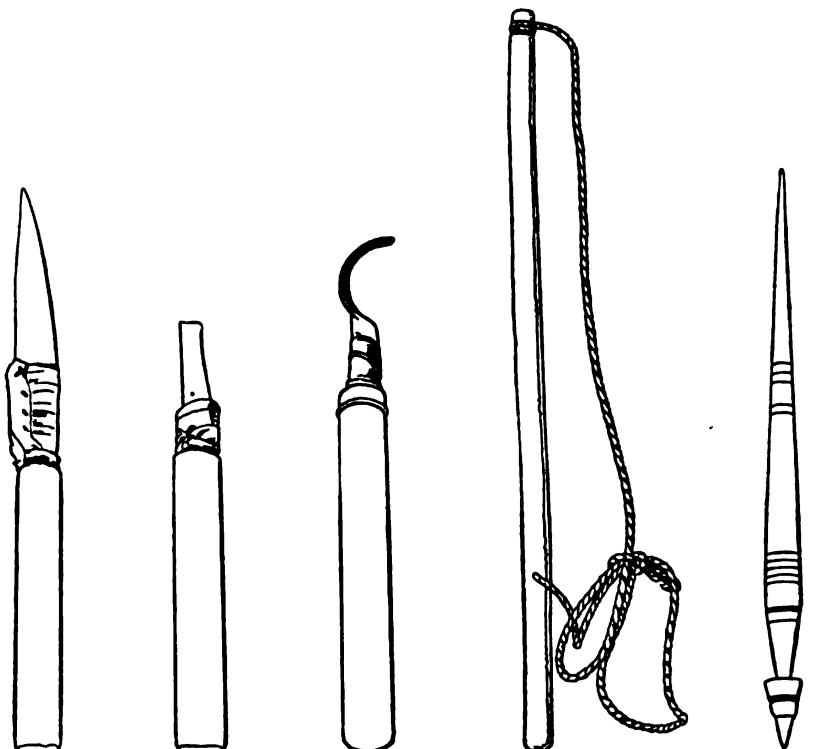


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2 a

b.

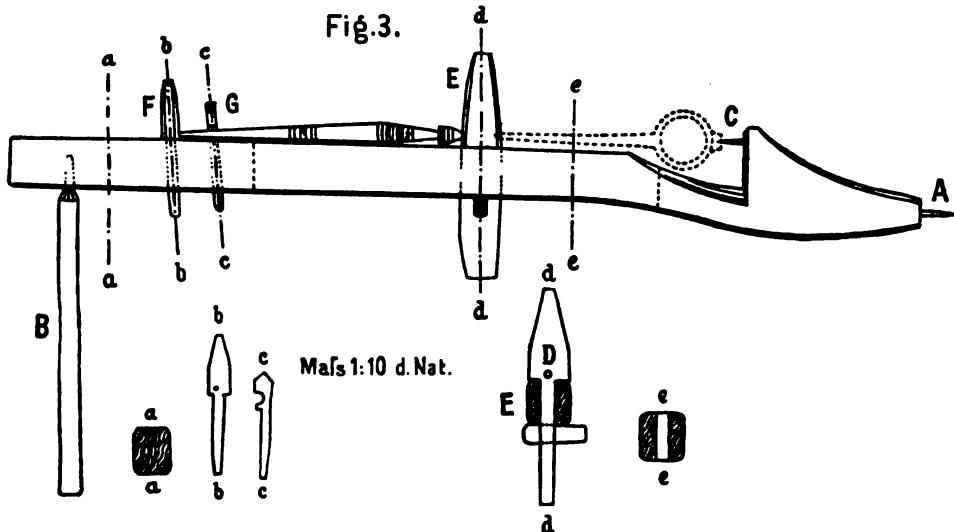
Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

The man first shapes the spoons and spindles roughly by means of the knife (Fig. 1), hollowing out the bowl, in the case of spoons, with the bent scrapers (Fig. 2, *a* and *b*). After this has been done the spindles and spoon-handles are turned smooth by the wife in a primitive lathe (Fig. 3). For this purpose she sits on the ground, taking the whole lathe under her left arm, and pushes the iron spike *A* into a wooden beam, tree, or post, the apparatus being firmly supported by the foot *B*. The bowl of the spoon is pressed onto the iron nail *C*, and the handle held fast in a

¹ Cf. Gilliat-Smith, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 128.

hollow *D* in the movable headstock *E*. In her left hand she holds the bow, which consists of a straight rigid stick, about 20 inches long and as thick as one's finger, from which hangs, as from a whip, a vine-cord (*Rebschnur*) ending in a loop for the thumb (Fig. 4). The cord, which is fastened to the stick only at the upper end, having been wound once round the spoon-handle, the woman holds the stick upright in her left hand, inserting her left thumb into the loop, and causes the spoon to rotate alternately in different directions by tightening the string with her thumb and raising and lowering the stick by up-and-down movements of her left arm. With her right hand she applies a thin, finely sharpened planing iron to the spoon-handle, which she turns until the



required finish is produced. Then she takes a small rag (*Fetzen*) soaked in green dye, moistens it with saliva, and, holding it to the revolving handle, decorates the latter with circular stripes and bands. This process she repeats with a carpenter's pencil, thus introducing a little variety into the decoration. For the manufacture of spindles (Fig. 5) the other end of the lathe is used. Rods of sound wood about as thick as one's finger are stretched between the fixed peg *F* and the movable headstock *E*, and turned and decorated exactly as are the spoon-handles. The peg *G*, which is also immovable, is notched so as to give additional security to the support of the spindle.

Figs. 6 and 7 show the Gypsies at their work. It only remains for me to give the names by which the lathe and its parts, and the other tools, are known, and to mention the stains

which were used in former times. The people of Kutusch, like most Gypsies in our district, generally speak Rumanian.

Strugu, lathe. Rumanian, *strug*; Slavic, *strugu*.

Boldu, the spike *A*. Rumanian, *bold*; Slavic, *bodlu*, 'prick.'

Zohoru, headstock. Rumanian, *zăvor*; Slavic, *zavoru*, 'bar' (*Riegel*?).

Păndă, the wedge on the headstock. Latin, *penna*, 'feather,' 'wedge.'

Klimpuşu, the peg *G*.

Dejetarin, the peg *F*. Latin, *digitus*, 'finger.'

Cutit de lingură, spoon-knife, Fig. 1.

Scoba, bent knife or scraper, Fig. 2. Rumanian, *scoabd*; Slavic, *skoba*; Gothic, Old High German, *skaban*, 'scrape.'

Griucă, planing iron.

Arcuş, bow. Latin, *arcus*.

Fus, spindle. Latin, *fusus*.

The kinds of wood most commonly used for the manufacture of such articles are—

Paltin, common plane tree. Latin, *platanus*.

Plop, poplar. Latin, *populus*.

Retjite, basket willow. Rumanian, *răchită*; Slavic, *rakyta*.

Formerly the Gypsies obtained the dyes they used in the decoration of wooden objects direct from nature, in their immediate neighbourhood, a practice dating, I suppose, from primeval times and continued until our own days. It is only lately that they have begun to use such colours as they could obtain at the druggist's shop. I have often seen a bright green employed, and a glaring aniline red. The natural stains were:—

GREEN: Chlorophyl from such plants as—

Buriană, weeds (*Unkraut*). From the Russian.

Nalbă, mallow. Latin, *malva*. *Nalbă mare* (*Eibisch*) Latin, *althea*.

YELLOW AND BROWN: Fungi from pear and apple trees—

Burete (Latin, *boletus*) *de păr și de măr*.

RED: Fungus from plum trees—

Burete de prun.

BLACK: Charcoal. They now use black-lead pencils.

After I had finished my sketch, Mr. A. Dächler of Vienna, who kindly examined the manuscript, informed me that C. A. Romstorfer of Czernowitz had, in 1900, published an article with the title 'Holzarbeiten der Bukowiner Zigeuner' (*Zeitschrift für*

österreichische Volkskunde, edited by Dr. M. Haberlandt, 6. Jahrg., pp. 49-53), about a *Drehwerkzeug* which is in general similar to our lathe, but is used only for turning spindles.

VIII.—NURI STORIES

Collected by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, F.S.A.

(Continued from page 120)

LXXI

Aštā klárčki tillék. Gdrč tă-káutănd. Láherdóis kdijáki mărírék pándásma, ejjós minjt. Štăldóis klárč tillă u năndóis, tirdóis kuriismă tă gărdd-hră. Kull dis kénáursă másik u sali u mast, u pindúrosă kir. Ldmmän gărdd-hrd w' ihr' el-'ádi, mtnđă hálōs, wăddd-kerdă tillă-gréwárăs, răwáhră kuriéstă; buld' ábúskáră ním săr gorández, u áre u mărde gréwárăs illi gărdd-kerdös. Mtnđă hálōs u ndhăb-kerdă kálies, u părdă gŕies u dăwáres, u kónđă kúrios u twá-kerdos, u părdóssăn. Răwáhră kuriéstă. Nndi báros tillă-gréwarăski zárăk. Tillă-hră cónă. Min yom illi tillă-hră, kólde wăštiis ním săr gorández, u gdră, mărđă úklárăs illi mărđă bóros u nandă bóros-rízkos. Răwáhră minjts u sôbáhtăń gártră. Mărđă giş éklárăń illi ünktsione, u nndă klárésăń, u mndă hálōs, răwáhră. Círdă halóskáră "Stăd-thröm bőiom-tárös. Illi mărdómis mărđă bőiom, u nandóm kuriómán u nandóm rízkos bőimki, u ha dröm răwáhröm."

There was a bedawi who was great. He went to steal. He saw a man dying on the road, the life was still in him. The great bedawi raised him and brought him, put him in his tent till he recovered. Every day he fed him with meat and rice and *laban*,¹ and gave him milk to drink. When he recovered and became as usual, he betook himself, and sent for the great sheikh, [and] went to his house ; there came down to him fifty horsemen, and they came and killed the sheikh who had made him sound. He betook himself and stole his goats, and took his mares and his camels, and lowered his tent and folded it up, and took them. He went to his house. The wife of the great sheikh bore a boy. The boy grew big. When [lit. from the day that] he grew big there rode with him fifty horsemen, and he went. He killed that bedawi who had killed his father and taken his father's property. He went with it [the recovered property], and in the morning returned. He killed all those bedawin who were with him [the traitor], and took his own bedawin, and betook himself and departed. He said to his mother's brother, 'I have exacted (?) the vengeance for my father. He whom I killed, killed my father, and I have taken our tents, and I have taken my father's property, and here I have come and gone.'

¹ Artificially soured milk.

LXXII

Āsti klárds-kurik ; ãšt' dōsárak u sáúios-kuriäki klárä wästis. Báios gízä-käjjik gúldik. Mtnä hálös, párda dōsárä däwáriün, gärä rü-i-kersän. Gdrä wästis klárä. Láherde cáläs tä-pináriünd däwáriün. Húldä minjts klárä u dōsárä dmän inshúl-kere. Štirde min hnóna u kúmmä pindürde däwáriün. Mardä kústotä däwáriäk u fríd-kerdä kálos cáläs imhástä kópiestä : u štirdä min hnónä, díl tträdä átún káläski u mändä klárds mänjismä tídósarä. Ksáldä däwáriün u gärä. Árä kájjiäkdrä, kal "Páor mra", biddi párämir." Mndi hálös, koldi nagé u gäri cálästä ; péndi páris. Páios cáräri dériäkämä ; štirdä min hnónä dösárä. Sruhrek el-mügrabiyát. Árä dösárä. Cáräri klárä sáúios-kuriäk. Cirda kajjiétdä dösárä "Kékd insteye" wästim imbénan däwáriün ? u šnámä boíur u bai illi párdoerä !" Kilce klárä ábúskárä étirwálmä fumnés, cíndä kólés. Mndä hálös, "Ámd dählírmä hrómi, ya stí" círdä. Férðois, cíndä sírios, råváhrä klárä, dfín-kerdösis. Mndä hálös, párda ábúskárä dösárak 'imlen hläftis. Štirdä min hnónä, gärä géndä wästis dösárä uyártä.

There was a bedawi's tent ; there was the negro belonging to them and the lord of the tent, the bedawi, with him. His wife was a beautiful and agreeable woman. The negro betook himself, took the camels, went to feed them. The bedawi went with him. They saw a well to give the camels drink. The bedawi descended into it and the negro lowered the water-skin. They arose from there after¹ giving the camels drink. That negro killed a small camel, and spread its skin on the face of the opening of the well ; and he rose from there, put earth over the skin and left the bedawi inside. He drove the camels and went. He came to the woman, said, 'Thy husband is dead, I would take thee.' She betook herself, rode a she-camel and went to the well ; she raised her husband. Her husband hides in a place ; the negro rose from there. He was feeding [the camels] in the evening. The negro came. The bedawi, the lord of the tent, hides. The negro said to the woman, 'Why dost thou not rise with me that we tie up the camels ? I burn [curse] thy father and the wife that conceived thee !' The bedawi comes out to him, strikes him with the sword, and cuts his arms off. He betook himself, 'I am under thy protection, my lord,' said he. The bedawi struck him, cut his head off, went and buried him. He betook himself and bought him another negro. He rose from there, the other negro went with him to the town.

LXXIII

Āste Döméni tirdéndi dériäkämä. Wársri áteüntä ed-dínyä. Āsti ágrísän müjáräki. Téndi káréedän minjt. Sábáhtän jándi, lähändi mrék dí tárän kär. Wésre áratän ábsunkä. Láherde gülék illi mdrärsänni. Mndé hdlésän, cirde gréwardásantä "Gülék illi mdräri kárémän." Mndä hálös u ráurddä. Mndä

¹ I am not certain about the meaning of u kúmmä, which looks like a subst. in the locative case. Shákir translated u. pindürde, 'after they had watered.'

yikák deriisántă. Párdósis gáli u bésauí-hrōs émansăs. Mándă ūnkis dī wars, u pánjī, bándik kápios műgáriki átustă, u măndossi kilcár min kápiáki u bára. Nándi mnéši gáli jejän-ihri, u ndndi dī záró. Ldmmá tilld-hre zíriáte cíerde dáiisíntă "köl ámíntă, dáie, hälli ldhan gámás." Mtndi hálós gáli u koldi átsántă, u gáre häláită. Impár potrés u ja u ndste. Áră káuméskă. Mră zárák potréski: ühü záró illi mändă märdä Dómän-poträn,—ühü gálik-potri. Štíerde ábúskára zláme, märdéndis, ukténdis báhármă. Gdră min hnónă bőros zaréski, gdră ški-kerddă átsúntă tilld-tmaliestă. Gdră gréwáră tilld-tmaliestă, círdă "Ya stdi, ühü bésauí-hră gálák, u ndndi mnéši dī záró: yikák mra°, u yikák mändă. Áră ūnkimän káumómän égúlik-pitr, märdä potréman u káróssán. Mindénis u märdénis, ukténis báhármă, u ha áme° bén húster hreni." Kal "Nándas bőris zaréski illi mädiriră." Nánde bőris. Círdă tilld-tmáli mánsdstă "Bésauí-hruri gálák?" Círdă mánüs "Áiwáh, bésauí-hromi." Círdă tmáli "Nándóri potrés tă-kámnand Dómän-poträn!" Cíndă sírios tmáli.*

There were Nawar camping in a place. It rained upon them. There was a cave in front of them. They place their donkeys in it. In the morning they go, and see two or three donkeys dead. They stayed with them by night. They saw that it is a ghul which is killing them. They betook themselves, said to their sheikh, 'It is a ghul which is killing our donkeys.' He betook himself and departed. He left one in their place. The ghul took and married that man. He stayed with her two years, and as for him, the door of the cave was shut upon him, and she did not allow him to go from the door outwards. The ghul became with child from him and brought forth two sons. When the boys became big they said to their mother, 'Open for us, mother, let us see the sun.' The ghul betook herself and opened for them, and they went into the valley. He took his sons and went and they fled. He came to his people. One of his sons died; the son who remained killed the sons of the Nawar [that is,] that ghul's son [did so]. The people rose against him, killed him, [and] threw him into the sea. The boy's father went from there, he went and complained against them to the king. The sheikh went to the king, he said, 'My lord, that man married a ghul, and she brought forth from him two sons; one died, and one remained. That ghul's son came among us, [that is,] our people; killed our sons and ate them. We took him and killed him and cast him into the sea, and here are we between thy hands [=at thy disposal]. Said [the king], 'Bring ye the father of the boy who was killed.' They brought his father. Said the king to the man, 'Didst thou marry a ghul?' Said the man, 'Yes, I married her.' Said the king, 'Thou hast fetched her sons to eat the sons of the Nawar!' The king cut his head off.

*LXXIV

Áudă kúštóti kuriámék. Bizóték. Plés goniaméni. Ühü dís gdră. Áră kdjjă báiskárá. Círdă "Köl kápiá." Gál-kerdi "Ké mágék?" Círdă "Ibkdră hrómi, nán ple u nán kës."

Cirdi "Háná." Gártrá kúriatđ sáúies-kuriák, círdă "Biddi súcđm." Círdi báios "Árđ kdjjđ, ibkárék, párđá mónđ u párđá ple." Gál-kerdă áudă "Hribri kuriomän!" Gdre; pand dírik. Árátr' ed-dínyđ. Lherde šdzárák pándásma; kílde átnus. Áróssän małéni. Káuténi. Lherde šdzárás u wéšre áháris. "Ndnás ag u kešnä-kerän." Áudă férósän wütammmă minšán jand átústă díră. Biréndi káute ínni märinyék áderiámă. Ndsere, u mdnde giš plésän. Húlde áudă u báios, lherde plen. Gázđ-mał iħre.

An old man was in a little house. He was poor. His money was in a bag. One [lit. That] day he went [out]. There came a man to his wife. He said, 'Open the door.' Said she, 'What do you want?' Said he, 'I am hungry, bring me money and bring food.' She said, 'Take it.' The master of the house returned home. He said, 'I want to sleep.' Said his wife, 'There came a man, he was hungry, he took the bread and he took the money.' Said the old man, 'Our house is destroyed!' They departed, the way was long. The night fell. They saw a tree on the road : they climbed up it. People came to them. They were thieves. They saw the tree and sat under it. [They said] 'Fetch ye fire and let us prepare food.' The old man threw stones at them to make them go far away from [lit. to] him. The thieves fear that there is a demon in that place. They fled and left all their money. The old man and his wife descended, they saw the money. They became happy people.

*LXXV

Gárđ tąt dfáng-fumndăr sisčän. Ndnđdă lúhriák güzeli. Lherdos tmáliák tillák; gál-kerdă "Kęs inkere° güzeli, pa kúriamkă, pa li-kęs-keri dianinkă, kényi güzél." Gdre kęs-keri, kérđdă guzeli; třra másiă u ptră. Gál-kerdă tmáli "Hálli súcän, cindbri kényi." Sítę. Tąt sítă pdci kápiák, sítă tmáli cárístă. Sítă tmáli, štirdă tąt, kárđ másiän giš. Cindbri štirdă tmáli; kal "Štas, kę kérđur?" Kal "Ní kérđom kiyák." Gál-kerdă tmáli "Kildom Huyáistă küsldstă illi tillék." Štirdă tillătmáli, ní lherdă kęs wdlă piš. Kal "Ka lúhri?" Gál-kerdă "Kárđmis." "Kékă ní mändor őmákă?" Círdă "Ní lherdómur úhlék min Huyáiski."

A fellah went to shoot birds. He found a fine hare. A great efendi saw him : he said, 'Thou canst not cook food well : come to my house, come to cook for the two [of us] ; we will dine well.' They went to cook, he prepared it well ; he set meat and wine. Said the efendi, 'Let us sleep, after a little while we will eat.' They slept. The fellah slept behind the door, the efendi slept on a bed. The efendi slept, the fellah rose, ate all the meat. In a little the efendi rose : he said, 'Rise, what hast thou done [i.e. dreamt].' He said, 'I have done nothing.' Said the efendi, 'I ascended to Heaven on a timber [=ladder] that was long.' The efendi arose, saw neither food nor drink. Said he, 'Where is the hare?' Said [the fellah], 'I have eaten it.' 'Why didst thou not leave [some] for me?' He said, 'I did not see thee return from Heaven.'

LXXVI

Ástā yikáki tátí: dste wášts dī górví. 'Ámmá d'rári bítás átsúntá. Štírdá min hnóna górvák, tlífrá. Mándósis tát, ráwáhrá kuriistá. Kál "Sábáktán láherdómur, ya ühü góru, éderiämä, märdómur éciriämä." Góru mítndá hálos, ráúr. Láherdá égásás illi kildék. Wésrá, kárá minjts. Árā ábúskár Ábū Hdsán. Mítndá hálos Ábū Hdsán, círdá ábúskár "Kéká, góru, wésrür erhéna! Ihi déri nímrás-derik; sđá ánuári, féri, bdgári dláur." Mítndá hálos u gárá Ábu Hdsán nímráskár. Círdá ábúskár "Hádi górví kárá hăstírmá." Cárírá Ábū Hdsán, Árā ábúskár nimr. "Kéká, góru, wésrári érabiëmá?" Círdá "Satúiom hirt-kerá ámatá, u mütlif hrómi min külléki, u láherdóm ihi déri. Durt kámi minjts, u ha ámá bén hăstárki hrómi." Wésrá, mändósis góru des dís, tillá-hrú kadd dăwárikí. Árā ábúskár Ábū Hdsán; kal góru "kirwi?" Ábū Hdsán kal, "Nímr mändósi éderiämä tă-ádel-höci, u ba'dén féri kăfismá, märek u kári. Min hálur," kal "árósir nimr, gáz-ker kúrnor bításma u lúhrá-ker ikir ábús, u fúmnés kurnármá, u stúhnákeri u mdrés." Mítndá hálós Ábū Hdsán, gárá nímrkár, kal "Átū mändör górví răbiëmá; ja, láhám gdlná-ker wášts." Kal "Kéi hrá?" Ábū Hdsán kal "Drard-hrá góru li-láherdósir gár in mdrárir." Mítndá hálos nimr, u húldá górtá. Góru gáz-kerdá kúrnös bításma, u lúhrá-kerdá ikiés, u dáúrás nimrésta, u férósis kurnósmá u stúh-kerdá nímrros. Férósi nímr géndá wínni stúh-kerdosi. Mítnde halósán diyéni, mre, góru u nímr. Štírdá min hnóná Ábū Hdsán, gárá kára diyenímmá, u kúmnákerá. Nádi-kerdá báris u potrés, káre wášts. Lámmá ní mändá diyenánki gár hár, štírdá min hnóná, nádi-kerdá káumés giš. Káre hárán, mítnde halósán u gdre.

Náúrás Ábū Hdsán, láherdá fúrwék fúlkék klárán-deriá; ndndá siriós, ningáúrdá sírios fúrwék-kányismá u tirdósis páléstá. Níngrá émágárémá, láherdá bárüs nímráski mágárémá. Mändósis nimr, kal "Ábū Hdsán, kéká mändör báröm?" Círdá ábúskár Ábū Hdsán "Ámá ní hrómi górví." Kal "Átū illi iktör fásádi." Láherdá nimr fúrwé páléstik; kal "Ábū Hdsán, kérék ámáká yikák miłl áúraki?" Rúdrá Ábū Hdsán "Kérámi: nán ámáká star bákrá gárdá, mdrésán, tă-kérám ábúrkár fúrwék." Mítndá hálós nimr, ndndá ábúskárá star bákrá. Kárá másián, úktá kálán cálásma. Árā nimr ábúskár, kal "Ka fúrwé, Ábū Hdsán?" Kal "Mángári bákrák géndá." Ndndá ábúskár nimr

bdkrāk. Mārdōsis, kūrōsis Ábū Hdsān pánjī u potrés, úktā káläs cáläsmä. Árð ábúskárð nimr. "Ka fúrwé, Ábū Hdsān ?" Kal "Wíndir tā-nánämis." Ndsrā Ábū Hdsān, rdsrōs nimr. Míndä hálös, gárð, níngári émñgárémä. Míndōsis nimr dhänabúski; intá-kerdä hálös Ábū Hdsān, cntrá dhänäbos nimrðs-hástásmä. Štirdä min hnónä Ábū Hdsān, mändä 'dzär. Círdä nimr ábúská, kal "Átū, Ábū Hdsān 'dzär-hrör, jándómur." Gárð min hnónä Ábū Hdsān, råwáhrá nimr. Gárð ekármáská, kárð 'dnáb min mnës. Férð söták, giš jäm'átés áre. Štirde min hnónä; kal "Istds." Kal "Krénä ?" Kal "Kúmnän ídrák." Hláurdóssän ekármásmä. Kal "Mánimræne° kúmnäss gáir tám-bánim pin-jikérän." Bändóssän Ábū Hdsān, u árð nátráskárð. Sáwút-kérda kánismä. Štirdä min hnónä ühü náttár, féróssän dfángmä winni giš dhänabéssän kaniréndi. Míndä hálös Ábū Hdsān, gárð nimrdská; kal "Míndómir, Ábū Hdsān." Kal "Ka krék minjtm, ya zélämi ?" Kal "Átu pdrdör bdkrän u káróssän, ní kérdör fúrwé ðmákkáru." Kal "Ámä ní hrómi." Kal "Átū hrári." Kal "Kéi jánáurdósir inni ðmä hrómi ?" Kal "Ámä cíndöm dhänabür." Kal "Giš jäm'átém káribém 'dzärne." "Ldhämni: nádi-kerésän." Fére átsántä söták Ábū Hdsān, giš áre, láherdóssän nimr giš 'dzärne. Ní jändä kónik illi kárð bdkrän. Míndä hálös Ábū Hdsān, 'azím-kerdä nimrás. Tírdä hásstri cáläskäpiatä Ábū Hdsān, wésláurdä nimrás átustá, winni kúrék cáläsmänjismä. Árð min hnónä, sibrá nimr min cálaski winni mändék Ábū-Hdsänäs u tírdósis cáläsmä. Hre diyéni cáläsmä. Míndä hálös nimr, dí dís ibkárwáánki mrá. Kárð Ábū Hdsān nimrás cáläsmä.

Aste kájjíeni áréndi tå-kúnänd emáriän. Bärdéni slále. Láherde écáläss. Gébri átsántä gám. Síte cálästá. Délli-kerde emáriän cáläsmä. Sláurdéndüsän cáläsmä árättýos Ábū Hdsān, ní mändä mnëssän willä emáriák. Sábáhtän insil-kérde kájjie selläss min cálaski; pánjī siték selläsmä ! Yómin kíldä bárä, ndsrä. Áre kájjie, rore u gártré, råwáhre kuriésintä.

Míndä hálös Ábū Hdsān, kal "Ámä biddi jam hájjocám u tåwdb-hocám hárðmtä." Ástá kláräki, koldék däwáiatä, gárék hájjocar. Míndä Ábū Hdsān dhänäbos däwáiták. Kánídrä klárä, láherdósis, mändék dhänäbos däwáituki. Míndä hálös klárä, péndä étirvali, u férð éfeni Ábū-Hdsänäs winni cindék dhänäbos däwáiták. Míndä hálös Ábū-Hdsän u gárträ.

Láherdä 'ásfári pándäsmä siték¹ potréstá. Árð min hnónä

¹ The bird being presumably female, siték should of course be sitik.

tā-kúmnär potrés. Kal "Ámă 'ardármă hrómi, ya Ábū Hdsán, ni kár potré." Kal "Haznáuém." Kal "Kéta?" Kal "Ehe hæssádínántð." Kal "Windtr üktir." Ári 'ásfári, windírdi kdjjákðs-siriäta. Árð yikák min hnónð, árð tā-fúmnär 'asfári menjelmð; cíndá síriös kdjjáski. Hdrzð Ábū Hdsán, ibsút-hræ. Dáurð potrés 'asfárik, gdræ kársdnni. Kal "Kéi mángék?" Kal "Tírasál' hrómi, mángámi ptám illi kdjjidki stáldik kátpáki pánik." Dérijri ágris 'asfári kdjjiäki. Tírdik ikpés erhónð, u dñuri tā-mtnär 'asfári. Árð Ábū Hdsán, pírek pániis giš.

There was a fellah ; he had two oxen. He was ploughing on them. An ox arose from there, and got free. The fellah left him, went to his house. He said, 'In the morning if I see thee, oh thou ox, in this place, I will slay thee with this knife.' The ox betook himself and went. He saw long grass.¹ He stayed, ate of it. There came to him Abu Hasan (the fox). Abu Hasan betook himself, and said to him, 'Why, oh thou ox, dost thou stay here ? This place is a panther's place ; the hour she comes she will strike and break thy ribs.' Abu Hasan betook himself and went to the panther. He said to her, 'This ox has eaten in thy grass.' Abu Hasan was hidden. The panther came to him. 'Why, oh thou ox, dost thou stay in this spring-grass ?' Said he, 'My master ploughs on me, I am weary from hunger, and I saw this place. I wished to eat in it and here I am between thy hands.' He stayed, left the ox ten days ; it became as big as a camel. There came to him Abu Hasan ; the ox said, 'What is the matter ?' Abu Hasan said, 'The panther has left thee in this place till thou become fat, and afterwards she will strike thee with her paw, thou wilt die and she will eat thee. Betake thyself,' he said, 'If the panther come to thee, thrust thy horn in the earth and redden thy eye upon her,² and strike her with thy horn, split her and kill her.' Abu Hasan betook himself, went to the panther, said, 'Thou hast left the ox in the spring-grass ; go, let me see [thee] speak with him.' Said she, 'What has happened ?' Said Abu Hasan, 'The ox has become fat, so that if he see thee [nothing will serve him] but to kill thee.' The panther betook herself and went down to the ox. The ox thrust his horn in the ground, and reddened his eye, and rushed at the panther, and struck her with his horn and split the panther. The panther struck him also and split him. The two betook themselves and died, the ox and the panther. Abu Hasan arose from there, went to eat the two, and to make a feast (?). He called his wife and children, they ate with him. When there remained nothing of the two but bones, he arose from there, called all his people. They ate the bones, betook themselves and went.

Abu Hasan searched, and saw a bit of a sheepskin coat in a place of Arabs ; he put his head and thrust it into the hole [lit. ear] of the coat and put it on his shoulders. He entered a cave, saw the brother of the panther in the cave. The panther took him and said, 'Abu Hasan, why hast thou slain my brother ?'³ Abu Hasan said to him, 'I am not the ox.' Said he, 'It is thou who rousedst [lit. bound] the quarrel.' The panther saw the sheepskin coat [which] was on his shoulder, he said, 'Abu Hasan, wilt thou make for me one like that ?' Abu Hasan answered him, 'I will make it ; fetch for me four good sheep, kill them that I may make for thee a sheepskin coat. The panther betook himself, brought

¹ Lit., that grass which was come up [long].

² I.e. look furiously at her.

³ The narrator has forgotten that he treated the first panther, at least grammatically, as feminine.

four sheep to him. He ate the flesh and cast the skins in a pit. The panther came to him and said, 'Where is the coat, Abu Hasan?' He said, 'There lacks another sheep.' The panther brought him a sheep. Abu Hasan killed it, ate it, he and his children, and cast the skin into a pit. The panther came to him. 'Where is the coat, Abu Hasan?' He said, 'Stay till I bring it.' Abu Hasan fled, the panther followed him. He betook himself and went, he enters a cave. He took him by his tail; Abu Hasan pulled (?) himself, his tail was cut in the paw of the panther. Abu Hasan rose from there and remained tailless. The panther said to him, 'Thou art tailless, Abu Hasan, I will know thee.' Abu Hasan went from there, the panther departed. He went to a vineyard, ate grapes from it. He gave a shout, all his people came. They rose from there. He said, 'Rise ye.' They said, 'Whither?' He said, 'Let us eat grapes.' He made them descend into the vineyard. He said, 'I will not suffer you to eat unless I bind your tails.' Abu Hasan bound them and came to the watchman. He shouted in his ear. That watchman rose from there, shot them with a gun, and all their tails were plucked out. Abu Hasan betook himself and went to the panther. He said, 'I will seize thee, Abu Hasan.' He said, 'Fellow, what dost thou with me?' He said, 'Thou hast taken the sheep and eaten them, and didst not make the sheepskin coat for me. He said, 'It is not I.' He said, 'It is thee.' He said, 'Who told thee that it was I?' He said, 'I cut off thy tail.' He said, 'All my people, my near relations, are tailless.' 'Let me see, call them.' Abu Hasan shouted to them, they all came, the panther saw that they were all tailless. He did not know which was the one who had eaten the sheep. Abu Hasan betook himself, and invited the panther. Abu Hasan put a carpet on the mouth of the well, and caused the panther sit on it, and he fell into the middle of the well. The panther came from there, leaped from the well, and seized Abu Hasan and put him in the well. The two were in the well. The panther betook himself, in two days he died of hunger. Abu Hasan ate the panther in the well.

There were women going to sell chickens. The[ir] baskets were full. They saw that well. The sun set on them. They slept by the well. They lowered the chickens into the well.¹ They made them sleep in the well that night. Abu Hasan did not leave a single chicken of them. In the morning the women raised the basket from the well: he [Abu Hasan] was sleeping in the basket! When he got up outside, he fled. Those women wept, and returned, they departed to their houses.

Abu Hasan betook himself, he said, 'I want to go to the *haj* and cease from sin.' There was a bedawi riding a camel, going to the *haj*. Abu Hasan seized the tail of the camel. The bedawi looked and saw him seizing the tail of the camel. The bedawi betook himself, seized the sword, and struck Abu Hasan thus, and cut the tail of his camel. Abu Hasan betook himself and returned.

He saw a bird on the way sleeping on its young. He came from there to eat its children. [The bird] said, 'I am in thy land [=your guest, under thy protection] Abu Hasan, do not eat my children.' He said, 'Make me laugh.'² She said, 'At what?' He said, 'At those harvesters.' She said, 'Stay where you are.' The bird came, sat on the head of one of the men. One came from there, he came to strike the bird with the sickle; he cut off the head of the man. Abu Hasan laughed, he was contented. He rushed on the children of the bird, he went to eat them. She said, 'What do you want?' He said, 'I am thirsty, I

¹ The well was, of course, a dry rock-cut cistern, such as abound in Palestine. The chickens, in their basket, would be lowered to prevent thieves from sneaking off with them in the night while the women slept.

² I.e. the bird was to provide amusement, and in the sequel water, for Abu Hasan in return for leaving the fledglings alone.

want to drink that which a woman is carrying in a jug of water.' The bird stepped in front of the woman. The woman set down her jugs there, and ran to take the bird. Abu Hasan came, drank all her water.

(*To be continued.*)

IX.—THE ORGANISATION OF SOUTH GERMAN GYPSIES

By ENGELBERT WITTICH

THE possession of moral qualities is generally denied the Gypsies, but most unfairly. With equal injustice it is asserted that they still stand at a very primitive grade of civilisation. It is in their family and tribal relationships, and in their usages and customs, that the falsehood of this assertion can best be seen. In former days, when the Gypsies still travelled in great troops,¹ and all the tribes of a single country—North German, South German—were united into an independent whole, they had their regularly chosen leaders, chieftains or headmen. Those of Hungary have still to this day their chief and second-in-command—Voivode, Saibidjo. In this respect matters have now changed considerably with us. Wandering in large united companies ceased to be tolerated long ago; and of late years we have even been forced to split into little bands, travelling in family-parties of one or two wagons. On that account we German Gypsies have but a single chief. He is elected, and only one who knows how to gain the esteem and affection of the others can become head. He must also be fairly wealthy—according to Gypsy notions—and a tried and dauntless man. If he become old, sick, or infirm, another is chosen,² usually from among the family or nearest relations of the former chief.

The chief gives verdicts in all disputes between Gypsies, but especially when any one has transgressed the law and is *bale čido*. For this purpose an annual *tsil* (assembly) is held, generally in Elsass in autumn. These meetings are secret, and in no event are strangers admitted. There all judicial matters are settled, and decisions given by the chief. According to the offence, the accused may be made *bale čido* for a couple of years or expelled altogether:

¹ According to the verbal tradition which still exists among the Gypsies.

² There is no rule without exception, and the opposite has sometimes happened.

while others are restored to honour or condemned to remain *bale čido* for a further period of years. Only in cases of revenge for bloodshed does the chief possess no rights of settlement.

After such a *tsil* there is a merry-making. Those who have been restored to honour, and are thus no longer *bale čido*, with their connections and friends, spend money and treat the others, from joy at being received again into the community to become once more one of them. Wine, beer, spirits—all flow in streams. There is singing, dancing, feasting, and games—in short, a right joyous and turbulent time.

The reverse of the medal is that a great gathering of this kind ends as a rule in a regular free fight—in point of fact real battles are often fought. The reason is that, to such a *tsil*, many come who come only to find their enemies, those who 'wear the death-shirt,' and men who seek revenge for bloodshed, or have something to fight out between themselves. After a prelude of mutual insults¹ the scuffle begins, blows are struck, and there is stabbing and shooting: the incident seldom closes without bloodshed, and often manslaughter. There is no publicity. A Gypsy never betrays another Gypsy to the authorities: everything is decided amongst themselves. If any one should make a report or lodge an information, by which the perpetrator or perpetrators of a crime should be discovered by the authorities, he would have 'peached' (*gepuckt*); he would be an informer (*Puckerer*), and his death would be a certainty. But if, in spite of all, the perpetrator should be arrested, his punishment counts for nothing: even if he have served his sentence, he is still liable to vengeance for bloodshed.

But if a reconciliation should be brought about with his opponent (dictated generally by his courage and intrepidity), it is lasting. As symbol of reconciliation the Gypsy who has sworn vengeance takes two glasses (beer, wine, or spirit glasses), and himself pours the particular liquor into one of them, in which, however, there need be only a little. He takes then, not his own glass, but that of the other party (the reconciled opponent), clinks glasses, each drinking the other's health, and both emptying their glasses at one draught. Each then takes his own glass back; the opponents are reconciled, all vengeance is forgotten, and everything forgiven. Good-will has replaced ill-will.

The following example, which happened exactly as I describe

¹ The original reads: 'Es wird "gebrast," d.h. man beschimpft sich gegen-seitig.'

it, will make the explanation clearer:—At a great accidental assembly at Hagenau the reconciliation of one of my brothers-in-law with another Gypsy, who had sworn revenge against him, and for whom he ‘wore the death-shirt,’¹ was brought about, one evening in the inn, by the fearless entry of my brother-in-law. The ceremony was as above described. As it chanced, shortly after the reconciliation another opponent entered, or rather two, father and son; for the Gypsy who had made peace with my brother-in-law had likewise sworn revenge against both these late-comers: both ‘wore the death-shirt’ for him. The collision actually occurred, and the result was dreadful. My brother-in-law’s late enemy challenged the two newly arrived Gypsies, and provoked them (*brastesie*). Then, in the inn-passage (*im Hausgang der Wirtschaft*) he shot the son dead on the spot. The father tried to hurry to his son’s assistance, but was himself shot twice by the assailant, now behaving like a wild animal. One bullet he received in the upper part of his thigh; the second passed through his chin and neck and came out at the back of his head. He fled, but had to be taken to a hospital, where he died within the week. My brother-in-law was standing close beside the Gypsy who was shot, when the murderer with wild-rolling eyes sought out his other opponent. My brother-in-law was unarmed; and, had the battle occurred half an hour sooner, he would in all probability have been himself murdered. After the reconciliation, however, not a hair of his head could be touched, no ill could happen to him; for in this matter, the rule is very strict. Since no Gypsy will denounce another to the authorities, the criminal was not arrested. Now he ‘wears the death-shirt’ again for the relations of the men he shot.

For the sake of clearness I will give one other instance:—About eight years ago the Gypsy B. Eckstein seduced the sweetheart, or, in our view, the bride of another Gypsy, S. Guttenberger while the latter was undergoing a term of imprisonment. According to our laws he should, or rather was obliged to, take revenge if he did not wish to be considered a poltroon. But the seducer, of course, knew well that he was now ‘wearing the death-shirt’ for the injured lover, the husband that was to be. When Guttenberger was released he sought out Eckstein, who was on the point of marrying, according to our way of looking at things, the ques-

¹ The original reads: ‘von ihm aus das “Totenhemd” an hatte.’

tionable woman. He met him in a tavern. Eckstein, although he understood the situation thoroughly, was caught unawares by this unexpected visit. He rose to go out to the wagon in order to arm himself for any emergency. But Guttenberger instantly drew a double pistol and fired it at him. The first shot went wide and struck the top of the door of the room : the second hit him in the head, and, terribly disfigured, he fell dead. The murderer's escape was prevented by the peasants who were there, and he was condemned to four years' imprisonment. He has now been at large for a long time, but some fine day he too will fall a victim to the avenger of blood : his four years' imprisonment do not affect nor influence this. Nothing is done to the woman ; but union with the deceived avenger is for ever prohibited, although, if such a thing should happen, it is he who would be *bale kido* and not she.

Besides such criminals, those who consume the flesh of dogs, horses, or cats, or even simply eat out of a pot or dish in which such meat has been kept or cooked, become *bale kido* in a less serious sense. So does a man who eats or drinks out of a vessel which a Gypsy woman has touched with her dress, or grazed, as, for instance, by stepping over it. Such objects must be destroyed immediately, even if they are brand new, and of course anything that is being cooked in them. Speaking evil of one's dead relatives, or one's own wife, admits of no defence [*Prasen (Beschimpfen) auf seine Tote, auf des Prasenden Frau—ohne Abwehr*]. A man who has connection with his wife during menstruation, and in general all who commit offences against chastity, whether in or out of marriage (for example, visiting prostitutes, onanism, etc., serious crimes which sometimes involve exclusion from society for ever), are outlawed and scorned. Similarly with breaches of morality, unnatural lust, infanticide, etc.

The penalty of *bale kido* consists in this, that the offender is for a certain period, or for his lifetime, excluded from all intercourse or dealings with the rest of the Gypsies ; he is expelled, outlawed. Among foreign Gypsies such outlaws are condemned to travel alone.¹ He who commits such an offence becomes *bale kido*

¹ This applies to foreign Gypsies only, not to German Gypsies. Here in Germany outlaws are allowed to travel with Gypsies. Additional restrictions are that one must not drink out of the same glass as an outlaw, nor eat from the same plate or cup, nor eat with nor use the same fork, knife, or spoon. To sit at table with such a person, or to drink his health, is allowed and is not dishonourable.

on the spot. From every point of view this penalty is a terrible one for a Gypsy, seeing that he is shunned by all, and, being isolated, is everywhere stopped by the authorities, suffering great misery and vexation. However dearly the Gypsy may love free, limitless roaming, he loves equally the society of his like. To wander from place to place in solitude, home-sick and forsaken, is for him, with his sociable character, the worst imaginable moral punishment.

As already stated, the Voivode or Saibidjo is leader and determines the marches, for which purpose an assembly is held, generally in winter, when all are settled in their winter quarters. At this congress deliberations are conducted and resolutions formed on all matters that concern the tribe: their next summer's wanderings and expeditions are arranged, and the division of the district allotted to them is planned. In the case of German Gypsies the arrangement is now somewhat different. With us it is only occasionally possible to settle, at a gathering, what routes the separate families or smaller bands must follow, because in Germany travelling together in larger troops is quite out of the question. Each little society is independent, and the oldest of the men, as leader or head of the band, appoints and regulates everything. His orders are followed unconditionally and exactly. Moreover, the German Gypsies, with a few exceptions, seldom go into winter quarters, and only remain in one place for Christmas and New Year. Otherwise they travel throughout the year. But even in this respect there have been changes recently. The compulsory schooling of their children, and the exhibition of their passports, compel them to be sedentary for a little. Thus, at the beginning of winter, large bands assemble in certain places, and there hire houses, paying, to disarm all suspicion, several months' or a quarter's rent in advance. Some in Bavaria have even bought houses. Such winter quarters can be found in villages near Karlsruhe and Stuttgart, and especially in Elsass.

Winter with its hardships and its misery is the most dreaded guest of the Gypsies: the moment it is gone—as soon as the warm sun peeps from behind the clouds at the beginning of spring—the halt is over. In apparent disorder the Gypsies depart, one hither and another thither: yet all is exactly regulated, and each section plunges into its own appointed round. But soon all order vanishes—various causes contribute to its dissolution: for example, collisions with the authorities. Then the trail-signs are brought

into use, by which they inform, advise, or caution their comrades, or convey notice of a meeting or sometimes even of a project. Here I may add that these trail-signs and signals are far more widely used among foreign Gypsies than among German Gypsies, for whom but few suffice. So-called civilisation has abolished the others. For special purposes German Gypsies still use some few *Botto* signs, for example on the march, to show those who come after what road or direction has been taken. They also employ gesture-signs when they post sentinels at the camping-place, and warning-signs on the approach of suspicious persons, constables or police; but formerly more signs were used than are used to-day. Besides these there is the remarkable Gypsy whistle (*Sendinger Šol*), peculiar to them and known to or used *only* by them. If it be heard, no matter where nor at what time, every Gypsy knows that one of his race is somewhere in the neighbourhood, even if he had no suspicion of his presence and could not see him, as for instance in a crowded market, or in prison. I do not think that the whistle is yet known to the uninitiated, unimportant though it may appear.

X.—THE SOUND R

By BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

THE existence of *r* in the purest of the Romani dialects of south-eastern Europe has caused some confusion in the transcription in Latin characters of Romani words in which that sound occurs; while the absence of any details concerning it (save one most telling remark of Paspati's) in the standard works on the Gypsy language,¹ has hitherto prevented sufficient importance being attached to the theory according to which the word *rom* is not connected with the Greek word *rūmi*, but is immediately derived from *dom*, a term used as a racial name by the Nawar, the Gypsies of Syria (as proved by the collections, now being published, of Prof. R. A. S. Macalister), and probably akin to Hind. *dom* and Sanskrit *dōmba*, *doma*.

¹ Compare, however, Pott's reference (ii. 79) to the Sanskrit cerebral media 'die zwischen d und r schwankt,' and his general discussion of cerebrals (ii. 261-4). He does not, of course, record the occurrence of the sound in Romani.

The point of interest is that the Gypsy word *rom*, in south-eastern Europe is, strictly speaking, pronounced, and therefore to be written, *r̥om*. Not once during my sojourn in Sofia from July to December 1909, did I hear this word pronounced otherwise than *rom* by the Musulman Gypsies of that city.

I subjoin a list of words heard by me in which this sound occurs, together with their meaning and probable derivation in Sanskrit or other Indian languages, or failing that, in Romani itself:—

Romani	Meaning	Sanskrit or other equivalent
<i>karo</i>	thorn	<i>kaṇṭa</i> , thorn
<i>pīrō</i>	foot	<i>pada</i> , cf. Romani <i>pindō</i>
<i>aro</i>	egg	<i>aṇḍa</i> , egg
<i>mārō</i>	bread	<i>maṇḍa</i>
<i>χarō</i>	sword	<i>khāṇḍā</i> , sword (Hind.)
<i>χari</i>	a little	<i>khāṇḍa</i> , a bit
<i>parno</i>	white	<i>pandu</i> , pale
<i>χarno</i>	low	<i>khāṇḍa</i> , and <i>khatnē</i> , Asiatic Gypsy (Pasp.)
<i>per</i>	belly	<i>pēṭ</i> , belly (Hind.)
<i>phar</i>	to burst	<i>sphat</i> , split
<i>čar</i>	to lick	<i>čāṭnā</i> , to lick (Hind.)
<i>por</i>	navel	<i>pēṭ</i> , belly (Hind.)
<i>kur</i>	to hit	<i>kutṭ</i> , to hit (Pali.)
<i>čoro</i>	poor	<i>čhōṭā</i> , small (Hind.)
<i>rom</i>	Gypsy	<i>dōma</i> , etc.
<i>roj</i>	spoon	<i>dō'ī</i> (Hind.)
<i>raja</i>	rods	<i>danda</i> (Prakrit)
<i>čurja</i>	curls	<i>čūḍā</i>
<i>ril</i>	peditum	<i>dind</i> (<i>rūr</i> , <i>ü'l</i> , in Paspati)
<i>uri</i>	to fly	<i>udd</i> , to fly up
<i>bar</i>	stone	<i>vat</i> (Paspati, Asiatic Gypsy)
<i>pir</i>	to open	<i>pintav</i> , to open (Paspati)
<i>χar</i>	to scratch	<i>khand</i> (Prakrit)

The above list is arranged, not alphabetically, but with regard to the probable origin of the word. The *r* in the first word represents *nt*, in the next seven words various forms of *nd*; then follow the *t*'s, *tt*'s, and, most important of all for the subject we are to consider, the *d*'s and *d̥*'s; finally the *dd*. *Bar* and *pir* are compared to the equivalents in other Gypsy dialects, and the

origin of *χar* is uncertain, though I have suggested the Prakrit *khand*.

The list shows conclusively the usual origin of *r* to be Sanskrit *t* or *d*, sometimes doubled, and frequently having a preceding *n* or *ñ*.

I will now say something concerning the pronunciation of *r*, and endeavour to show that, in all probability, Paspati heard the sound in most of the above words, including the word *rom*.

To many ears *r* sounds almost like *l*. A letter from my Sofia Gypsy friend, Pashi Suljoff, dictated by him probably to some gorgio, and dated Jan. 2, 1911, ends thus: 'Camo, prala, molina man touque te bitchalés *hali* mangue paress. Cai cignom bout *tcholo*.' (The italics are mine.) Transcribed, the sentence runs thus: *Sámo, phrála, molína man túke te bitchalés χarí mánge páres, kai sinjóm but čoró*. Again, in a postcard dated Dec. 8, 1910: 'Bou sastipe mandar touqué, me lomnjatar tai katari kalebalengiri tschar,' i.e. *But sastipé mándar túke, me romnjátar, thai katár i kalebaléngéri čhai*; and further on, 'Bout phrala tchorosignom,' thus *čoró*, this time with an *r*.

Paspati says he heard *romní* pronounced *gomní* (p. 463). He also says, in his definition of *r* (p. 453), that it is changed at times into *l*, and the two examples he quotes are *khanlík*, 'a little,' and *khanló*, 'a sword,' i.e. words which, in Sofia, are pronounced *χarí*, *χaró* (see above list). Miklosich, being chiefly a compiler, could not have himself heard *r*, but he explains very clearly what happens when the older *nd* breaks up, as follows: 'Den Vorgang bei der Verwandlung von *t*-Lauten in *r* erläutert Th. Benfey in folgender Weise: Hinter Dentalen tritt sehr häufig ein schmarotzerhaftes *r* ein, welches sich zunächst in Linguale, d. h. *t*- und *n*-Laute mit einem leise nachklingenden *r* [the italics are mine] verwandelt, dann aber, indem dieses *r* lauter hervorbricht, und die Laute, denen es zuerst nur leise nachklang, gewissermassen überwältigt, in *r* selbst und durch die Verwandtschaft von diesem mit *l*, auch in das letztere übergeht' (*Mund.*, ix. 26). The reader will see, by comparing the above list with the equivalents in Paspati or Miklosich, that those authors give countless variations in *nd*, *nl*, *nr*, for nearly all the said equivalents.

To complete the list of words in which *r* is found I must add the pronouns *moró*, *merí* (*mirí*), *toró*, *tirí*, and also the corresponding formation, from the reflexive *po*, *pi* (as *moró*, *merí* is an extension of *mo*, *mi*), found in the following sentence: *Doldjás*

e rikonjá, perá, 'he seized the dog, his own one' (Sofia fairy-tale). With regard to these pronouns, Paspatti makes the following remark, proving uncontestedly that the sound *r* is no peculiarity of the Sofia dialect, but was regularly used by most of the Gypsies he met with: 'The same difficulty occurs in the pronunciation of *mindó*, "mine," which at times is heard as though pronounced *minró*. I have pronounced it in both ways, in the hearing of Gypsies, and they have made no remark. But I could not pronounce it as they do themselves. Their manner is like an imperceptible breath, passing upon a word *mindró*, so gentle that both consonants are heard, while one is at a loss to say which predominates. It must be heard to be appreciated' (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vii. (1861), 162). Paspatti was right. I myself cannot pronounce *r*, and resorted to some trick, to make my teacher believe I had acquired the knack of pronouncing it correctly; but, even when he said I had 'got it,' I knew I had not.

Finally the diminutives should all be written *-oró*, *-ori*. Here, again, Paspatti's texts and quotations show numerous variations. Compare the diminutive forms *laloró* and *haroló*, *sávoro*, *svávile*, etc. It is most unfortunate that the word *parikeráv* does not exist in the dialects of Eastern Europe. It would be pronounced, were it to be found, as *parikeráv* (Pali, *pajikarōti*). It is worth noting, however, that Miklosich quotes *palecerél* as Hungarian Gypsy (Mik., viii. 32).

The word *ril* is a good instance of the subject we are discussing. If Miklosich is right in comparing it with Sanskrit *dind*, 'tympanum pulsare' (Mik., ix. 26), then the forms *rür*, *ür*, *ül*, heard by Paspatti, are explained, and the form which predominates in south-eastern Europe should be written *rür*, *riṛ*.

It must be clearly understood that the perfectly developed *r* is a form found, with regard to Europe, only in the south-east. The Central and Western dialects appear to have lost it as soon as it was developed; or, what is more probable, never got further than the initial stages of its development (compare Hungarian Gypsy *andré*=eggs, =our *aṛé*), or passed straight over to the simple trilled *r* in a very short time (compare the *rom* of all Western dialects).

To sum up, *r* can be traced to *nd* in most cases, even in European Romani; it represents *t*, *d*, *nd*, *nd*, in Sanskrit. I do not desire to assert that therefore the word *doma*, meaning in

Sanskrit a low caste, and *dōmba*, *dōma*, a low caste of dancers and singers, is identical with *rom*. I am aware that there exist objections to that theory, though I do not think they are as great as some imagine. I would merely point to the probability of *r*'s representing an older *d* in *rom* as in all other words, and, just incidentally, again remind the reader, as perfectly legitimate evidence tending to corroborate that probability, that the Syrian Gypsy calls himself *Dom*. But the question as to the derivation of *rom* from *rūm*, *rūmi*, the modern name by which the descendants of the Byzantine Greeks are known (*v.* Mr. Sinclair's article, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 33), is quite another matter. It is only in words recognised to be of Indian origin that *r* is found, the so-called pure Romani words, whatever may be the divergence of views as to which Indian equivalent is the right one. Why, therefore, should the word *rom*, of all words in the language, be an exception? The sound *r*, it may be well to add, exists neither in Greek nor in any other south-east European language, the well-known Slavic *erweichtes r* being entirely different. I venture to submit that the existence of the sound *r* in *rom*, in Bulgarian Gypsy and most probably in Paspati's dialect,¹ well-nigh disposes of the theory which would derive *rom* from the Greek *rūmi*, *rūm*.

REVIEWS

Une race maudite. Les Bohémiens du Pays Basque. Par ADRIEN PLANTÉ. Auch (Imprimerie Léonce Cochareaux) 1910. Pp. 16. 4to.

THE author of this pamphlet, reprinted from the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Gers*, disclaims any intention of writing a work of erudition, and simply describes the Basque Gypsies as he saw them when, at the beginning of his public life, he was *chef de parquet* at Saint-Palais. In 1873 he made a Gypsy

¹ Paspati was rather prone to omit all reference to sounds unfamiliar to him either in modern Greek or any other language known to him. For instance, his ear did not catch the aspirated *c*, i.e. *ch*, and this omission caused Miklosich and others to doubt its existence in Romani (Mik., ix. 37). I have often heard it distinctly pronounced by Gypsies in the streets of Constantinople, in exactly those words in which it occurs in the Sofia and other dialects.

census of the *arrondissement* of Mauléon, and found that the Gypsies numbered 406; lived professedly by making baskets and shearing asses, mules, and horses, and slept in barns; their marriages, which were not very permanent, were contracted by throwing a jar towards the sun and counting the fragments. The author gives, from his own experience, the story of a grateful Gypsy, named Laplace, which will be useful to those who wish to refute Borrow's libel that 'of all beings in the world they are the least susceptible of such a feeling'; and he pays a tribute to the cleverness with which they defend themselves in the law courts.

The Basque Gypsies' variant of the Egyptian legend is worth quoting:—'During the flight into Egypt, Joseph, exhausted by the rapidity of the march as well as by the weight of the Child Jesus, entrusted him to a traveller who was following the same route. The obliging traveller, however, to satisfy his rapacious instincts, stripped the child and returned him almost naked to Joseph. Jesus rebuked the thief gently; but in consideration of the service he had just received, granted to him and his descendants the right to take five sous at a time or an object of equivalent value. The simultaneously obliging and thievish traveller was an ancestor of whom, it appears, the modern Gypsies boast.'

M. Planté mentions that the expulsion of the French Gypsies in 1802 was unsuccessful, because the transports which should have taken them into exile were driven back into port by British warships and obliged to discharge their human cargo.

Die Zigeuner im Byzantinischen Reich. Von F. W. BREPOHL.

Separat - Abdruck aus *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Bd. xx. (1911). Pp. 8. 4to.

This paper, based entirely on Mazaris, is speculative in the highest degree. It *may* be true that the ancient Gypsies in Byzantine lands loathed mixed marriages; and that the race acquired all its vices there with the exception of two or three insignificant faults which they developed in Persia and Egypt (for the author assumes a passage through the latter country)—but much reading between Mazaris' few lines is necessary to prove it.

Among Byzantine vices acquired he mentions alcoholic intemperance. He traces this to a habit, originally Indian, of chewing henbane, which, he says, they practised on their first arrival in

Germany.¹ Henbane is rare in south-eastern Europe, and the Gypsies replaced it by alcohol during their residence there, resuming the practice of chewing when they migrated westward. He quotes an American journal to show that the alcoholic and Hyoscyamin habits are incompatible, and assumes that they ultimately abandoned the soothing alkaloid for the more exciting beverage.

Herr Brepoli states that the assimilation of Gypsies has occurred only among Slavs, and attributes this to the fact that the Slav nations were for centuries involved in wars, a condition which makes for community of interests among all inhabitants. In corroboration, he mentions that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Gypsy acts in the Wiesbaden archives show that Gypsy conscript soldiers generally married gâjo wives.

Un Journal Pseudo-Tchinghiané.²

Les Tziganes (چنگانه), Tchinghianés) sont, on le sait, nombreux en Roumélie et en Bulgarie, d'où ils nomadisent jusqu'en Serbie, en Albanie et en Bosnie ; certains auteurs portent même leur nombre à 200,000, chiffre peut-être, quant à nous, exagéré. Les uns sont sédentaires, les autres nomades ; les premiers sont en général chrétiens et, dans une certaine mesure, bulgarisés ou grécisés, tandis que les seconds sont musulmans. Les Tchinghianés ont leur langue propre, quoique, jusqu'ici, on n'ait pas jugé à propos de l'écrire, ceux qui la parlent étant complètement illétrés.

Or, voici qu'un journal se revendique de cet idiome délaissé : il s'agit du *Latcho* (لاچو), publié à Adrinople par Emin Resa (امین رسا),³ et dont nous possédons les deux premiers numéros (6 et 12 février 1325).

Le titre est complété par l'indication suivante : 'Journal humoristique, paraissant pour le moment une fois par semaine, au service des intérêts de la patrie et de la nation ottomane,' tandis que le n° 2 ajoute : 'La moitié du produit net de la vente de ce numéro sera versée à la souscription pour la flotte nationale.'

¹ In some districts henbane is still called *Zigeunerkraut* or *Zigeunerkorn*.

² Cet article a paru, une première fois, dans la *Revue du Monde Musulman*, de Paris (Juin 1910).

³ L'e de Resa est de pure conjecture.

L'en-tête donne, en outre, les deux vers suivants, qui font évidemment allusion à la récente liberté turque :

بیکاریشا ای نور و سختله طوطن کون
نه از افالدی نه جفا نه ده سور کون

Cela veut dire : 'Sois mille fois béni, ô jour qui te lèves avec lumière et amour ! Il n'y a plus ni hostilité, ni tyrannie, ni exil.'

Chacun de nos deux numéros comprend huit pages, grand in-8°, dont quatre au moins sont consacrés à des dialogues entre *Latcho* et *Mitcho* (مشجو). De ces deux noms, le premier signifie 'bon' en tchinghiané; quant au second, il faut y voir un nom de fantaisie, simple corrélatif du premier—la corrélation se marque par *m* en turc comme en tchinghiané — plutôt que le turc مشجو (*mousse*, emprunté au grec *μούτζος*), ou le tchinghiané *mishto* (bon).

Au titre *Latcho* correspond une gravure : elle représente un Tchinghiané travaillant à sa forge, tandis qu'un *Romany Rye* turc semble lui tenir la conversation ; l'arrière-plan est occupé par une tente de nomade.

Enfin, nous trouvons, à la dernière page du n° 2, sous le titre de 'Lexique du *Latcho*' (لاچونک لغاتی), un petit dictionnaire tchinghiané-turc.

Tout en tenant compte de la difficulté de rendre, pour la première fois, le tchinghiané à l'aide de l'alphabet arabe, nous ne pouvons que constater chez l'auteur de ce petit travail une grande ignorance de la langue ; et cette ignorance est d'autant moins excusable que le tchinghiané a été admirablement traité par Paspati, dans ses *Études sur les Tchinghianés* (Constantinople, 1870). C'est ainsi qu'il nous donne des formes vocatives pour des nominatifs, des pluriels pour des singuliers, etc. ; et se trompe même parfois jusque dans la signification des mots.

Ce serait donc une perte de temps que de vouloir analyser le lexique du *Latcho* ; mais il nous a paru intéressant de le reproduire (colonnes I et III, tchinghiané-turc) ; pour en faciliter l'étude, nous avons donné, en outre, la transcription en lettres latines (II),¹ la traduction du turc (IV), le terme correspondant chez Paspati (V), et sa traduction (VI).

¹ Nous maintenons strictement la graphie de Paspati : la modifier offrirait ici plus d'inconvénients que d'avantages. La transcription a été faite par analogie, en tenant compte à la fois du système graphique du turc et des données fournies par Paspati. Partout où nous n'avions pas une garantie morale suffisante, nous avons mis un trait.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
دالهی	<i>dalei</i>	انا	mère	<i>dále</i> (voc.)	mère
دادی	<i>dadi</i>	بابا	père	<i>dad</i>	père
باده	<i>bade</i> ¹	قرداش	frère	—	—
قاقو	<i>kako</i>	دایی	oncle	<i>káko</i> (voc.)	oncle
بی بو	<i>bibo</i>	خالة	tante	<i>bíbi</i>	tante
پنه	<i>pene</i>	تذیره	tante	<i>pen</i>	sœur
چرکه	<i>tcherghé</i>	خانه	maison	<i>tchérga</i>	tente
پانی	<i>pani</i>	صو	eau	<i>paní</i>	eau
مارو	<i>maro</i>	اكمك	pain	<i>maró</i>	pain
ماص	<i>mas</i>	ات	viande	<i>mas</i>	viande
غاجو	<i>gadjo</i>	انسان	homme	<i>gadjó</i>	homme
بوری ئە	<i>boriye</i>	كلىين	fiancée	<i>borí</i>	fiancée
جامطوري	<i>djamturi</i>	كوكى	—	<i>djamutró</i>	gendre
هاناميك	<i>hanamik</i>	دونير	—	—	—
شورو	<i>shoro</i>	باش	tête	<i>sheró</i>	tête
ناق	<i>nak</i>	برون	nez	<i>nak</i>	nez
پالا	<i>pala</i>	صال	cheveu	<i>bal</i>	cheveu
ياقا	<i>yaka</i>	كوز	œil	<i>yak</i>	œil
قامانا	<i>kamana</i>	قولاق	oreille	<i>kann</i>	oreille
موى	<i>mui</i>	آغز	bouche	<i>múi</i>	bouche
پروا	<i>pova</i>	قاش	sourcil	<i>pov</i>	sourcil
واستا	<i>vasta</i>	ال	main	<i>vast</i>	main
پلو	<i>pilo</i>	آياق	pied	<i>piró</i>	pied
دومو	<i>dumo</i>	بل	taille	<i>dumó</i>	dos
کى	<i>ghi</i>	قارين	ventre	<i>oghi</i>	cœur, ventre
طويل	—	كويك	chien	<i>tchukél</i>	chien
پيشوم	<i>pishum</i>	پېرىھ	puce	<i>pushúm</i>	puce
جود	<i>djud</i>	بيت	pou	<i>djuv</i>	pou
غراس	<i>gras</i>	باركىر	cheval	<i>gras</i>	cheval
غروف	<i>guruf</i>	اوکوز	bœuf	<i>gurúv</i>	bœuf
غروونى	<i>guruvni</i>	ايىنك	vache	<i>guruvní</i>	vache
خرنى	<i>kharni</i>	مركب	âne	<i>kherní</i>	ânesse

¹ See this vol. of *J. G. L. S.*, p. 222, s.v. *barta*.

Au total, nous avons affaire ici à un tziganophile—nullement à un tziganologue—qui aura voulu mettre ses productions humoristiques sous le patronage des Tchinghianés. Les trente-deux mots cités lui auront été fournis directement par quelque Tchinghiané; incapable de les interpréter, il les a reproduits tels quels au moyen des lettres arabes.

Notre correspondant nous avait donné la perspective d'un véritable journal tchinghiané; lorsque nous ouvrîmes le *Latcho*, ce fut pour nous une grosse désillusion. Et le plus triste est que, presque certainement, nous n'aurons jamais le plaisir que nous avions escompté trop tôt.

HENRI BOURGEOIS.

NOTES AND QUERIES

31.—I MERIMÁSKÓ ČERIKLÓ

The 'Death Bird' superstition, as Mr. Ferguson conjectures (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 160), seems to be very general among the Gypsies of England and Wales, as I have heard of its being a common belief among such 'real old long 'stablished' families as the English Herons, Grays, Smiths, and Lees, and the Welsh Woods. Perron Lee, who 'took no count of those old tales,' informed me that the 'death bird' was, as Mr. Ferguson heard, 'the little moor-hen what you sees on the water.' He remarked scornfully that he himself had 'killed and eaten scores of them.' The moor-hen was also regarded as the 'death bird' by Poley Gray, the son of Amelia, and grandson of Edmund Heron. 'The older Herons,' added Poley, enlarging on the theme of death superstitions, 'still say when they see two *vardos* tied together one behind the other, 'there's a death coming to us.'¹

In Wales *gâjé* as well as *kâlæ* believe firmly in the 'aderyn corff' or corpse bird, which is generally explained, however, as being, not the moor-hen, but the screech owl, or some other species of night bird. In the Welsh Gypsy Vocabulary of Dr. Sampson, to which I have been permitted to refer, I find s.v. *merimáskó*: '*Dívës mankë mûiás i merimáskó čeriklô öriás pârl ò kér tâ kedás godli* ('The day before he died the death bird flew shrieking over the house').

In his *Folk-Lore of British Birds* Mr. Swainson makes the following allusion to 'the screech owl as a messenger of death': 'The common consent of all nations has decided that it is a bird of evil omen.' After quoting references from Virgil and Ovid, Mr. Swainson continues: 'So too in France, in Germany, in Italy, in England, its appearance forebodes misfortune, its shriek foretells woe and ill. Even in Borneo the scream of an owl, if heard at night previous to going out to the jungle, is considered to be a sign that sickness will follow if the design be pursued. . . . Sometimes, the Chinese say, its voice sounds much like an expression for "digging" the grave. Hence, probably, the origin of a common saying, that when one is about to die, in the neighbourhood will be heard the voice of an owl, calling out "dig, dig." . . . Some assert that if its cry is dull and indistinct, as though proceeding from a distant place, it betokens the death of a near neighbour; whereas, if its notes are clear and distinct, as if proceeding from a short distance, it is a sure harbinger of the death of a person in a remote neighbourhood.'

¹ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 22.

—the more distinct the voice, the more distant the individual whose death is indicated, and the more indistinct the voice, the nearer the person whose death is certain !'

D. E. YATES.

32.—VETERINARY SCIENCE

The subjects included under the title 'Gypsy Lore' are so numerous and so varied that the Honorary Secretary of the G. L. S. is often unable, from want of erudition, to reply satisfactorily to his foreign correspondents. For example, his answer to the letter printed below was, he fears, far from what the writer anticipated and had a right to expect. It is therefore published in the hope that members who are specialists will send Mr. Hockert the information he needs.

Sutherland, O'Brien Co., Iowa, U.S.A.,
Feb. 28, 1911.

Publisher Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society,
Liverpool, Eng.

Gentlemen,—I wish you would please send me some circulars, or better still a sample copy of your Journal. I may be able to send you some subscriptions, and what per cent. could you allow me. Also could you send me the name and address of some Book Publisher who publishes one or more books on the Horse, giving all the Tricks in the way of covering up the blemishes of unsound horses and the making apparently of a sound horse out an old plug or stager. If you can send circulars of such a book I will appreciate it, and will perhaps send several orders. I would enclose you a U.S. stamp for reply, but you could not use it. Please reply by return mail and oblige, yours truly,

J. S. HOCKERT.

33.—GYPSY BURIAL

About ten years ago Noah Young, in talking about his forebears, attributed to his maternal grandfather, John Chilcot (husband of Liti Ruth Lovell), the following death-bed injunction :—'Bury me under a sod, and plant briars over me. And don't bury me far down, and don't put no tombstone over me.' Pretty as it is, and interesting as a reminiscence of secret burial, this story would scarcely have been worth recording had it not been that the custom of placing thorns on Gypsy graves was described as also obsolescent in Siebenbürgen in 1890 :—'Bei einigen Zigeunerstämmen Siebenbürgens besteht noch der alte Gebrauch, das Grab von aussen her mit Dornen zu bestecken, "damit es kein Fremder sehe oder gar darüber hinwegschreite"—wie mir ein alter Zigeunerhäuptling erklärte. Viel wahrscheinlicher jedoch haben wir hier auch ein Reminiscenz des alten Brauches, Leichen mit Dornen zu verbrennen.' (Wlislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervölke*, p. 296.) For the latter somewhat doubtful interpretation Wlislocki refers to Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 270.

34.—A GYPSY SONG FROM HUNGARY

The following Gypsy song was obtained in March 1910 by a lawyer in Nagy-Kanizsa from a Gypsy living near that town. He gave it to Mdlle. Gisella Berger, who with the greatest kindness forwarded it, through Frau Jelica Belović Bernadzidowska and Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss, to the Gypsy Lore Society. Besides Romani the singer speaks Hungarian habitually. In the refrain *Dárom madárom*, *madár* is a Hungarian word meaning 'bird,' used as a term of endearment, and

dárom is an abbreviation of the same word. It is evident that the translation does not follow the Gypsy text literally, but is rather a free rendering or explanation of it.

ZIGEUNERLIED.

Zigeuner Text : ungarische Orthographie.

Zsal o riczi upro pani
Mi piráni lavutári
Dárom, madárom.

Besesz, besesz uxor mánde
Áz ren kero romja kamlát
Dárom, madárom.

Usčel a csaj, priki bar
Pálá Lute lube hár
Dárom, madárom.

Ma is víker uze marde
Avrezskero romjá kámlát
Dárom, madárom.

Csoro lukento csáro upre,
Dirja tut tro piriam,
Lukentova kergya tut
Ma is dik upre láse.
Dárom, madárom.

UEBERSETZUNG.

Die Ente schwimmt auf dem Wasser
Mein Geliebter ist ein Musikant
Dárom, madárom.

Zigeuner Bursche, wie schön und braun,
Nicht um die Welt möchte ich ihn geben
Dárom madárom.

Mein süßes Herz, setz dich neben mich
Du bist mein teuerster Schatz
Dárom madárom.

Das Mädchen entschlüpft seinem Geliebten,
Der Bursche fängt sie, umarmt und küsst sie,
Dárom, madárom.

Feuer entflammt in ihren Augen
Sie wird böse und meldet ihn zum Soldaten,
Den armen Zigeuner schleppt man fort zum Soldaten,
Und sie weint, und das Herz bricht ihr entzwei !
Dárom, mádárom.

35.—THE WOOD FAMILY OUTSIDE WALES

With the exception of one possible mention in a Scottish document,¹ no traces of the Wood family of Welsh Gypsies, before the migration of the patriarch Abraham into Wales,² have at present been discovered even by such indefatigable researchers as Sampson and Crofton. Yet there is a clear reference to one of the family in Parliamentary days in one of the works quoted by the latter in his *Early Annals*. In the *Middlesex County Records*, under the date 20th April 1653, occurs the 'Record of the indictment of George Brewer, Elizabeth White, Richard Standley, Thomas Arrington, his wife Mary Arrington, Matthew White, Anne White, Margaret Wood, and Mary Standley "for being counterfeit Egyptians." Arraigned and tried at the next Session, *viz.*, 26 May 1653, on this indictment, all of these persons (with the exception of Matthew White) were found "Not Guilty" of counterfeiting themselves Egyptians, but "Guilty" of being vagabonds, and were sentenced to be whipped and returned to their respective places of birth. Matthew White was respite because he was extremely feeble.'³

Stanley is of course a well-known Gypsy name; and Abraham Wood's son William married into the Stanley family.⁴ White, again, though not a common Gypsy name, is one by which a genuine Gypsy family at Bournemouth⁵ is known. Hester White, 'a traveller's child,' was baptized at Shirburn (Oxfordshire), Oct. 24, 1659; John White, 'a beggar's child,' at Mentmore (Berkshire), 14 Nov. 1701; and Thomas White, 'a traveller's child,' was buried at Bisham (Berkshire), 22 March 1740.⁶ At least one Gypsy using that name still makes Berkshire and Oxfordshire his headquarters, though he is more commonly known by the name of Rose; and in the *Constable's Book of Helmdon, Northants* (fol. 20^r) is an entry, 'Itē giuen to Mary Clarke and Richard White who had a passe under Mr. Harbies hande, -0-0-4' (1673-4). Brewer I cannot parallel, except by an entry in the parish register of Swymbridge, Devon, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. H. Harrison, vicar of Swymbridge. Mary, daughter of Henry and Maria Brewer, and Fred: Carew Henry Seth, their son, were both baptized there on Dec. 25, 1843. But Francis Brewerton, in company with another Stanley (William Standley) and John Weeks, John Browne and Robert Ambrose, were prosecuted for consorting with Egyptians

¹ 'Alexander Wood, mason, servant to James Faa, mason in Kelso,' among a list of Covenanting fugitives in 1685. Cf. Lucas, *The Yetholm History of the Gypies* (Kelso, 1882), p. 124.

² For John Roberts' account of the Wood family and its origin, see *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 180.

³ *Middlesex County Records*, ed. by J. C. Jeaffreson [Lond., 1886-92], iii. 289.

⁴ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 370-1.

⁵ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 276, 285; and Gibbins, *Gypsies of the New Forest*, 2nd ed., p. 21.

⁶ For the last two of these references and for several other extracts from parish registers I am indebted to Mr. F. S. Atkinson, who is undertaking the much needed task of working through all printed parish registers for Gypsy entries.

in 1594;¹ and the name Arington occurs in a similar document of the year 1592 quoted by Crofton.² So it would appear that they were rightly acquitted of 'counterfeiting themselves Egyptians,' since they were Gypsies. But whether such was the intention of their judges is doubtful.

An even more interesting and equally certain reference to the Wood family may be found in the *Hertford County Records* under the date 31st March 1703. 'Warrant to the keeper of the county gaol to receive Thomas Ingroom, Margaret his wife, Easter (*sic*) Joanes and Susan Wood, the heads of a gang of about 50 Gipsies travelling about telling fortunes and calling themselves Egyptians.'³ Now Damaris, one of Abraham Wood's children, married Meredith Ingram;⁴ and, according to John Roberts, the Ingrams 'with the Woods were the first (Gypsies) as came to Wales'.⁵ The first reference to Welsh Gypsies is in *Ellis Wynne's Bardd Cwsg*, which was printed in this very year, 1703; and the first reference to Abraham Wood is the baptismal entry of 'Bohemia, the son of Abraham Wood, as supposed King of ye Gypsyes, of ffroom, in Co. Somerset,' at Selattyn, Shropshire, on the 25th of October 1715. The only other Somersetshire man in that register is 'Thomas, s[on] of Thomas Ingram, of Co. Somerset,' who was buried there on Sept. 6, 1716. Unfortunately these Ingrams are not described as Gypsies in the register; but such descriptions were no doubt frequently omitted, and it is highly probable that one of the two Thomases was identical with the Thomas Ingroom of the Hertford record, and that that record treats of the very band of Gypsies who first colonized Wales. Possibly the number of the band, which seems unusually large, may indicate a migration rather than a mere wandering.⁶

With regard to the third leader of the band, Easter Joanes, it is worth noting that Abraham's granddaughter Alabina married one William Jones.⁷ William is

¹ Cf. *Middlesex County Records*, i. 221; and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 21.

² *Parish Register*, St. Nicholas, Durham; and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 20.

³ *Hertford County Records. Notes and Extracts from the Sessions Rolls*. . . . By W. J. Hardy (Hertford, 1905), vol. ii. p. 34.

⁴ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 370-1.

⁵ Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 198. For other references to Gypsy Ingrams, see *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 124-5, where the tradition of their original wealth is recorded, and where Dr. Archibald Constable quotes the baptism, at Llanfihangel Geneldglyn (Cardiganshire) in 1759, of 'Meredith, son of William Ingram, a Gipsie.' The first Welsh Ingram was supposed to have been an Alderman of London, and it is noticeable that the records quoted above are from Middlesex and Hertford. The Woods, at all events, had lost their wealth by 1785, when, on March 5, in the parish of Selattyn, there died 'Sarah Wood, P[tauper], w. of John Wood, a Travelling woman.' They may still, however, have had rich relations, for Taw used to talk of a Colonel Wood who lived between Brecon and West Hay. She considered him a half-bred Gypsy, and her husband and her son Matthew stayed with him for a couple of days during the latter's boyhood.

⁶ Unfortunately one knows very little about the size of the bands of Gypsies in former days; but, if one can judge by the half-dozen entries in the *Constable's Book of Helmdon* for 1653 to 1717, they were usually much smaller than this band. The numbers there vary from 6 to 15. This agrees with Dekker's account:—'They are commonly an army about foure-score strong, yet they neuer march with all their bagges and baggages together, but (like boot-halers) they forrage up and downe countries, 4. 5. or 6. in a company' (*Lanthorne and Candle-light*, London, 1608, Sig. G5). Possibly, however, they travelled occasionally in slightly larger bands; cf. the extract from a letter of a Somersetshire J.P. in 1596 quoted in Ribton Turner's *History of Vagrants*, p. 491, to the effect that the Gypsies, unlike other rogues, 'went visibly in one company, and were not above 30 or 40 of them in a shire.' But even if this means that they moved about in companies consisting of 30 to 40, it does not afford a parallel for the number of this particular band.

⁷ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 370-1.

marked on Sampson's stemma as a *gdjo*; but, unless other evidence is forthcoming, that need not necessarily mean that he was a *gdjo* of settled habits, nor even prevent him from being a *poſrat* looked down on by the purer-blooded Woods. At any rate Jones is attested as a vagrant name.¹ David, Hugh, John, Richard, and Wylliam Jones all occur on Harman's list of rogues and vagabonds;² Morgan Jones was prosecuted as such in 1619;³ Edward Jones, 'the s. of a poore man, being a travelling person,' and Richard Jones, 'a poore wandering person,' were both buried at Hughley, Salop, the first on Jan. 11, 1679, the second on Feb. 17, 1690. Sarah, 'ye wife of Thomas Jones, Traveller,' was buried at St. Martin's Chapell, Fenny Stratford, on March 6, 1730; and Mary Johnes, 'a traveller's child,' at Selattyn, May 20, 1650. And Leland heard of a Christopher Jones, 'a half-breed Gypsy, but whose mother was a full blood (a Lee), and said to be deeply learned in old Gypsy.'⁴

At any rate, there is little doubt that both the Woods already mentioned belonged to the Gypsy family which still survives in Wales; but it is with more hesitation that I mention two other references to vagrants of the same name. The first occurs in the *Constable's Book of Helmdon, Northants*, for 1653 to 1717,⁵ in which there are several references to records of payments made to companies of Gypsies. Under the date Sept. 3, 1660, occurs the entry, 'Item giuen John Wood & his wife and three Children, and William Thomas & his wife haueing a pass 0-0-10.'

Of Thomas as a Gypsy name I have no evidence. But it occurs on Harman's list (William Thomas), and no less than five persons of that name are among the rogues and vagabonds whose prosecutions are recorded in the *Middlesex County Records*⁶—Richard and William Thomas and John Tomas, Oct. 6, 1590; and John and Philip Thomas, March 17, 1573-4. The baptism of William, son of Elizabeth and John Thomas, of Milton in Kent, 'Travellers,' is recorded at Galton, Surrey, on Dec. 25, 1741; but 'travellers' need not necessarily mean vagrants.

The other reference comes again from the *Middlesex County Records*.⁷ Under the date Dec. 1, 1688, is recorded a true bill against Jonathan Shepheard, yeoman, Elizabeth Bell, spinster, and Katherine Woods, spinster, for wandering abroad as incorrigible and dangerous vagrants. They were fined 12d. To this I can add no comment save that Bell is a name which occurs three times on Harman's list—John, Robert, and Robyn Bell.

To the Ingams I may perhaps add one baptismal entry at Ongar, Essex 'Martha, of John and Elizabeth Ingram (a Traveler),' Feb. 16, 1723, and to English travellers of the name of Wood two recent references. George Wood, 'described as a gipsy,' was fined last year for game trespass, at Wimborne

¹ Cf. Smart and Crofton, p. 263: '*Adré o Lavines tem o Romanies, see Woods, Roberts, Williams, and Jones.*' Jones is also given as a Gypsy surname by Crabb, *The Gipsies' Advocate*, third edition, 1832, p. 48; by Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 42, 'one Jones, a Cambridge knife-grinder'; by Hoyland, *Historical Survey*, p. 185; and by Cuthbert Bede, *Notes and Queries*, 1880, p. 362. The prosecution of a Richard Jones for hawking glasses is mentioned in the *Middlesex County Records*, 3 James II., Sept. 2; and Mrs. Leather gives Locke, Stephens, Jones, Whatton, and Smith as the names of Herefordshire Gypsies from whom she collected folk-songs (*Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, vol. iv. p. 5).

² *Caveat for Cursitors* (1869), pp. 78-82.

³ *Middlesex County Records*, ii. 140, 25 Sept., 16 James I.

⁴ Cf. Mrs. Pennell's *Charles Godfrey Leland*, ii. 138.

⁵ Now MS. Top. Northants d. 8 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The passage quoted is on fol. 7v.

⁶ Vol. i. pp. 81, 190, 191.

⁷ Vol. iv. p. 320.

police court (*Bournemouth Directory*, 23 Feb. 1910), and the *Northampton Mercury* for May 13 described the career of John Wood, a showman, proving that he at any rate is not a Gypsy.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

36.—FOREIGN GYPSIES IN ENGLAND, 1761

The subject of foreign Gypsy invasions, and the question whether the invaders became settlers or formed alliances with our native Gypsies, are so important that I report the following meagre reference to an alien troop which visited Norwood a century earlier than the Hungarian tribe, probably identical with Groome's Langarians (*In Gipsy Tents*, p. 38), 'who a few years ago came to England with their horses and vehicles, and who, whilst encamping with their English brethren in the loveliest of all forests, Epping Wesh, exclaimed "Sore si mensar si men"' (Preface to second edition of *Lavengro*, 1872).

'Gypsies.—The *London Chronicle* for January 24, 1761, states that "there have been lately observed, in and about Norwood, a new sort of *gypsies*. They are blacker than those who formerly used to be there, and speak very bad English; whether it is their natural colour is not yet known, but it is thought that they are part of the gang that have committed so many robberies in these parts. If you ask them any questions, they cannot or will not understand you, but are very complaisant; and if you give them anything, they play several anticks. They are stout, well-made men, and appear very nimble."—Walford's *Antiquarian Magazine*, vol. xi. pp. 264-5, 1887.

F. C. WELLSTOOD.

37. GYPSIES AT HELMDON, NORTHANTS

The *Constable's Account Book of Helmdon* for the years 1653 to 1717, which is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford—MS. Top. Northants d. 8—contains among the entries of expenditures a number of references to money paid to bands of passing Gypsies. Unfortunately, their names are never given; but the entries are of some interest as they show the frequency with which such bands passed through one small town, the numbers in which they travelled, and the unusual kindness with which they were treated by the constables. Whips and scorpions appear to have been unknown in this amiable community, unless another book was reserved for the records of pains and penalties.

The definite references to Gypsies are:—

- fol. 5v. (Between Sept. and Oct. 29, 1658.) Item giuen (un)to¹ a Company of Gipsees that were brought with a passe from Wapenham, -0-0-4.
- fol. 26. Dec. 12, 1682, giuen to a Company of Geipsseys, -0-1-0.
- fol. 27. April 10, 1683, giuen to a Company of Gippseys that had a passe, -0-1-0.
- July 24, giuen to a Company of Gipes, -0-1-0.
- Sept. 20, giuen to a Company of Gipeseses, -0-1-0.
giuen to Jeningsis Boay to haue the Gipeseses out of the towne, -0-1.
- fol. 37. Oct. 5, 1688, given a Company of Gipsyes 8 in Number who came with a Passe from Eaton in Kent to Passe into Cumberland. Witnesse Jo. Hawten, Señ., -0-0-6.
- fol. 38. Jan. 29, 1689. Giuen a Company of Gipsyes 12 in Number who Came with a Guide & to Pass into Essex, -0-0-6.
- fol. 41. March 14, 1689. Given to 14 Gipsyes who had a Pass, -0-0-6.
- fol. 42. May 27, 1689. Given a Company of Gipsyes n^o. 15 who had a Pass to pass out of Kent into Cheshire, -0-1-2.

¹ 'un' is erased.

fol. 44^v. 1690. Given to a Company of Gipsyes 13 number who had a pass, 0-0-10.

fol. 54^b. 1693-4. pd. to Nat Crosse for 6 gipes laying their one Night ordered by Rich. Clarke, -0-0-06.

fol. 68. (Between Aug. 2 and 23, 1697). giuen to 8 Gipsyes who had a Pass to goe to Robin Hoods Bay, 0-1-0.

But besides these definite references to Gypsies, there are a number of cases in which persons bearing names, which are known to be borne by Gypsy families, are granted relief on their travals. Of course one cannot definitely claim such persons as Gypsies ; but, as there is a fair possibility that they were Gypsies, I give such as I noticed in looking through the MS. Since vagrant and Gypsy are interchangeable terms except in the mouth of an expert, all records of vagrants are worthy of attention, nor can names be rejected because they do not belong to well-known Gypsy clans. There seem to have been, and still to be, small families in existence who have neither increased with time nor come under public notice. Perhaps the best instance is the Blewitt family. On May 8, 1696, Thomas Lovell and Hannah Blewitt, 'gypsyes,' were married at Haughton, Staffordshire ; early in the nineteenth century Simson saw some members of this family, who came from Darlington, in Scotland (*History of the Gipsies*, p. 93), and in 1860 Norwood met George Bluett, a Yorkshire Gypsy, at Cheltenham. Except for these three references the Blewitt family has entirely escaped observation ; yet it obviously existed for more than two centuries, and can hardly be extinct now. It is possible that the Whites and Brewers mentioned in note 35, and the Parkers of this note, may be instances of a similar survival of a small and little known family : though investigation may prove that the coincidence of name is purely fortuitous. It is with the hope of stimulating investigation in the little worked field of Gypsy nomenclature that I give such references. In most cases these entries refer to smaller companies than the above-mentioned Gypsy bands ; and this may be the reason for the different method of entry. If only one or two people appeared, their names may have been entered ; if a large company, then merely the general description, 'Gypsies.'

In the first case, however, it is a large band under the leadership of a Hearn :— fol. 3^v, Feb. 14, 1656. 'Item giuen to Peeter hearne and 11 persons in his Company who had a passe from two Justices in Yorkshiere to goe into sussex, -0-0-6.' If this Hearn was a Gypsy, he is the first of that name recorded, as the earliest instance yet quoted is the marriage of Robert Hern and Elizabeth Bozwell at Camberwell in 1687.¹

One other very uncertain reference to a Hearn occurs in the Helmdon list :— fol. 65. 1696, 'giuen to Mary the widow of Jo. Hern & her 6 Children who lost her Husband & all their Substance by french Priuateers, -0-1-0.' If this tale was true, she could hardly be a Gypsy ; but veracity is not a Gypsy foible, and, judging by many entries, any excuse was good enough for a Helmdon constable.

Two Stanleys follow ; the first possible, the second very suspicious :—

fol. 70. 1697, Jan. 26. Given to Mary Stanley and two Childdren a mans wife with a pas agoing to Cambrig, -0-0-4.

fol. 19. 1673. Itē giuen september the 5^o to Joane Standley and Mary Milleneax widdowes whose husbands were merchants & lost their ships & liues by duch priuateeres, -0-0-6.

There are three references to Lees ; and one would be glad to believe that the three with their charmingly illogical order referred to one and the same Gypsies ; but unfortunately Lee is not a very uncommon name.

fol. 33. 1686, Nov. 26, giuen to John Lee with his wife and 5 Children who hadd a pase, -0-1-0.

¹ Cf. Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 109.

fol. 66, 1696, giuen to Jane the Relict of Jo. Lee with her 5 children who had a printed passe to goe into Derbyshire, -0-1-0.

fol. 70. 1697, Jan. 6. Giuen to John Ley with a pas loged all night, 0-0-4.

One Wood, at a time when the Wood family were still in England, one Gray and one Shaw are recorded :—

fol. 77. Item giuen John Wood & his wife & three Children and William Thomas & his wife haueing a pass September y^e third, 1660, -0-0-10.

fol. 18. 1671-2. Itē giuen to Elizabeth Gray widdow which Came out of Ireland with a Passe, -0-1-0.

fol. 77. 1699, May 20, giuen Charles Browne his wife and too children Ann day widow Sarah Shaw widow with too Children with A passe going for norwich Eight in number Robert Steevens carried to wapingham, 0-0-8.

It may be noted that Brown is a Gypsy name, though not a very common one. It is found in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ Hannah Brown, a traveller, was buried at Orlington Pigotts, Cambridgeshire, Sept. 10, 1765: three persons of that name, Edward, John, and William Brown, occur on Harman's list of rogues;² and there are still Browns in the north and south of England. But Brown and his descendants intermarried with Ambrose Smith's family (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 162), and apparently with Youngs and Bakers too (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 164). Norwich, the destination of the party who visited Helmdon, was and still is a centre of these Browns; but they are said to be Herons who have adopted an alias. Way mentions a Jesse Brown among Bristol-side travellers:³ and at Cowley near Oxford is a *pořat* family, who claim kinship with the Stanleys through their father a Brown, though at the same time they call him a *gájo*. At our first visit to them my companion, Mr. Atkinson, was the victim of just such a determined and aimless attack of *monging* as Leland suffered at the hands of George Brown's wife,⁴ though it is only fair to Mrs. Brown to add that not she but one of her daughters, wife of Platos Smith, was the offender. Oddly a Brown of Cowley, Oxfordshire, is mentioned here too :—fol. 67. 1696, 'giuen to Rich. Brown⁵ who came from Cowley in Oxfordshire with a Letter of request Testifying his loss by fire amounted to 800 li. wittnes Jo. Brasy señ. -0-1-0.' But it is very unlikely that he was a Gypsy. Two other Browns occur in this list: fol. 36a^v. March 12, 1688. 'given to Will Browne 7 in Company y^t Had pas from North to ille white, 00-00-09 ;' and fol. 67, 1696, 'giuen to Christopher Brown & his Wife came with a passe, -0-0-6.' Nor is Day unknown as a Gypsy surname. Precisely one hundred years after this party of Shaws, Brownes, and Days passed through Helmdon another Anne Day was buried at Arlsey, Bedfordshire, in March 1799, at the age of 108 years.⁶ She might therefore have been daughter of the Ann Day mentioned in these records.

Other common Gypsy names, which occur frequently, are Taylor and Smith :—

fol. 4. Aug. 5, 1656. Item giuent William Taylor and Katherin his wife Creeples who had a passe from Aueley neare Bridgenorth in y^e County of sallop, to Thaxted in Essex or Romford, 0-0-2.

fol. 21. 1681, Nov. 20. Giuen to one Richd Tayler, his wife & Child who Came with a Passe, 0-0-2.

fol. 33. 1687, March 5, giuen to John Taylor and William Taylor souldiers, 0-1-2.

¹ Cf. MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*, pp. 44, 53, 91, 98; and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 361.

² *Caveat*, pp. 78-82.

³ No. 747: *Being the Autobiography of a Gipsy*, p. 28.

⁴ *The Gypsies*, p. 112.

⁵ 'Rich. Cowley' was at first written and corrected to 'Rich. Brown.'

⁶ Cf. Hoyland, p. 282; Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 115.

fol. 70. Feb. 20, 1697. Giuen to Abimmeleck tayler A sick souldier A goeing to his Captain to Leester with a pas, -0-0-2.

fol. 19. 1673. Item giuen to Theophilus Smith which had a passe for losse by fire in Terry Iland, August the 27^o, -0-0-6.

fol. 20. 1673-4. Itē giuen to Henry Smith his wife & fife Children and Mary Beane & one Childe y^t came from warham in the County of dorsett & were to trauell to Burton upon humber he being lame & his wife great wt Childe, -0-1-0.

fol. 33. 1687, June 1. giuen to Richard Marchall and Jane Smith with theire ffamileys, -0-1-0.

June 28, giuen to one John Smith and Waker, 0-0-6.

fol. 33^v. 1687. Giuen to one Jane Smith and Thomas Johnson, -0-0-6.

fol. 45. March 13, 1690. Given to Mary Smith a Cripe, -0-0-2.

fol. 53. 1693-4, given to Will Smith y^t Had pase wife and 3 childdren carried Away by will gilkes, -0-0-1-0.

fol. 67. 1696, giuen to James Smith his wife & two Children who had a Passe to passe into Warwickshire, 0-0-6.

fol. 67^v. 1697, giuen to Geo. Smith his wife & 3 Children who had a Passe for Brimingham, 0-0-8.

fol. 80. March 12, 1699, giuen to Charles Smith his wife And one child y^t cam with A pas, 0-0-3.

As for their companions, Beane, Johnson, Marchall, and Waker, it may be noticed that the Beans are well-known in Westmoreland as a clan of potters, Marshall is a common Scottish tinkler name, and a Lawrence Marshall occurs on Harman's list of vagrants, while Walkers are also fairly frequently mentioned as vagrants. Rychard Walker is on Harman's list, Alice Walker was prosecuted for vagrancy at Islington, 6th Oct. 1590;¹ at Mansfield, 5th Dec. 1693, John Walker and Elizabeth Walker, two sturdy vagrant beggars, one of about fifteen and the other about thirteen years old, were openly whipped;² at Dorchester, Oxfordshire, Margaret Walker, daughter of a traveller, was baptized on June the 3rd 1716, and buried three days later; at Chinnor, William, son of W. Walker, traveller, was baptized Feb. 26, 1751; and at St. Martin's Chapell, Fenny Stratford, Catherine Walker, a Travelling Woman, was buried Nov. 21, 1773. One other Johnson occurs on the Helmdon book:—fol. 33^v, 1686-7, ‘giuen to one Edward Johnson wt his wife and fife more, -0-1-0’; and ‘Simon Jonson and William Thornham, mighty beggers,’ were put in the stocks at Norwich 19th March 1496.³

Miscellaneous entries worthy of note are:—

fol. 4. 1656, Aug. 26. Item giuen to William Parker and his wife haueing a pass from Little London in the parish of Okeley (?)⁴ in Oxfordshiere to goe into Leistershire, 0-0-2.

Now in 1649 Francis and Elizabeth Parker were arrested in company with some Greys and Smiths as Gypsies, and of this party it is specially noted that they spoke in a strange tongue.⁵ At Hertford, in 1697, one Jonathan Parker was arrested ‘on the suspicion of idle wandering about the county,’ and for having ‘divers counterfeit seals for passes,—a trick which may account for some of the odd statements palmed off on the Helmdon constable, and John Parker ‘for going out of nights to destroy partridges, hares, and pheasants.’⁶ It must be admitted that

¹ *Middlesex County Records*, vol. i. p. 190.

² Cox, *Parish Registers of England* (London, 1910), p. 232.

³ *The Records of the City of Norwich*, vol. ii. p. 153.

⁴ The name has been erased, and is difficult to read. It at first ended in -eeley; but I cannot find any Oxfordshire parish with that ending. The correction looks like Okeley; but Oakley is actually in Buckinghamshire, though near the border.

⁵ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 24.

⁶ *Hertford County Records*, i. 343, 426, 430.

the latter may have been merely a villager who took his delight on a moonlight night, as there are other Parkers, obviously not Gypsies, mentioned in these records as prosecuted for holding conventicles and preaching in them. But Kisby Draper's companion, I am told, when he *mored a vesengro*, was one Israel Parker; and Israel's relatives are still living about the borders of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Only a few days ago I fell in with Lucas Parker (cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 278) not more than four miles from Oakley, the place mentioned in the Helmdon book, together with his nephew Levi Smith. So far as I could make out from a vague genealogy got from them, the family seems to have kept pretty much to itself, though a Loveridge and a Bedfordshire Smith had entered it by marriage. Both Luke and Levi are dark and Romany looking; but others of the family are quite *gđo* in appearance, and their Romani is mixed with cant. Levi would have delighted Borrow's heart, since he frequently used *mengro* as a separate word for 'policeman.'¹

fol. 20. 1673/4. Itē giuen to Andrew White, who landed at saint Iues and had a passe with three Justices handes to it, -0-0-6.

Itē given to Mary Clarke & Richard White who had a passe under Mr. Harbies hande, -0-0-4.

fol. 33. 1686 Oct. 9, giuen to Elezebeth White and hurr sist^r with 4 Children, -0-1-6.

1686 Oct. 21, giuen to Audry White, -0-0-6.

The Clarkes occur on Leland's list of Gypsy families, where they are said to be a *pošrat* family living at Portsmouth. A member of the family, who carried a stock of name-boards, is mentioned in the last 'Affairs' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 280); William Clarke occurs on Harman's list; and Mary Clarke d. of Luke Clarke, 'a blind vagrant beggar,' was baptized at Sanderstead, Surrey, Mar. 24, 1632. The Whites, too, are New Forest and Bournemouth Gypsies, and appear to be recognised as *tacē Romane*.² There seem also to have been Clarks in the north, since Richard Clark, one of a Faw gang, was executed on Apr. 18, 1767, at York, for housebreaking, and on Aug. 10, 1792, Jane and Eleanor Clark, in company with William Winter, suffered the same penalty at Newcastle for murder.³

fol. 11. 1662/3. Item giuen too Mary Price and forwe children, -0-0-6.

fol. 33^v. Aug. 27, 1687, giuen to Jane Allen and Margrett price and 3 more of y^e Company who lay 2 nightes in ye towne, -0-3-8.

fol. 67. 1696, giuen to Charles Allen Mary Aen and 8 more of the Company who came from Bransen in this County with a L^r of request, -0-0-8.

fol. 67^v, giuen to one John Allen his wife and 3 Children who had a printed pass to to Rasely Stock (?) in Coṁ Hartford, 0-0-6.

fol. 76, 1699 March 20, giuen to Jone Allin with A passe towards Wess-chester, 0-0-1.

The Prices are still a Welsh Gypsy clan, and vagrants of that name (or Ap Rice) occur on Harman's list, and frequently in parish registers. Allen is given by Hoyland as one of the commonest Gypsy names, and on his list of Gypsies of Westminster occurs Charlotte Allen, an earthenware seller.⁴ The family seems to have made London their centre, since nearly two hundred years earlier two persons of that name, John Allen (26th March 1574) and Henry Allen (6th Oct. 1590),⁵ were prosecuted as vagrants; and Thomas Allen is on Harman's list.

¹ This is quite a common use among *pošrats* in Norfolk; and I have heard *engro* similarly used by a *pošrat* who knew a fair amount of Romani.

² Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 276, 280, 285; and Gibbins, *Gypsies of the New Forest*, 2nd ed., p. 21.

³ Lucas, *Yetholm History of the Gypsies* (Kelso, 1882), pp. 127, 131.

⁴ *Historical Survey*, pp. 165, 185.

⁵ *Middlesex County Records*, i. 87, 190-1.

The best known representative of the family, Goosie Allen, was a London-side traveller too, and though Borrow calls him a *gájo*,¹ he married into good Romany families, living at various times with Lurina Hearn, Providence Hearn, and Agnes Lee. There are still travellers of that name, as I recently met a party of them selling floor-cloth at Princes Risborough. They claimed to be children of a Yorkshire Smith, and nephew and niece of Goosie, though I am assured by a Gypsy who knew him that Goosie never had a brother or sister. This family was as much at home in the north of England as in the south, and some Allens and Winters have recently got into trouble at Birkenhead. Possibly these northern Allens are connections of the celebrated James Allan, the Northumbrian piper.²

fol. 11. 1662/3. Item giuen to Thomas Joones and his wiffe that came with a passe, -0-0-4.

For Jones as a Gypsy name, cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. pp. 305-6.

One entry only indicates sterner measures :—

p. 54. 1693/4. Spent At North Hamton when I went to meet the debity Life tenant to tack up (men)³ Trafier, 00-02-06

and that may have been due to some special circumstances or to the energy of the gentleman whose official title is so mishandled.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

38.—DREI AUF ZIGEUNER BEZÜGLICHE LATEINISCHE URKUNDEN AUS UNGARN AUS DEN J. 1695/6.

Der Güte des mir befreundeten Professors Dr. *Jovan Radonić* von der Universität in Belgrad verdanke ich nachfolgende drei lateinische Urkunden, die uns über die rechtliche Stellung der aus Serbien eingewanderten Zigeuner in Slavonien und Südungarn erwünschte Auskunft gewähren. TIHOMIR R. GJORGJEVIĆ.

I.

SACRATISSIMAE CAESAREAE REGIAEQUE MAIESTATIS DOMINI DOMINI NOSTRI CLEMENTISSIMI NOMINE METROPHANO POPOVICH MONASTERII CHELYE VICARIO GRATIOSE HISCE INSINUANDUM.

Qualiter altissime memorata sua Majestas ad humillimam ipsius Popovich, pro conferendo sibi supra faraicam vulgo Zingaricam, alias intra Dravum, Savum Colapim, et Unam hinc inde sine officiali dilapsam nationem directoratus officio, praesentatam instantiam, et ad informationes eatenus perceptas clementissime se resolverit, et ipsum supplicantem⁴ Popovich, attactae genti faraicae, vel Zingaricae, sub directoris titulo, praeficiendum decreverit, facultatem ipsi attribuerit, incultam, et vagabundam, hanc nationem intra certos suos limites ab inspectoratu camerale in partibus intra Dravum et Savum constitutis,⁵ eodem assignandos coercendi ad ordinationem vitae statum reducendi nec non juxta delictorum suorum culpabilitatem corrigendi, et corripiendi, eo praeterea per expressum annexo benignissimo mandato, ut :

Primo quilibet saepetatae nationis faraicae paterfamilias, a sua domo et solidi fundo, loco Decimaram Robathae et aliorum publicorum onerum Rhenenses florenos sex, ad cassam dicti Inspectoratus neo-acquisitorum partium Sclavoni-

¹ *Lavolil* (1907), p. 232.

² Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 266; and Brockie, *The Gypsies of Yetholm* (Kelso, 1884), pp. 147-166.

³ 'Men' is erased.

⁴ Suplicantem ch.

⁵ Constituto ch. 11 se prefato ch.

carum persolvat, ipse Director vero annuam hanc impositionem colligat, et ad attactam cassam perferat, ne gens ista, sub umbra clementissimae Caesareae Regiaeque Protectionis vivens absque omni plane recognitione et utilitate publica inter caeteros Regni incolas fundos terrasque possideat.

Secundo, Nulli Zingarorum de terra arabi pro sua alimentatione plus possidere liceat quam iugera octo (id est quinque terrae arabilis, et tria pro foeno falcando) ab officialibus cameraticis et inspectoratus ipsi assignanda.

Tertio, Casu quo aliqui Zingari nullos fundos et terras habentes, ibi locorum furti solummodo gratia divagarentur, eo facto ad primam intimationem inspectoris illarum partium proscriptantur, et e Regno exterminentur.

Quarto, Natio et gens faraica Directori suo debitam partitionem praestet, ipse director vero subordinationem suam, et dependentiam a saepfato inspectoratu vel inspectore camerali partium illarum Sclavonicarum habeat, quovis tractanda eidem communiret, et inde necessarias ordinationes ac resolutiones exspectet.¹

Quo Sacratissimae Caesareae Regiaeque Majestatis clementissima resolutio ipsi Metrophano Popovich, pro sua assicurazione et directione hisce praesentibus intimatur. Signatum Viennae sub praelibatae Ma[jesta]tis suae appressae sigillo secreto Caesareo.

SIGEFRIDUS CHRISTOPHORUS C. BREINER, m.p.
JOANNES VOLCARDUS COMES A CONZIN, m.p.

L.S.—Per imperatorem

die 4 Juli 1695

JOANNES JOSEPHUS DE VESTENBURG, m.p.

II.

Sacratissimae Caesareae Regiaeque Majestatis nomine per cameralem administrationem Budensem, omnibus et singulis, cuiuscunque conditionis, status et praeeminentiae gradus, quibus expedit universis, praeentes notificandum, quod harum exhibitor Metrophanus Popovich Monasterii² Chelije Vicarius in directorem Zingarorum³ Rascianorum, vulgo gentis furaicae,⁴ in neoacquisitis partium Budensium commorantium⁵ ab alte titulata sua [acratis]ma Caes[area] Majestate constitutus⁶ sit, et observandus inter dictam gentem in posterum⁷ bonus ordo requiret, ut hinc inde in diversis locis persistentes et circumvagantes in bona correctione⁸ et disciplina dirigantur, et certo ejus constituto capiti subjecti existant.⁹ Ideoque omnibus et singulis Bude incorporatis districtibus commorantibus¹⁰ Rascianicis Zingaris, suorumque vaivodis hisce serio committite, quatenus praefato constituto directori, sine distinctione et exceptione omnem competentem partitionem sub combinatione gravis animadversionis exhibeant et praestant, super quibus vero, huic Caesareae camerali administrationi suprema inspectio et protectio reservando, ad quam in casu aggravationis refugium recipere, et pro remedio recurrere¹¹ possunt. At huic genti feraicae Zingari Hungarici non immiscendo,¹² sed in statu quo relinquendo secus facturus gravi poena infallibiliter infligetur. Datum Budae die 10 Octobris 1695.

Sacrae Caesareae Regiaeque Majestatis camerae Hungaricae Consiliarius, et cameralis administrator.

JOANNES IGNATIUS KUR, m.p.

¹ Expectet ch. 6 Metrophano, ch.

² Monasterij ch.

³ Zingarum ch.

⁴ Furaicae ch. pro furaicae, nimirum iocandi gratia, nam Zingari a furtis abstinere minime possunt.

⁵ Comorantium ch.

⁶ Constituta sit ch.

⁷ Imposterum ch.

⁸ Corectione ch.

⁹ Existant ch.

¹⁰ Comorantibus ch.

¹¹ Recurre ch.

¹² Imiscendo ch.

III.

SACRAE CAESAREAE REGIAEQUE MAJESTATIS, TENEUS CAMP: MARESHALLUS
GENERALIS ET COLONELLUS,¹ SUPREMUS COMMENDANS IN SIGETH, QUIN-
QUE ECCLESIIS, CAPOSVAR, SCHLOSS DOMBO, MOHAZ, ALIISQUE LOCIS INTER
DRAVUM ET DANUBIUM.

JOANNES JOSEPHUS BARO AB KUYN.

Cum exhibitor praesentium, Metrophanus Popovich, Monasterii Chelije vicarius, exhibuerit et repraesentaverit, quatenus a Sacratissima Sua Caesarea Majestate constitutus sit director Zingarorum Raszianorum, vulgo gentis faraicae, in neoacquisitis partium Budensium commorantium, necesseque sit, bonusque ordo requirat, ut in diversis hinc inde existentes² locis, persistentes et circumvagantes, in bona correctione et disciplina dirigantur, et certo eis constituto capiti subjecti existant,³ in cumque etiam finem ab Camerali Administratione Budensi, litteras concessionales produxerit, pro similibusque etiam hic insisterit. Sic mandatur omnibus et singulis hinc Commandamento subjectis cujuscunque gradus status conditionis aut praeeminentiae,⁴ ut non tantum praefatum Metrophanum Popovich, secundum clementissimam altae fatae Majestatis Sacratissimae intentionem et voluntatem Functionem suam exercere permittant, sed et insuper in districtu huius Commandamenti de gentibus Raszianis Zingaris, eorumque Vaivodis hisce serio committitur, ut dicto constituto directori sine distinctione et exceptione omnem competentem parationem, sub comminatione gravis animadversionis exhibeant, et praestent. In cuivis rei fidem has propria manu subscriptas, consueto sigillo communiri volui. Sigethi 2^o Februarii 1696.

JOANNES JOSEPHUS BARO AB KUYN, m.p.

39.—A GERMAN LAW

Landtageakten von Jülich-Berg. 1400-1610. Herausgegeben von Georg von Below. Bd. 1 (Düsseldorf, 1895), pp. 203-4.

Hambach 1532, Mai 7. Hz Johann, Erlass an alle Amtleute und Befehlshaber von Jülich, Berg und Ravensberg. . . .

Obwohl es ihnen 1529 und 1531 'der gesonder und frembder giler ader betler, auch der heiden halver, die durch die lande zehen, . . . derglichen der voissknecht, so die arme luide beschedigen,' hat befehlen lassen, sie 'nit zu gestaden,' so laufen sie wie auch 'die mussige boven' doch umher, 'dardurch unsre arme underdanen mirklich mit mortbrant und sunst moiwilliger wis beschedigt' werden. Adressaten sollen daher die vorigen Befehle und auch diesen in den Kirchen ausrufen lassen und für ihre Beobachtung sorgen, 'und dabi in allen herbergen und sunst' bestellen, dass keine 'archwoenige boven aber mussichgenger in unserm ampt uers bevehels ufenthalden, sonder uch als unsren amptluiden vurbracht werden, dieselvige nach befinden und gelegenheit zu halden.' Alle Wirts- und Bierhäuser, die in den Büschken und neben den Strassen liegen, 'darin boses ufenthaldens vermodung ist,' sollen 'abgeschafft' werden. Damit 'die rechte arme, alde, kranke ader gebrechliche unse underdanen, die sich irer guider, renten ader arbeit nit erneren moigen, nit gebrech liden,' so sollen Adressaten bei allen Pastoren und Predigern im Amt verordnen, dass sie 'uf den [...] predigstoil und sunst ermanen, das ein ider ampt ader kirspel dieselvige, so dainne gesessen, ernere und christlich erhalde.' Hambach den 7 Mai, 1532. P.S.: Adressaten sollen 'bi allen gasthuismeistern' bestellen, dass gleichfalls 'geine gesonde giler ader archwenige leufer bi ber. straf hinfur in den gasthuisern geherbergt und usfhelden werden. Datum ut s.'

¹ Collonellus ch.

² Existentes ch.

³ Existant ch.

⁴ prae Em. ch.

The notes state that nothing is known of the laws of 1529 and 1531 mentioned at the beginning ; but that the contents of this law are similar to one of 1525 and to another of 1534, Dec. 12, both published by Scott.¹

The editor gives two other references to 'Heiden':—*Vogteirechnung von Bergheim*, 1540-1 : 'Es sint zwein heiden zo Berchem in haftong kommen ind mit dem scharprichter versoicht. Sint ain unkoesten, baetloens ind ichlichs vur ind nae . . . verdain 43 mr.' Nijhoff, vi. 3, S. 1136 :² *Forderungen des Quartiers Nymwegen* (1537, August 18), § 9 : 'Dat doch die aertoeghe van knechten ind heyden, die daegelix vast ellendelicken ind jamerlicken aver die arme wichter geschieden ind geboeren [!], voirtain afgestalt werden. Anders en solden die arme wichten ind ondersaiten geen macht hebben oir penningen tbetaelen.'

E. O. WINSTEDT.

40.—FIRE-MAGIC

The attention of those who are interested in the magic of the Gypsies, and particularly in their ancient reputation as quenchers of fire, is drawn to a short article, 'Ein bewährter Feuersegen,' by Otto Weinreich, which was published in the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, Band ix., Heft 1, 2, pp. 139-142 (Leipzig, 1910). In it a spell is printed, which was obtained in 1733 from *einem Heidnischen Wordischen Königin aus West-Indigen* (*sic!*), and references are given to others derived from a *christlicher Zigeuner-König aus Egipten*, a *zigeunerischen König aus Judea und Egypten*, a *ziegeinische König aus Juda*, and from a *wohlerfahrenen Zigeuner mit Namen July Virgulie*. Herr Weinrich also quotes from J. W. Wolff's *Hessische Sagen* (1853, p. 128) the tradition that, when almost the whole of Bertolden was burned in 1810, a shepherd's hut which had been blessed by a Gypsy woman escaped.

In this connection it is worth mentioning that Sir Walter Scott said that he had 'somewhere a German ballad on this subject [spells for stopping the progress of conflagration] :—Seven gipsies were unjustly doomed to death ; the town takes fire ; and the magistrates are obliged to release them, that they may arrest the flames by their incantations.' Has this ballad been identified ?

41.—SUN-BATHS FOR THE COMPLEXION

To the kindness of Monsieur Ed. Aude, chief librarian of the Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence, we owe the following very curious account of a Gypsy band in the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is taken from *Lettres historiques et galantes de deux dames de condition dont l'une étoit à Paris et l'autre en Province*, par Madame Dunoyer (Edition d'Amsterdam, 1739; Tome v. p. 504), and the initial incident may be compared with the case of three or four hundred naked Gypsies which Victor Areco (*Das Liebesleben der Zigeuner*, Leipzig, 1910; p. 33) quotes from 'der französische Arzt und Gelehrte Charles Patin in seinen 1673 zu Basel erschienenen Reiseberichten.'

'Allant de Gênes à Turin nous aperçumes au milieu d'une vallée à laquelle aboutit une grande forêt, qui couvre une partie des montagnes, le spectacle le plus capable de causer de la frayeur. Nous crumes voir plus de trente personnes rangées sur une même ligne, le visage tourné directement au Soleil, & à mesure que nous approchions, nous nous aperçumes qu'elles étoient nues. Une voiture

¹ *Gesetze und Verordnungen von Jülich-Berg* (Düsseldorf, 1821), i. 22 and i. Nr. 27 are the references given. Unfortunately I cannot verify them.

² From Nijhoff's *Gedenkwaardigheden uit de geschiedenis van Gelderland* (Arnhem, 1830). Again I cannot verify the reference.

seule, suivie de deux hommes à cheval, ce qui composoit tout notre équipage, ne furent pas capables de les épouvanter, il ne se fit aucun changement dans la situation de cette bande, jusqu'à ce qu'étant assez proches d'eux, M. D. . . . curieux, comme il étoit naturel de l'être, mettant pied à terre, s'arrêta à la tête de la ligne, et demanda la cause d'une cérémonie si extraordinaire. Un homme âgé, qui se trouvoit le plus proche de lui, fit cette Réponse : Vous voyez des gens qui ne font mal à personne, & qui tâchent au contraire de rendre service à ceux qui veulent les employer. Nous sommes connus sous le nom d'*Egyptiens* ou de *Bohemians*, car on ne s'accorde pas sur nos titres, & je vous assure que nous sommes là-dessus fort indifférens. Vous comprenez tout d'un coup qui nous sommes ; mais comme il est nécessaire à notre condition d'être noirs, ou du moins fort bavanés, et que la nature ne répond pas tout à fait à nos vœux, nous employons un peu d'art pour suppléer à ce qu'elle nous refuse. Il lui fit voir en même tems une provision de graisse dont ils se frottoient pour faciliter l'action du soleil ; si vous voulez scâvoir, reprit-il, pourquoi cet endroit nous a paru plus propre qu'un autre à cet exercice, c'est qu'après nous y être noircis au soleil pendant tout le jour, nous trouvons le soir à quelques pas d'ici des fours à charbon, où la fumée achève de nous donner une couleur qui ne s'efface pas de longtems. Il y a bien d'autres choses que je voudrais scâvoir, interrompit M. D. . . . & je suis ravi d'avoir cette occasion de les apprendre. Dites-moi d'abord comment vous osez former une assemblée si nombreuse, & si vous ne craignez pas que les Sbirres ne vous éclairent de trop près. C'est encore une des raisons, répondit le Vieillard, qui nous fait préférer ce canton à quantité d'autres. Nous sommes ici tranquilles, parce que nous vivons fort bien avec les Charbonniers, qui nous prêtent volontiers leur nom, & notre couleur ne les dément point. Nous leur faisons part de notre petit butin, & le feu de leurs fours nous sert à le cuire. Mais vous demeurez donc ici habituellement, reprit M. D. . . . ? & quel emploi faites-vous de vos talents dans un lieu si désert ? Le vieillard le pria de l'écouter. Si vous avez tant de curiosité, lui dit-il, de connoître nos occupations & nos usages, je suis prêt à vous satisfaire. Je vais renvoyer tous mes compagnons qui ont été ici assez longtems & je vous ferai le récit que vous paroissez désirer. Vous me donnerez ce que vous jugerez à propos, car nous ne prenons que ce qui nous est offert volontairement. Et sans attendre la réponse, il fit signe aux autres de se retirer. Vous comprenez, reprit-il, par la promptitude avec laquelle ils m'ont obéi, que je suis leur chef. Il y a vingt ans que je porte cette qualité. Nous nous assemblons ici chaque année au mois d'Août, qui est le tems le plus propre à nous noircir. Nos femmes y sont aussi, mais la pudeur ne leur permettant pas de paroître nuës avec nous, elles nous succèdent aussi tôt que nous avons repris nos habits. Nous passons le temps des grandes chaleurs dans cette forêt, & nous y avons d'autant plus de facilité pour notre nourriture, que tous les Paysans des Villages Voisins étant occupés de leur moisson, nos femmes & nos enfants en font plus aisément la guerre à leurs poules. Elles observent néanmoins de ne pas causer trop de désordre. Soit qu'on nous aime ou qu'on nous craigne, nous n'avons point encore été chagrinez. D'ailleurs, il nous reste toujours assez d'argent des profits de notre année, pour nous procurer de quoi vivre largement. Mon âge, qui passe soixante ans, n'empêche pas que je n'aye une femme jeune & bien faite, qui a gagné deux mille livres dans notre dernier tour. Je suis sans enfans : mais il n'y en a que trop dans notre bande ; la difficulté de les porter avec nous, est un des plus grands embarras de nos longues courses. Cependant, ils nous deviennent si utiles lorsqu'ils sont assez forts pour marcher, qu'ils nous dédommagent bien des peines de leur éducation. Nous n'épargnons rien pour les former, car il y a toujours une différence extrême entre ceux qui sont ainsi accoutumez à notre profession dès leur naissance, & les Avanturiers qui se joignent à nous dans nos voyages. Nous avons plusieurs petites filles qui dansent en perfection, & qui s'entendent déjà mieux que leur mère à connosdre les marques de la main. Vous

auriez peine à croire ce qu'elles nous valent dans certaines Provinces ; où l'on est passionné pour la danse, à la Ville comme à la Campagne. Nous les instruisons pendant que nous sommes dans cette forêt, & nous avons des femmes parmi nous qui donneroient des leçons aux Maîtres de Ville. Quand on m'a déferé la qualité de Chef, il y avoit du désordre dans nos mœurs. L'exemple de quelques-uns de nos Compagnons qui sont tombez entre les mains de la Justice, m'a fait comprendre que nous avions besoin de sagesse. C'est moi qui me suis avisé le premier de choisir un endroit fixe pour nous assembler tous les ans ; & quoique j'ait pris pour prétexte la nécessité de nous noircir, ma principale vüë étoit de connoître par un mois d'habitude le caractère et les mœurs de tous mes associez. Je leur représente de quelle conséquence il est pour nous de ne pas nous rendre odieux par nos désordres. En particulier j'ai toujours entretenu tant de modération entre ceux qui m'accompagnent, qu'on me voit revenir avec plaisir dans tous les cantons où j'ai déjà passé, & je reçois souvent des reproches lorsque je suis plus d'un an sans y reparoître avec ma Troupe. Je ne craindrois nulle part de me présenter ouvertement, si je pouvois mener tous nos gens dans une seule bande ; je trouverois le moyen de les contenir ; mais la nécessité où nous sommes de nous séparer, m'expose quelquefois à bien des chagrins. Nos bandes ne peuvent être composées que de cinq ou six personnes ; encore n'ose-t-on se présenter dans les Villes en si grand nombre. On se divise pour y entrer, & ceux dont les inclinations sont mauvaises, profitent de l'absence de leurs Compagnons pour faire des actions qui nous déshonorent. J'en ai chassé plus d'un qui étoient tombé dans ces bassesses-là, & pour retenir les autres par la terreur, j'ai déferé moi-même au Barigel de Gènes un de ces malheureux qui avoit volé un Marchand sur le grand chemin. Il fut exécuté, et je forçai ceux que j'avois avec moi d'assister à son supplice. Je ne leur ai jamais fait un crime de prendre adroitement ce qui est nécessaire à la vie, parce que je suis persuadé que dans le besoin, tous les hommes ont le même droit à ce qui sert de nourriture. Mais je ne pardonne pas la violence, & je défends même avec la dernière rigueur, le vol de tous les biens qui coutent du travail au Possesseur. Il y a de l'injustice à priver autrui du fruit de ses peines. Ainsi je ne permettrois pas qu'on prit un morceau de pain, & je souffre qu'on prenne adroitement une poule. D'autres pourroient exiger un tribut de leurs Compagnons ; mais je considere que la plupart ont moins de bonheur ou de talens que ma femme et moi. Il s'en trouve plusieurs qui reviennent plus misérables à la fin d'une année, qu'ils n'étoient à leur départ. La pitié me porte encore à leur faire part de ce que j'ai acquis. Ce récit nous ayant beaucoup amusé, M. D . . . fit diverses questions au Vieillard. Il lui demanda s'il étoit né dans sa condition ; oui, répondit-il, et quoique j'ignore le commencement de ma race, je scais par tradition qu'elle est fort ancienne. C'est à ce titre autant que pour mes autres qualités, qu'on m'a déferé le commandement. Une partie de mes Compagnons sont Egyptiens comme moi de père en fils, & cet avantage est si considéré parmi nous, que cette bande est toujours obligée d'avoir un naturel pour Chef. Mais il nous arrive quelquefois de faire des recrues dans nos voyages. Nous ne refusons pas de recevoir les sujets qui se présentent, lorsque nous leur remarquons quelque talent. . . .

. . . 'Nous priâmes le vieillard de nous faire voir sa femme & toute sa bande. Il y consentit. Ce fut un spectacle fort amusant pour nous que celui de soixante ou quatre-vingt personnes qui s'assemblèrent à notre arrivée avec les compliments et les grimaces qui sont en usage dans leur profession, les uns en nous souhaitant une bonne fortune & une longue vie, d'autres en s'offrant de nous dire la bonne aventure & en prenant nos mains pour en étudier les lignes ; enfin les autres en dansant et en chantant autour de nous. N'apercevant parmi eux que des marques de joie, d'union et de bonne santé, nous les regardâmes comme le plus heureux peuple du monde. Cependant nous y trouvâmes un air de malpropreté qui fut le premier objet qui nous rebata ; & lorsque le vieillard eut fait cesser le bruit

& les acclamations, nous remarquâmes bientôt qu'en quittant le personnage qui leur est propre, ils ressemblaient au commun des pauvres par la grossièreté et l'ignorance. Nous leur fimes quelques libéralités pour satisfaire l'ardeur avec laquelle ils les demandoient. . . .

42.—DEATHS OF KINGS AND OTHERS

The following notices of the deaths and graves of Gypsies, which I do not remember seeing mentioned in any work on the Gypsies, may be worth recording as additions to Groome's collections of similar references :—

1. 'Ridge churchyard has for many years been a favourite place of burial among the travelling gipsies, who were formerly much more numerous than they are now. Adjoining the north-west angle of the tower is a stone to Thomas Lee, still traditionally remembered as "old gipsy Lee," who died on the 5th December 1801, at the ripe age of one hundred years. In the north-west corner of the churchyard, under the shelter of a large tree, is a pretty grave, covered with choice flowers, which are carefully guarded by wire-work. Beneath lies a poor gipsy girl, who died in a caravan at the road-side. Her father pays a local gardener a weekly sum to attend to the grave, and though there are other memorials in the churchyard far more pretentious in appearance, there is none so carefully tended as this. On the headstone is the inscription :—In Memory of Louisa Bunts, who died April 8th, 1878, aged 15 years . . . Other memorials in the churchyard are chiefly to the families of Clayton, Swaine, Prentice, Ward, and Lock' (J. E. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, pt. 15 ; Hundred of Cashio, p. 36, London, 1881).

Bunces are mentioned by Groome in his book *In Gipsy Tents* (p. 296), and in an article on 'The Influence of the Gypsies on the Superstitions of the English Folk' (*Transactions of the International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891, p. 306) he alludes to 'the conduct of Phœbe Bunce's boy, who drank hot water instead of tea all the time that his mother was in gaol for fortune-telling.' Phœbe travelled in Oxfordshire, where some of her daughters may still be found, and had the reputation of being able to *kür* any man. Groome in the old *Journal* (ii. 378) states that the origin of this family was the marriage of a pure blooded Gypsy woman, Phoebe Buckland, with a Wiltshire *gájo* of the name of Bunce about 1830. But old Phoebe's daughter, Selina, and many other elderly Gypsies, have assured me that Phoebe's maiden name was Smith. Possibly, however, she was half a Buckland, since Abraham Buckland, while asserting that she was a Smith, claims her as a cousin of his father, Dimiti Buckland.

Whether the others are intended to be Gypsies or villagers one cannot tell. But 'Job Clatan, char bottomer at ash be hols in Derbyshire,' and Bazena Clayton, *née* Smith, were known to George Smith of Coalville (*Gipsy Life*, pp. 52, 53, 242, 273, 282), and Carnation Clayton is mentioned in the old *Journal* (i. 304). Bazena has a suspicious resemblance to the Bazena Clifton of Groome's *In Gipsy Tents* (p. 263). Lock is of course the name of a branch of the Boswells living in Wales ; but they are not likely to have been buried as far east as Hertfordshire.

The death of two Gypsies from small-pox at Ridge is mentioned by Morwood (*Our Gipsies*, p. 102).

2. 'Boswell, Abraham. A Gipsey well known in south west of England. d. in a tent near Whitestone between Mullion and Penhale. bur. Mullion 14th Oct. 1874, aged 96' (G. C. Boase, *Collectanea Cornubiensis*, col. 96, Truro, 1890).

3. 'Small, Robert Gulley, of Redruth. King of the gypsies in Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset. d. Plymouth 21 Aug. 1884, aged 69. His wife became Queen of the gypsies on the death of her cousin in 1884. Left a family' (*ib.*, col. 905). Boase gives a reference to the *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, edited by himself and W. P. Courtney, vol. 2, p. 729 (Lond., 1878), from which it appears that Robert Small,

his wife and family, seven in all, were committed to Bodmin gaol for twenty-one days by the Rev. Uriah Tonkin for the offence of sleeping in tents, 25 April 1864. The case was commented on in Parliament, and the parson defended his action by pointing out that they were guilty of vagrancy, fortune-telling, sleeping under a farmer's waggon, and damaging property by breaking down trees and lighting fires (cf. *The Times*, 10th and 14th May 1864; and Hansard, vol. clxxv., cols. 193, 461-2). These accounts speak of Small's wife and six children, the youngest being only eight years old. Further details may perhaps be found in the *Cornish Telegraph*, 4th May 1864, p. 3, col. 3; 11th May, p. 2, col. 7; 18th May, p. 2, col. 7, if any one has access to that paper. Robert's wife, the Rev. G. Hall kindly informs me, was Rhoda Heron.

4. 'On the floor of the old church [of Newington] was, among others the grave-stone of George Powell, who is said by the editor of "Aubrey's Perambulations of Surrey," to have been styled "King of the Gipsies," and to have died in the year 1704, in very flourishing circumstances,—in fact, as rich, or rather as poor, as a king' (W. Thornbury and E. Walford, *Old and New London*, vol. vi. p. 263).

Their authority seems to be Aubrey's *Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, vol. v. (London, 1719), p. 136:—'At the lower End of the same Ile [the middle aisle of Newington Church], under a black Marble Stone, lies the Body of Mr. Powell, called the *King of the Gypsies*; a Man well known here, who died in very flourishing circumstances, and over his Grave is this Inscription :

*Here lyeth the Body of
Mr. George Powell of this
Parish, who departed this
Life the 28th of Desember
1704, in the 47. Year of his
Age.*

Anne Powell and John Appowell occur on Harman's list of vagrants; but I have never heard of any other Gypsies of that name.

5. In the *Memoir of the Rev. John Russell*, by E. W. L. Davies (new ed., London and Exeter, 1902, pp. 192-7), is mentioned the burial of a king of the Gypsies, a very old man, at Swymbridge, Devonshire, between 1833 and 1878. There is said to be a stone erected to his memory in the churchyard. Two days after his funeral, one of his daughters, apparently hale and hearty, announced that she would be the next person buried by Russell: and shortly afterwards she was dead and buried with her father. No name is given, though a son Seth is mentioned. But the Rev. H. Harrison, vicar of Swymbridge, has very kindly looked at the registers for me; and he finds there that Edward Boswell, who is remembered in Swymbridge as 'King of the Gypsies,' died on Dec. 24, 1851, aged 75 years, and his daughter Matilda, wife of Aaron Boswell, on Jan. 11, 1852. Another Aaron, son of Seth and Jane Boswell, was baptized there on Dec. 25, 1843.

There is one noticeable point in this account. The dying king gave to Mr. Russell, as well as his rat-catcher's belt, a 'silver Spanish coin, Temp. Car. III. Rex Hispanie' which he had long worn as a charm. Now Charles III. of Spain reigned from 1759 to 1788; and in 1761 foreign Gypsies were seen at Norwood (cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 307). Moreover, Addie Lee, Jasper Petulengro's granddaughter, told Mr. Thompson that her mother's people, the Smiths, came to England from Italy about 150 years ago, and that her father's people, the Lees, were Spanish Gypsies, who met the Smiths in Epping Forest. Do these facts, taken together, indicate an invasion of Gypsies from southern Europe, who became permanent settlers in England, about 1761? Further support may be found by the credulous in an extract from the *Detroit Free Press* for September 2,

1891, quoted in the Old Series of this Journal, iii. 121. There was announced the birth of a son to Sam Buckland and his wife, a daughter of 'King Henry, late ruler over the Romany tribes of the United States, Canada, and the South American States,' who died at Birmingham in November 1890 : and his daughter is described as 'a great-granddaughter of Charlotte, who was the twenty-seventh queen of the Zut tribe of the Basque and Asturias provinces in Spain.' All this may be true ; but truth is not at a premium in the American press ; and the little word Zut alone is, I fear, sufficient proof of tampering. I am, therefore, inclined to believe the Rev. G. Hall's suggestion that the dead King Henry referred to is old Henry James, in whose camp Leland saw a granddaughter of Charlotte Stanley :¹ and that Charlotte Stanley has for some reason had the high-sounding titles attached to her.

Right Door² Lee's mystical box, given by David Lee to George Smith of Coalville, bore the date 1765, and was said to be of Dutch origin. But that, I fear, is no evidence that it had been recently brought to this country by foreign Gypsies, as such boxes are quite common. Nor can much stress be laid on the statement of a chapbook *History of James Allan* (Newcastle, n. d.), that he was 'concerned in a sheep-stealing affair with a foreign gipsy, who had lately joined the gang,' though, as Allan lived from 1734 to 1810, the date would correspond well enough.

6. In the parish register of Spelsbury, Oxfordshire, occurs the following entry according to Canon Oldfield's 'Extracts from the Parish Registers of Oxfordshire' (*Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal*, 1910, p. 74) :—

'1570. Christoferus Iron advena et pagrinus [=peregrinus, or perhaps paganus] ambulans p: viam moretur [=moritur], et sup. montem nuncupatu Leedownes, ex certis legitimis causis, sepultus fuit 18° die Octobris.'

There was apparently no suspicion of suicide ; and it is difficult to imagine any other just cause for refusing to bury him in the churchyard, unless he was supposed not to be a Christian. If that was the case, then there is a fair possibility that he was a Gypsy. Can the name be a corruption of Heron or Hearn ? That name is very variously pronounced and written. I have frequently heard it pronounced as Ern, which is not very far from Iron, nearer at any rate than the strange form, 'Horam,' used in an entry in the Chinnor parish register (Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 114).

7. That reminds me of another puzzling name which occurs in the Heckfield and Mattingley parish register : and I cannot forbear quoting it, though it does not refer to a death. It is taken from a MS. copy of the register, which is in the Bodleian Library (MS. Top. Hants, c. 3) :—

'1738 Pritharne oner, d. of one of those Persons commonly calld Gypsies or Aegyptians was bapt: May 25th, 1738. Query ? are the words significant in any language ? or else only the Jargon of Gypsies.'

N.B.—The Name was sent to Church with the child, written, as above, on a Piece of Paper.

Is this a singularly bad attempt at spelling 'Brittania Honour' ? And, if so, how did a Gypsy come by the name Honour ? A somewhat similar-sounding Christian name, Bethornia, is, however, authenticated (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 92).
E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ *English Gipsies* (London, 1873), p. 172.

² With this strange name compare 'Righto, son of John Buckland, Travailer,' christened at Chinnor Feb. 6, 1762/3. Probably both are corruptions of Righteous ; as a Righteous Lee is mentioned in the register of Bisham, Berkshire.

NEW SERIES

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CONTENTS:

- Title-page
- Contents
- List of Plates
- List of Members
- Accounts
- Errata
- Index

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. TITLE-PAGE	iii
II. CONTENTS OF J. G. L. S., NEW SERIES, VOLUME IV.	v
III. LIST OF PLATES	vii
IV. LIST OF MEMBERS, YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1911.	ix
V. ACCOUNTS	xvii
VI. ERRATA	xx
VII. INDEX. By ALEXANDER RUSSELL, M.A.	321

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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began in 1888 and ended in 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several of the numbers of Vols. I., II., and III. at the original cost of 5s. for each number.

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INDEX

By ALEXANDER RUSSELL

(*Ft. note*) = Footnote. G. = Gypsy. Gs. = Gypsies.

There are important sub-alphabets under 'Folk-Tales, Incidents of,' 'Names, G. Christian,' 'Names, G. Surnames,' 'Names, G. Tribal or Race,' 'Names of persons who are probably Gs.,' 'Newspapers,' 'Notes and Queries,' 'Nuri Stories, Incidents of,' 'Occupations, G.,' 'Superstitions, G.' The incidents of the Nuri Stories which are obviously folk-tales have been indexed under the heading 'Folk-Tales, Incidents of,' only those of the purely personal reminiscences being given under the heading 'Nuri Stories, Incidents of.'

- ABOU'LMAHÄSEN**, (refs.) 77.
- Ach-da, tekamés man**, (song), 130.
- ACKERLEY**, Rev. Fred. G. : *Observations on 'Textes en Romani Russe'*, (note), 236.
- Acrobats**, G., 259.
- Actes de la Société de Littérature néerlandaise**, (ref.) 131.
- Acts, decrees, and laws against Gs., 86-7, 158-9, 314.
- Adajá e-bida**, (song), 127.
- Adala**, Gs. near, 66.
- ADAM**, J. and J. Collyer : *Criminal Investigation*, (refs.) 36 (*ft. note*), 39 (*ft. note*), 40 (*ft. note*).
- ADELUNG** : *Mithridates*, (refs.) 170, 177.
- Adspektaprostitution** among Gs., 152-3.
- Agram**, Court records of, (quot.) 90-4.
- AHLQVIST**, 84 (*ft. note*).
- Ai báro díwel ho me kerdóm**, (song), (ref.) 82 (*ft. note*).
- AINSWORTH**, Harrison, *Rookwood*, (refs.) 213, 214.
- Aj-la, miró zeleno urdo**, (song), 126.
- Albanian beliefs about (is.), 70.
- Aleppo, Bashkirs in, described by Yakut, 84, 88-98.
- aleš**, 'sweet,' derivation of, 233 (*ft. note*).
- ALEXANDER**, the Good, of Moldavia presents Gs. and Tartars to monastery, 95.
- Almés, G. dancers of Egypt, 78.
- Alphabets, Romani, 5, 73, 121, 197.
- ambruli**, derivation of, 240.
- Ambruli** 'shoes,' (note). By Sidney W. Perkins, 240.
- Amé rakirásá**, (song), 130.
- Ancient Mythology**. See Bryant.
- ande kan**, derivation of, 233 (*ft. note*).
- andekhora**, 'immediately,' derivation of, 150.
- ANDREW**, King of Hungary, laws of, (quot.), 85, 88.
- Anales sultanicorum Othomanorum**. See Lewenklaw.
- Annual Register**. See Dodsley.
- Another Bulgarian G. Folk-Tale**. Recorded by Bernard Gilliat-Smith, 49-54.
- Anthropological Report**. See Patkanoff.
- Antiquarian Magazine**. See Walford.
- Antiquary, The**. See Scott.
- Arabian Nights**. See Thousand and One Nights.
- Arabs, G. race-name, 242 (*and ft. note*).
- Araván**, Gs. near, 63.
- Archæologia**, (ref.) 163.
- Archduke Joseph of Austria and the Gs.**, (note). By H. T. Crofton, 65-6.
- ARECO**, Victor, *Liebesleben der Zigeuner, Das*, (rev.), 152-5 ; (ref.) 315.
- ARNOLD VON HARFF**, (ref.) 36 (*ft. note*).
- Artillery inspector**, G., 95.
- Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch, Les**. See Ujfalvy.
- ASCOLI**, G. I., *Zigeunerisches*, (refs.) 136, 224, 228.
- Asiatic Researches**. See Richardson.
- Aspirates in Romani, 80, 173.
- Atigani**, G. race-name, 95.
- ATKINSON**, F. S., 304 (*ft. note*).
- AUBREY**, *Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, (quot.) 319.
- AUDE**, Ed., *Sun baths for the Complexion*, (note), 315-8.
- Audhiyā**, low-caste Indian tribe, 38.
- Auf Türkischer Erde**. See Grothe.
- Aus dem innren Leben der Zigrunner**. See Wlislocki.
- Author**, G., 151-2.
- Avalanche kills Gs.**, 155.
- BACMEISTER**, 170.
- baxteráru, baxteresa**, derivations of, 43 (*ft. note*).
- Badhaks**, Indian Criminals, 39.
- baghli**, hole through which to lift door-latch, 36.
- Balkan Gs.**, (note). By Miss M. Edith Durham, 66-70.
- Balkan Gs.** tentless, 67.
- Baltis**, Asiatic tribe, 61.
- BANKS**, Sir Joseph, 162.
- Baptism of Ismaelites, 90.
- BARTLETT**, The Rev. D. M. M., *Traces of G. Settlements in England*, (note), 64.
- Bashkirs in Hungary, 84, 88.
- Basket-makers, G., 259, 297.
- BATAILLARD**, Paul, 78, 96.
- Bath-attendants, G., 77.

- BAUDELAIRE, Charles, *Fleurs du Mal, Les*, translation from, by Arthur Symons, 161.
- Bauriyas, Indian Criminals, 37, 39.
- BEAMES, John, (ref.) 176.
- Bear-leaders, G., 67.
- BEDE, Cuthbert, (ref.) 306 (*ft. note*).
- Beggars, G., 26, 160, 249.
- Begging, G. woman's method of, 249.
- BELL of Antermony, *Travels*, (refs.) 168, 169, 189.
- BERGERAC, *Satirical Characters*, (quot.) 214.
- Beriyas, an Indian nomad tribe, 36.
- Betrothal ceremonies among Russian Gs., 204-8.
- Bew, country of Saracens, 100.
- Beytrag zur Rotweliischen Grammatik, (ref.) 170 (*ft. note*).
- Bhamptas, tribe of Indian criminals, 37.
- Bible Paraphrase, German, 89.
- BIRKBECK, W. J., 64.
- BISCHOFF, 171, 177, 179.
- Bita Kani, I, Welsh-G. Folk-Tale, 40-7.
- Blacksmith, G., 95, 105.
- BOASE, G. C., *Collectanea Cornubiensis*, (quot.), 318.
- BOOZEK, A., *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, (quot.) 98 (*and ft. note*).
- BOEHTLINGK, (refs.) 176 (*ft. note*), 195.
- Bohemians, G. race-name, 131, 132, 151, 155, 259, 316.
- BORDE, Andrew, 56, 131, 140, 163.
- BORROW, George, 10, 80, 153, 154, 216 (*ft. note*), 311; *Lavengro*, (quot.) 55, (refs.) 68, 163 (*ft. note*), 307; *Lavo-lil*, (refs.) 39 (*ft. note*), 176, 177 (*ft. note*), 184, 312; *Zincali*, (refs.) 202 (*ft. note*), 228, 229, 297.
- Bosnian and Rumanian Gs.*, (note). By Alexander Russell, 240.
- Bosnian Gs. in Italy, 155.
- BOURÉ, Ami, *Turquie d'Europe, La*, (quot.) 68.
- BOURGEOIS, Henri, *Textes en Romani Russæ*, 121-30; *Journal Pseudo-Tchinchiané*, Un, 298-301.
- BRAND, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, (refs.) 40, 214.
- Brass-workers, G., 240.
- BRAY, Justice, his views on Gs., 158.
- Bread: a protection against *mulos*, 266; in horse's collar, G. superstition about, 266; oath by, 265.
- Bread and herring inspector, G., 95.
- BRENNWALD, Heinrich, *Schweizerchronik*, (quot.) 78.
- BREPOHL, Friedrich Wilhelm, *Nikolaus Mihajlo Der Kleine*, 47-9; *Zigeuner als Musiker in den Türkischen Eroberungskriegen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Die, 241-4; *Zigeuner im Byzantinischen Reich*, Die, (rev.), 297-8; *Zigeuner in der Europäischen Türkei*, (note), 75-6.
- Briars placed on G. grave, 302.
- Bridlemakers, G., 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
- Brief Account of some Travels*. See Brown.
- BRIGHT, Richard, 175.
- BRIGHTWEN, Eliza, *Life and Thoughts of a Naturalist, The*, (quot.) 75.
- British G. *Crimes*, (note), 157-9.
- BROADWOOD, Lucy, *G. Legends*, (note), 71-2.
- BROCA, Paul, 61 (*ft. note*).
- Brochure *tsigane, Un*. See Caccini.
- BROCKIE, Gs. of Yetholm, The, (ref.) 312 (*ft. note*).
- Broom-makers, G., 64, 275.
- BROWN, Edward, *Brief Account of some Travels*, (ref.) 67.
- BRYANT, Jacob, 9, 10, 19; collects Romani at Windsor in 1776, 163-8; first to illustrate relations of Romani and the Indo-Iranian tongues, 169; his *Ancient Mythology*, 168; his errors in Romani, 170-7; his Romani vocabulary, 178-94.
- Büñ's Boots, (note). By T. W. Thompson, 74.
- Bulgarian Gs. in Italy, 155.
- Bulgarian G. Folk-Tales, Čor, O, 'The Thief,' 142-51; *Muxtiskeri Paramisi, E*, 'Story of the Mufti,' 50-4.
- Bulgarian invasion of Hungary, 85.
- Bulgarian loan-words in Romani, 222, 224, 226, 228, 235 (*ft. note*).
- Bulletin Historico-philologique of Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg*, 195.
- burā, derivation of, 41 (*ft. note*).
- Burial, G., 155, 302.
- BURNEY, Miss F., *Diary and Letters*, (ref.) 165 (*and ft. note*).
- BURNSIDE, Rev. F. R., 4.
- BURR, Dr. Malcolm, 221 (*ft. note*).
- Butchers, G., 90, 91, 92.
- BÜTTNER, 170.
- Buxton Heath, a G. haunt, 64; character of the Gs. of, 64.
- buzni, meaning of, 216 (*and ft. note*).
- BYHAN, (refs.) 224, 226, 229.
- CACCINI, G. S. Uifalussi, *Romi, I*, (rev.), 151-2.
- Calderarii (Caldarii), 96, 97; privileges of, 96.
- Capitaines de Bohémiens*. By S. G. Monseigneur J. de Carsalade du Pont, 259-62.
- CAREW, F. W. See Way.
- Carpathian mountains, copper mines of, 96.
- Carpenter, G., 95.
- Cephalic-index of Hindu-Kush tribes, 61-2.
- Ceremonial purity among Gs., 154.
- Chaltsmide=Gs., 89.
- Chandravedis, low-caste tribe of Central India, 37.
- Charles Godfrey Leland. See Pennell.
- Chhapparband, coiners, methods of, 38.
- Cholera and Gs., 155.
- Chrestomathie Arabe. See De Sacy.
- Chronik der Stadt Zürich, (ref.) 78.
- Chroniken der Stadt Konstanz. See Ruppert.
- č, remark on form, 44 (*ft. note*).
- Cigan, G. race-name, 95.

- Ciganini, G. race-name, 67.
 Ciganos, G. race-name, 155.
 Cingarije, G. race name, 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 Civilizing of Gs., futile attempts at, 66, 239.
 Cleanliness, G., 156, 158, 265; Balkan G. lack of, 66.
clerin, remark on form, 177.
Codex diplomaticus salemitanus, (ref.) 97 (*ft. note*).
Codex Moraviae. See Boczek.
COELHO, 154.
COGALNICEANO, (ref.) 235 (*ft. note*).
COLOCCI, Marquis, *Émouvrante Cérémonie, Une*, (note), 155-6; *Italian Gs. et le Choléra, Les*, (note), 155; (rev.) of *Caccini's Romi, I*, 151-2; *Zingari, Gli*, (ref.) 235 (*ft. note*).
 Conjurers, G., 259.
 Consonantal sounds in Bryant's Romani, 173-4.
CONSTABLE, Archibald, 305 (*ft. note*); *G. Treatment for Erysipelas, A*, (note), 70.
Constable's Book of Helmdon, Northants, (quot.) 304, (ref.) 305 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 306, 307-12.
 Coppersmiths, G., 218, 234 (*ft. note*), 238.
 Coptic and Romani, supposed relationship of, 169 (*and ft. note*).
Cor, O, Bulgarian G. Folk-Tale, 142-51.
 Costume of English female Gs., 80; of Russian Gs., 258; of Turkish Gs., 79, 242 (*and ft. note*).
corascorook, remark on form, 177.
Cox, Parish Registers of England, (ref.) 310 (*ft. note*).
Coxe, Rev. W., collects short list of Hungarian Romani, 168, 169, 176, 182.
CRABB, Gs'. Advocate, *The*, (ref.) 316 (*ft. note*).
CRAPELET, G. A., *Proverbes et dictions populaires*, (ref.) 96 (*ft. note*).
 Criers, G., 77.
Criminal Investigation. See Adam.
 Croatia, Gs. in, 90.
CROFTON, H. T., 304; *Archduke Joseph of Austria and the Gs.*, (note), 65-6.
See also Smart.
CROOKE, William, *Notes on the Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, 35-40; *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore*, (ref.) 40 (*ft. note*); *Tribes and Castes*, (ref.) 38 (*ft. note*).
 Crucifixion, nails of. See Nails.
 Curse on the Gs. in Montenegro, 67.
CUSSANS, History of Hertfordshire, (quot.) 318.
Czigany Nyelvtan. See Joseph, Archduke.
 Dalmatia, sedentary Gs. in, 97.
 Dancers, G., 69, 78, 79, 153, 218.
 Dances, lascivious, of Gs., 69, 78.
DANFORD, Beatrice, translator of Jokai's *Yellow Rose*, 70.
 Dards, a race akin to the Gs., 60.
darikeráv, remark on form, 80.
 DAVIES, E. W. L., *Memoir of the Rev. John Russell*, (quot.), 319.
Davilja, 79.
de, note on, 204 (*and ft. note*).
DE CARSLADE DU PONT, *Capitaines de Bohémiens*, 259-62.
DE LA GRANGE, A., *Extraits analytiques des Registres de Tournai*, (quot.) 70.
DE SACY, Silvestre, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, (quot.) 76-8.
DE WINDT, Harry, *Through Savage Europe*, (quot.) 240.
 Deafness, G. cure for, 264.
Death Bird, The, (note). By Wm. Ferguson, 160; by Miss D. E. Yates, 301-2.
Deaths of Kings and Others, (note). By E. O. Winstedt, 318-20.
débaame, remark on form, 150.
 Defecation, by Indian criminal tribes, 39.
 Defilement, G. ideas of, 156, 265.
DEKKER, Lanthorne and Candle-Light, (quot.) 305 (*ft. note*).
DELVAU, Alfred, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte*, (quot.) 240.
Den Dobridin, (song), 206-8.
 Denmark, Gs. in, 236-40.
 Deposits by Gs. for kettles, 238-9.
DERENBOURG, *Translation of Yakut*, (ref.) 99 (*ft. note*).
Description of Egypt. See Makrizi.
Devil courts a G. Girl, Russian G. Folk-Tale, 209-11.
Dialect of the English Gs. See Smart.
 Dialect, Romani, of Hampshire, 5; of Germany, 132; of Russia, 198.
Dictionary of National Biography, (ref.) 2.
Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte. See Delvau.
DILLMANN: *Zigeuner-Buch*, (refs.) 218 (*ft. note*), 238 (*ft. note*).
 Disease and Gs., 155, 158.
DOBROWOLSKI, V. N., 210 (*ft. note*), 211, 212, 213; his *Kisilefskie Zigan*, summary of, 198-217, 244-58; (quot.) 209-11.
DOUSLEY: *Annual Register*, (refs.) 163, 167, 179.
 Dog-clippers, G., 259.
 Dog-fanciers, G., 64.
 Doll used in match-making among Russian Gs., 205-8.
 Dom, G. race-name, 292.
 Doms, Maghaiya, low-caste tribe of India, 36 (*ft. note*).
DOUGLAS, Dr. John, friend of Bryant, (quot.) 163, 166, 169.
Dounganes, Asiatic tribe, 62 (*and ft. note*).
 Dreams and omens among Russian Gs., 215-7.
Drei auf Zigeuner Bezugliche Lateinische Urkunden aus Ungarn aus den J. 1695-6, (note). By Prof. J. Radonič, 312-4.
 Dress. See Costume.
DUNOYER, Madame: *Lettres historiques et galantes de deux dames de condition*, (quot.) 315-8.

- DURHAM, Miss M. E., 221 (*ft. note*) ; *Balkan Gs.*, (note), 66-70 ; *Through the Lands of the Serb*, (ref.) 66.
- DUTT, W. A. : *Moxadi* (note), 156 ; *Sold to the Devil*, (note), 71.
- Dzav mangi, duli, bari Rusiati*, (song), 232.
- Early Annals* (note). By E. O. Winstedt, 159-60.
- EBN-AIAS : *Histoire de l'Égypte*, (ref.) 77.
- EBN-KADI-SCHOHBAH, (ref.) 77.
- Egyptian legend, Basque G. version of, 297.
- Egyptians (Aegiptiani, Aegyptii, Egpians, Egyptiens), G. race-names, 159, 160, 242 (*and ft. note*), 259, 304, 305, 316.
- EHRENBORG, Harald : *Far-travelled Band in Sweden*, A, (note), 72-3 ; *Magnus the Tinker*, (note), 73-4.
- Elections in Russia, G. behaviour at, 253-4.
- ELISSLYEFF, 195.
- Émouvante Cérémonie, Une, (note). By the Marquis Colocci, 155-6.
- Enchiridion fontium historiae Hungarorum*. See Marczali.
- Enciklopédiecski slovar*, (ref.) 88 (*ft. note*).
- ENDLICHER, S. L. : *Rerum hungaricarum monumenta arpadiana*, (quot.) 86-7.
- English Gs., morals of, 154.
- engro used as separate word, 311 (*ft. note*).
- Entertainers, G., 77, 238-40.
- Eranien type, 60.
- Ethnographie von Ungarn*. See Hunfalvy.
- Etymologies—
 aleš, 233 (*ft. note*) ; ambruli, 240 : andekan, 233 (*ft. note*) ; andekhora, 150 ; baxterava, baxterésa, 43 (*ft. note*) ; burá, 41 (*ft. note*) ; xaláti, 151 ; 'drolanđ, 45 (*ft. note*) ; gamosa, 207 (*and ft. note*) ; hai, 234 (*ft. note*) ; kaza-nakjél, 54 ; kostel, 233 (*ft. note*) ; krać, 235 (*ft. note*) ; küiu, 235 (*ft. note*) ; masxári 202 (*ft. note*) ; muxtis, 53 ; p'antili čuri, 43 (*ft. note*) ; pundre, 202 (*ft. note*) ; ricko (rick-i), 43 (*ft. note*) ; rom, 292, 296 ; sudimé, 150 ; ričavi, 95 ; uglimenedér, 43 (*ft. note*) ; ujan, 54.
- EWSUM, Johan van (1570) : paper of, 131.
- Executioners, G., 66, 77.
- Falcon-trainers, G., 63.
- FALMERAYER : *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*, (ref.) 243 (*ft. note*).
- Farriers, G., 248.
- Far-travelled Band in Sweden*, A, (note). By Harald Ehrenborg, 72-3.
- Fate of Kasim Pasha*, The, (note). By Bernard Gilliat-Smith, 79-80.
- Fee and Faa*, (note). By Alex. Russell, 160.
- Ferghana, Gs. of, 62.
- FERGUSON, William : *Death Bird*, The, (note), 160.
- Fiddlers, G., in Turkey, 242, 244.
- Fifth of Balkan Gs., 66.
- FINCK, Prof. F. N. : his career, 81 ; death, 82 ; *Lehrbuch*, 82 ; writings on Armenian-G. dialect, 82.
- Fine imposed on faithless bridegroom, 208.
- Fire, G. carefulness about, 199.
- Fire-Magic*, (note), 315.
- Fishermen, G., 199.
- Fleurs du Mal*, Les. See Baudelaire.
- Folk-Lore of British Birds*. See Swainson.
- Folk-Tales—
 Anglo-Romani : *De Little Fox*, (ref.) 40 ; *Jack and the three Bargains*, 273-5.
 Basque-G. : *The flight into Egypt*, 297.
 Bulgarian, G. : *Story of the Muſti*, 49-54 ; *The Thief*, 142-51 ; *St. Gregory's Curse*, 72.
 Russian G. : *A Storm in the Forest*, 202-3 ; *The Devil Courts a G. Girl*, 209-11.
 Servian G. [Ballad], *Miloš of Drobnjak*, 69.
 Syrian G. [Nuri Stories]. No. xxxix., 28-9 ; No. xli., 30-1 ; No. lx., 110-1 ; No. lixi., 111-2 ; No. lxii., 112-3 ; No. lxiii., 113-4 ; No. lxiv., 114-5 ; No. lxv., 115-6 ; No. lxviii., 117-8 ; No. lix., 118-20 ; No. lxx., 120 ; No. lxxi., 279 ; No. lxxii., 280 ; No. lxxiii., 280-1 ; No. lxxvi., 283-7.
 Welsh G. : *The Little Hen*, 40-7.
- Folk-Tales, Incidents of—
 Abstention from cohabitation for three nights, 275 (*and ft. note*).
 Adulterer slain by husband, 29.
 Ass substituted for mule, 147.
 Bad fig for ghūl, 119.
 Barn, empty, 45.
 Barrel of tar, 145.
 Beard turns white from fear, 29.
 Beautiful daughter, 41 ; made more beautiful, 44.
 Beautiful girl in beggar's house, 120.
 Bedawi, insatiable, 31 ; his tricks to obtain food, 31.
 Bedawi, slain by ungrateful man, 279 ; trapped in well by negro slave, 280.
 Bedawi's son avenges his father, 279 ; wife seized by negro, 280.
 Bee singing, 274.
 Big son, 28.
 Bird saves its young from fox by providing amusement and water, 286 ; settles on man's head, 286.
 Bird-shooting, 234.
 Birth of little hen, 45.
 Black horse, 115.
 Boar struck with pail, 41, 42, 43.
 Boar's request, 41, 42, 43, 44.
 Boy : beheads negroes, 116 ; blinded by mother, 116 ; given to Moor, 111 ; in oven, 51 ; put in sack, 119 ; put into pot, 119 ; reading, 111 ; steals mare and two foals,

Folk-Tales, Incidents of—*continued.*
 114; with a sack, 50, 51; wraps himself in big faggot, 119.
 Boy and girl escape from Moor, 111.
 Boy's answer to mufti, 50, 51, 52.
 Brandy, 211.
 Bread, theft of, 29.
 Broom that sweeps gold, 113.
 Brother, of murdered man sells his property, 233: poor, 113; rich, refuses to help poor, 113.
 Brother's head cut off, 145.
 Brothers, three, 119; two eaten by ghūl, 119.
 Brothers and sisters rescued from ghūl, 112.
 Butler, looks through window, 47.
 Camels, twenty, stolen, 29.
 Candle goes out, 234.
 Cannibal turns sick and confesses, 234.
 Castle of iron, 119.
 Cave: boys sleep in, 114; negro hidden in, 116.
 Charity to the poor, 120.
 Chest blown to land, 45.
 Children, cooked and eaten, 234; with horns, 211.
 Children's remains thrown into water, 234.
 Child's tongue and leg burnt, 203.
 Coat with papers in pocket, given to beggar, 120.
 Daughter: beautiful, 41; betrothed, 211.
 Death: desired but impossible, 234.
 Devil: breaks bed and escapes, 211; cleverer than God, 203; gets drunk, 211.
 Dog: as big as a donkey, 115; choked by a stone, 114; eats two thieves, 115; of Bedawin, 114; slain by third thief, 115.
 Donkeys killed by a ghūl, 281.
 Drug causes pregnancy, 111; restores eyesight, 116.
 Dying man saved by a Bedawi, 279.
 European in black clothes and on black horse, 115; becomes mad, 115; shot, 115; his wife and property taken by thief, 115.
 Explanation by thief, 148-9.
 Eyesight restored by drug, 116.
 Faggot, boy hidden in, 119.
 Farmer's wild son, 273.
 Fellah with two oxen, 285.
 Fetching water, 41.
 Fiddle, magic, 274.
 Fig-eating, 119.
 Fire in wilderness, 118.
 Five chambers lawful to enter, 111.
 Food for three days, 46; given to little hen, 46.
 Forbidden rooms, 111.
 Fox: causes Bedawi to cut off tail of his own camel, 286; devours ox and panther, 285; dons a sheepskin coat, 285; escapes in chickens' basket, 286; feeds on travellers' chickens lowered into

Folk-Tales, Incidents of—*continued.*
 well, 286; manages to make other foxes tailless, 286; pulled into well by panther, 286; stirs up quarrel between ox and panther, 285.
 Ghūl: bears man two sons, 281; eats two brothers, 119; goes mad, 118; pricked by needles, 119; puts boys in well, 112; shot and burned, 118; slain by son of mule, 112; steals girl, 112; takes girl in marriage, 118.
 Ghūl's boy sets Hodedun free, 119; house, 118; sheep taken, 112; son commits murder, 281; son put into boiling pot, 118; son thrown into the sea, 281.
 Girl: dies one week after loss of devil husband, 211; entices devil to take her back to her father, 211; escapes from ghūl, 118; hanging by hair, 111; set free, 111.
 Girls: put in chest and cast into the sea, 44; two little orphans, 118; two, on road, 116.
 Gold-sweeping broom, 113.
 Grateful animals:
 Boars, 41, 42, 43, 44.
 Great thief set to catch another, 144.
 G. girl a washerwoman, 210.
 Hair: made gold, 44; made lousy, 43; made silver, 44.
 Halawi, 31.
 Handsome G. horseman, 210.
 Hell, journey to, 113.
 Hen begging food, 45.
 Holes in wall filled with mortar, 143.
 Horse and lions in magician's rooms, 111.
 Hospitality accepted, 42, 44; rejected, 41.
 House, great, 45, 46.
 Hunchback, daughter, 40.
 Husband: poisoned, 233; saved by wife, 280; sent for water, 52; sent to find lover, 50, 51, 52; slays negro slave, 280.
 Iron: castle, 119; heavy stick of, 112.
 King with three wives, 111.
 King's daughter that never smiled, 274.
 King's son, 114, 116, 120; becomes beggar for seven days, 120; has daughter and two sons, 112; has three sons, 112; marries three girls, 120.
 Ladder of nails, 143, 144, 145.
 Lament for the dead, 146.
 Lemon, date, and palm trees, 115.
 Lions: beaten by magic stick, 275; in magician's room, 111.
 'Making friends,' 29.
 Man executed for marrying ghūl, 281.
 Man and his sons escape from ghūl's cave, 281.

- Folk Tales, Incidents of—*continued.*
- Man's head cut off with sickle, 286.
 - Mansions, two, 40.
 - Mare sold for £100, 114.
 - Mare and two foals stolen by little boy, 114.
 - Marriage feast, 274.
 - Marriage: of king's daughter, 275; of king's son, 120; of widower and widow, 41.
 - Master, young, marries beautiful lady, 47.
 - Medal given to master thief, 149.
 - Melon-eating, 119.
 - Moorish magician, 111.
 - Mother and negro slain, 116.
 - Mother and sister cry over the dead, 146.
 - Mother blinds her boy, 116.
 - Mufti: sleeps in the straw, 53; struck with pole, 52; wife of, sought in love, 50, 51, 52.
 - Mule, well-caparisoned, stolen, 147.
 - Mule's: flesh purchased, 147; water causes pregnancy, 112.
 - Nails, ladder of, 143, 144, 145.
 - Needles, packet of, 119.
 - Negress accompanies poor man to Hell, 113.
 - Negroes, twenty, ruining cities, 116.
 - Nine years sickness, 234.
 - Old man, 143.
 - Old woman in lodge, 41.
 - Ox and panther kill one another, 285.
 - Panther: enticed to kill five sheep, 285, 286; pulls off fox's tail, 286; quarrels with ox, 285; trapped in a well, 286.
 - Pardon offered to thieves, 144, 148, 149.
 - Parson sent for to exorcise devil, 211.
 - Pig-meat roasted, 203.
 - Plan to meet lover, 50.
 - Pole, long, given to boy, 52.
 - Poor man becomes very rich, 113.
 - Pregnancy caused by drug, 111; by water of mule, 112.
 - Prohibitions:
 - to cohabit for three nights, 275 (*and fl. note*)
 - to enter a certain room, 111. - Punishments:
 - death for adultery, 29, 116; for marrying ghūl, 281.
 - made ugly for cruelty, 43. - Queen marries negro, 116.
 - Rafter torn from the eaves, 203.
 - Rewards:
 - Hair made golden for kindness, 44.
 - Marriage with king's daughter for curing her, 274.
 - Medal for clever thief, 149. - Robbing King's Bank, 143.
 - Room, forbidden, 111.
 - Ruined city, 116.
 - Saint Basil, a G. saint, 72.
 - Saint George robbed by a G., 252.
- Folk-Tales, Incidents of—*continued.*
- Saint Gregory drowns most of his subjects, 72.
 - Seven cows, 273.
 - Sheep slaughtered for feast, 113.
 - Sheep stolen from Bedawin, 114; from ghūl's pot, 118.
 - Shipwreck, 115.
 - Singing bee, 274.
 - Snow and rain: adversary of God, 203; eggs of a god, 203.
 - Son, big, 28; small, 28.
 - Stick that can beat all enemies senseless, 273, 275.
 - Storm of lightning, 203.
 - String tied to door, 51; to mufti's leg, 51.
 - Swap of horses, 211.
 - Tar, barrel of, 145.
 - Tasks:
 - to comb and wash boars' heads, 41, 42, 43, 44.
 - to cure king's daughter, 274. - Tattooing, 120.
 - Thief: advice of, 144, 145, 146; caught in barrel of tar, 145; leaps from palm-tree on to European's horse, 115.
 - Thieves: in mosque, 144; on board ship, 115; planted in the earth, 115; three, saved on island, 115.
 - Three boars' heads drawn from well, 41, 42, 43, 44.
 - Three brothers, 119.
 - Three gallants, 43, 44.
 - Three thieves, 115, 144.
 - Three wishes, 43, 44.
 - Tree felled by lightning, 203.
 - Two old men and two children shot in a wood, 234.
 - Two trays, 146.
 - Ugly girl made uglier, 43.
 - Vizier's son, 114.
 - Washerwoman, G. girl, 210.
 - Water: clear, 42, 43, 44; muddy, 41, 42.
 - Widower marries widow, 41.
 - Wife: murdered by husband, 29; ordered to run naked, 147; wanders as mad woman, 233.
 - Wishes, three, 43, 44.
 - Witch, 42.
 - Woman murdered, 148.
 - Women, forty, G., with tarred hands, 147.
 - Food, G., 256-8, 263-4.
 - Foreign Gs. in England*, 1761, (note). By F. C. Wellstood, 307, (ref.) 319.
 - FORTESCUE, Adrian: *Orthodox Church, The*, (ref.) 69.
 - Fortune-tellers, G., 68, 72, 239, 249, 250, 305, 318, 319.
 - FOSTER, Wm., 4.
 - France: Gs. in, 237; in 1388, 95; unsuccessful attempt to expel Gs. from, in 1802, 297.
 - Franz Nikolaius Finck. By Ernst Kuhn, 81-3.
 - FRAZER, J. G.: *Golden Bough, The*, (ref.) 39 (*fl. note*).

- French Gs. in Italy, 155.
 FRENCKEL, C., 83.
 Funeral feast, G., 219-20.
fuzyanri (*fuzera*), remark on form, 177
 (*ft. note*).
 Gaddis, Asiatic tribe, 61.
gamosa, derivation of, 207 (*and ft. note*).
 Garlic, G. superstition about, 154.
Gavalji, 79.
 Genitive case for dative, 150.
Gens Furaica, G. race-name, 312, 313,
 314.
Gens Zingarica, G. race-name, 312.
German Law, A. (note). By E. O.
 Winstedt, 314-5.
 German loan-words in Romani, 236.
Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea. See
 Falmerayer.
 GIBBINS: *Gs. of the New Forest*, (refs.)
 304 (*ft. note*), 311 (*ft. note*).
 GILLIAT-SMITH, Bernard: 207 (*ft. note*),
 209 (*ft. note*), 221 (*ft. note*), 231 (*ft. note*); *Another Bulgarian G. Folk-*
Tale, 49-54; *Fate of Kasim Pasha, The*, (note), 79-80; *Lalere Sinte*, (refs.)
 65, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 232
 (*ft. note*); *Sound R, The*, 292-6; *Third*
Bulgarian G. Folk-Tale, A., 142-51;
Transitive use of the Verb 'To Be',
 (note), 65.
 Giry, A.: *Histoire de la ville de Saint-*
Omer, (ref.) 96 (*ft. note*).
 Gitanos, G. race-name, 259.
 GJORGJEVIĆ, T. R., (ref.) 229; prefatory
 note to Prof. Radonić's *Drei auf*
Zigeuner Bezugliche Lateinische Urkun-
den, 312.
Glasnik društva srbske slovesnosti, (quot.)
 95 (*ft. note*).
Glossaire Tsigane du seizième Siècle, Un.
 By A. Kluyver, 131-42.
 Gold cups in possession of Gs., 221 (*and*
ft. note).
Golden Bough, The. See Frazer.
 GOPČEVIĆ, 76.
 Gratitude and sagacity of a G., 65-6.
 Greek Gs. in Italy, 155.
 Greek loan-words in Romani, 225, 226,
 227, 229.
 Greeks, G. race-name, 90.
 GRELLMANN, (quot.) 12; (refs.) 162, 169
 (*ft. note*), 170.
 GRIERSON, G. A.: *Pisāca Languages of*
North-Western India, The, (ref.) 60
 (*ft. note*).
 GRIGORIEFF, Michael, collects Romani,
 195.
 Grinder, G., 239, 306 (*ft. note*).
 GROOME, F. H.: 119 (*ft. note*); *Brazilian*
and Shetland Gs., (quot.) 160; Gs.
 [Article in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*],
 (quot.) 169 (*ft. note*); *G. Folk-Tales*,
 (ref.) 273; *In G. Tents*, (ref.) 6, 7, 9,
 19, 80 (*ft. note*), 180, 182, 305 (*ft. note*),
 (quot.) 307, (refs.) 308 (*ft. note*), 309
 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 318, (ref.) 320.
 GROSS, Prof. Hans, 36 (*ft. note*), 39 (*ft.*
note), 40 (*ft. note*). See also Adam.
- GROTHE, Dr. Hugo: *Auf Türkischer*
Erde, (ref.) 76 (*ft. note*).
 GRÜNEMBERG, (ref.) 36 (*ft. note*).
Gs. Advocate, The. See Crabb.
Gs. and the Hindu Kush, (note), 60-3.
Gs. at Helmdon, Northants, (note). By
 E. O. Winstedt, 307-12.
Gs. in Denmark, (note). By Johan
 Miskow, 236-40.
Gs. in France, (note). By E. O. Win-
 stedt, 70.
Gs. of Central Russia, The. By D. F.
 De l'H. Ranking, 195-217, 244-58.
Gs. of the New Forest. See Gibbins.
Gs. of Yetholm. See Brockie.
Gs. on the Road. By Arthur Symons,
 161.
G. and a Tale, A. By John Myers,
 272-5.
G. Burial, (note), 302.
G. Lathe, The. By Julius Teutsch,
 275-9.
G. Legends, (note). By Lucy Broad-
 wood, 71-2.
G. Life. See Smith.
G. Lore-Philtre, A., (note). By F. C.
 Wellstood, 70.
G. Names, (note). By Miss M. Eileen
 Lyster, 75.
G. or Tinker Children in Scotland, (quot.)
 158.
G. Song from Hungary, A. (note), 302-4.
G. Treatment for Erysipelas, A. (note).
 By Arch. Constable, 70.
 Gypsies in—Adala [Asia Minor], 66;
 Aravan, 63; Buxton Heath, 64;
 Croatia, 90; Karmān, 63; Kasim
 Pasha, 79; Kisilefka [Russia], 244;
 Kutusch, 275; Leeds, 55; Malvern
 Hills, 64; Marghellan, 63; Nyir, 85
 (*and ft. note*), 87, 88; Opphem, 72;
 Stanmore Common, 75; Tainton, 64;
 Thorny Hill, 64.
- hai, derivation of, 234 (*ft. note*).
 Half-breed Gs. in Russia, 256.
 HALL, Rev. G., 159, 319, 320.
 Hampshire, North, corruptness of G.
 dialect of, 5; Gs. of, studied by
 Harriott, 1.
'Hand of Glory', 40, 212-5.
 HARDY, W. J.: *Hereford County Records*,
 (quot.) 160, 305, 310.
 Hare, unlucky, 215.
 HAKMAN: *Caveat*, (refs.) 309 (*ft. note*),
 310, 311.
 Harnis, tribe of Punjab, 37, 38.
 HARRIOT, John Staples, (quot.) 4, 175-6
 (*ft. note*), 177, 183; a pioneer of G.
 lore, 1; his career, 3; death, 3;
 genealogy, 2; Romani alphabet, 5;
 Romani mistakes, 5; Romani vocabu-
 lary, 5-20; writings, 1.
 HARRISON, Rev. H., 319.
 HAULTLAND, E. S.: *Legend of Perseus*,
 (ref.) 39 (*ft. note*).
 Hawker, G., 306 (*ft. note*).
 Hedgehog fat, a G. cure for deafness,
 264.
 Heiden, G. race-name, 315.

- Hell, a G.'s idea of, 268.
 HELLWIG, Dr. A., (ref.) 39 (*ft.note*).
 Helmdon, Gs. at, 307-12.
 Henbane = *Zigeunerkraut*, *Zigeunerkorn*, 298 (*ft.note*).
 HENZER, 167.
 HERBERT: *Travels*, (refs.) 168, 169, 180, 182, 189.
Herodotus. See Rawlinson.
Hertford County Records. See Hardy.
Hertford, Gs. in (1662), 160.
Histoire de la ville de Saint-Omer. See Giry.
Histoire de l'Égypte. See EBN-AIAS.
Histoire des sultans mamlouks. See Quatremère.
History of James Allan, 320.
History of the Gs. See Simson.
History of Vagrants. See Turner.
 HOCKERT, J. S., letter of, 302.
 HONE, 167.
 HORNE, chaplain of Showmen's Guild, 158.
 Horse-coupers, G., 247, 269, 297.
 Horse-stealing, G. method of, in Russia, 245, 247.
 Horse-thieves, G., 245, 247.
 Horses, G. knowledge of, 248.
 Houses of low-caste tribes of India, description of, 36.
 HOWITT: *Rural Life in England*, (quot.) 80.
 HOYLAND: *Historical Surrey*, (refs.) 306 (*ft.note*), 309 (*ft.note*), 311 (*ft.note*).
 HUDSON and Tingey: *Records of the City of Norwich*, (quot.) 159.
 HUNFALVY, Paul: *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, (quot.) 83-6; his inaccuracies, 87-9, 100.
 Hungarian Gs. in Italy, 155.
 Hungarian loan-words in Romani, 178, 224.
 Hungary, Gs. settled in, in fourteenth century, 97 (*ft.note*); Gs. of, 83-100.
χαι, remark on form, 204 (*and ft. note*).
χαλάλι, 'lawful,' derivation of, 151.
χενι, remark on form, 41 (*ft.note*).
 IGRTZ, home of Gs., 78.
 Immigration of Gs., theory of, 154.
In G. Tents. See Groome.
 Infidelity, mutilation for, probably learned in some Balkan country, 68.
Ingoldsby Legends, (ref.) 213.
 Intemperance of Gs., 157, 297.
 Invasion of England by foreign Gs., 307.
 Iron-workers, G., 240. *See also Blacksmiths and Smiths*.
Ismaelites displaced by *cigan*, 100.
Ismaelites. By Leo Wiener, 83-100.
Ismaelites = Gs., 83-100 *passim*.
 ISTOMIN, P.: *Tzyganski Yazyk*, transliteration and translation from, 121-30.
Istoria Românilor in Dacia Traiana. See Xenopol.
- 'Italian Gs.' et le choléra, *Les*, (note). By the Marquis Colocci, 155.
 Jacob Bryant: *Being an Analysis of his Anglo-Romani Vocabulary, with a Discussion of the Place and Date of Collection, and an Attempt to show that Bryant, not Rüdiger, was the earliest Discoverer of the Indian Origin of the Gs.* By John Sampson, 162-94.
 JAKOBSEN, Dr. Jakob, on derivation of Fea, 160.
 JEAFFRESON, J. C.: *Middlesex County Records*, (quot.) 304, (refs.) 305 (*ft.note*), 306 (*and ft.note*), 310 (*ft.note*), 311 (*ft.note*).
 'Jemmy,' invention of, ascribed to Pharaoh, 200 (*and ft.note*).
 JEŠINA, (ref.) 222.
 Jewish origin of Gs., theory of, 154.
 JOHN, Augustus E.: *Russian Gs. at Marseilles and Milan*, 217-35.
 JÓKAI, Maurus: *Yellow Rose, The*, (quot.) 70.
 JONES, Sir William, 5.
Journal Pseudo-Tchinghiané, Un. See Bourgeois.
Journey across the Balcan. See Keppel.
 JOSEPH, Archduke, and G. music, 65; attempts to settle Gs. at Presburg, 66; his *Czigány Nyelvtan*, (ref.) 202 (*ft.note*).
 Jugglers, G., 77.
 JÜHLING, (ref.) 20.
 JUSTINGER, 78.
 Kafirs, a race akin to the Gs., 60.
Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush, The. See Robertson.
Kai sa nastro Zogar, (song), 229-31.
 Kaikadis, Deccan tribe, 35-6.
 Kalmuks, Asiatic tribe, 61.
Kamarī telega, (song), 128.
kavirī, remark on form, 232 (*ft.note*).
 Kanjars, Indian low-caste tribe, 36 (*ft.note*).
 Kara-Kalpaks, Asiatic tribe, 61.
 Kara-Kirghis, Asiatic tribe, 61.
 Karmān, Gs. at, 63.
 Kashgharia, Gs. of, 63.
 Kashgharians, Asiatic tribe, 61.
 Kasim Pasha, Gs. at, 79.
Kaski sūres, Mimi, (song), 231-2.
 Kātkaris, Indian criminal tribe, 36.
 Kauli, G. race-name, 4.
kačanakjil, derivation of, 54.
 KENNEDY, M.: editor of *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, 35.
 KEPPEL, Hon. George: *Journey across the Balcan*, (quot.), 66.
 Kessler, G. race-name, 96.
 Khazars, Asiatic tribe, 84.
 Khōs, Asiatic tribe, 61.
 Kings, G., deaths and burials of, 80, 318-20.
 Kirghis-Kazaks, Asiatic tribe, 61.
 Kisilefska, Gs. at, 244.
Kisilefskie Zigane. See Dobrowolski.

- KLUGE : *Rotwelsch*, (ref.) 134 (*ft. note*).
 KLUYVER, A. : *Glossaire Tsigane du Seizième Siècle, Un*, 131-42.
ko, preposition with causative verbs, 151.
kodel, derivation of, 233 (*ft. note*).
Kohistan le Ferghanah et Kouldja, Le.
See Ujfalvy.
Kolis, Indian tribe of burglars, 36, 38.
Kolis, Chunvalia, Indian tribe of burglars, 39.
 KOLOMAN, laws of quoted, 83, 86 ; (refs.) 85, 87, 88.
Kon avjā pritradejá? (song), 126.
 KONOW, Prof. Sten, (ref.) 60 (*ft. note*).
korra, remark on form, 177 (*ft. note*).
kruc, derivation of, 235 (*ft. note*).
 KUHN, Ernst : *Franz Nikolaus Finck*, 81-3.
Kuia, derivation of, 235 (*ft. note*).
 KUNAVIN, Mr., mysterious, 195.
kuriema, remark on form, 28 (*and ft. note*).
 Kutusch, Gs. at, 275.
- Ladakis, Asiatic tribe, 61.
 LADISLAUS, laws of, (quot.), 83, 86.
Lanthorne and Candle-Light. See Dekker.
 Leeds, Gs. in, 55.
Legend of Perseus. See Hartland.
Légendes Religieuses Bulgares. See Schischmanoff.
 Legends about origin of the Gs., 67, 72, 154, 200.
 LEHOCZKY, Th. v., (quot.) 97, (*ft. note*).
Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner. See Finck.
 LELAND, C. G. : 171, 183 ; *English Gs.*, (ref.) 320 (*ft. note*), Gs., *The*, (ref.) 309 (*ft. note*).
Lettres historiques et galantes. See Dunoyer.
 LEWENKLAU, Hans : *Neuwe Chronika Türkischer Nation*, (quot.) 241-2 (*and ft. note*).
Lexicon linguae hungaricae. See Szarvas.
Liebesleben der Zigeuner, Das. See Areco.
 LIEBICH : *Zigeuner, Die*, (refs.), 137, 138.
 LIEBRECHT : *Zur Volkskunde*, (ref.) 302.
Liège, copperware of Bishopric of, 96.
Life and Thoughts of a Naturalist, The.
See Brightwen.
 Linen band from hands of dead used as spell, 212 (*and ft. note*).
 Lisp, G., 173.
 LISZT, Franz : his views on G. music, 243-4 ; his *Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn*, (ref.) 244 (*ft. note*).
Little Egypt, Gs. of 1418 from, 78.
Little Hen, The. Welsh G. Folk-Tale, 40-7.
 Locative case in Bulgarian-G., 53, 54.
Love-philtre, G., 70.
 LUCAS : *Yetholm History of the Gs.*, (refs.) 304 (*ft. note*), 311 (*ft. note*).
 LUDOLFUS, 133, 162.
Luli, G. race-name, 4, 63.
Lute, used by Turkish Gs., 242.
Lying, a G. habit, 59.
- LYSTER, Miss M. Eileen : *G. Names*, (note), 75.
- MACALISTER, R. A. Stewart : 292 ; *Nuri Stories*, 20-35, 100-20, 279-87.
 MACH, R. von : *Wehrmacht der Türkei und Bulgariens, Die*, (ref.) 75 (*and ft. note*).
 MACPHERSON, John, on G. drunkenness, 158.
 MACRITCHIE, D. : 173 ; *Scottish Gs.* (refs.) 160, 309 (*ft. note*).
Magic and Gs., 69.
Magnus the Tinker, (note). By Harald Ehrenborg, 73-4.
 MAGNUS, King of Sweden, 73.
Major-General John Staples Harriott. By Col. W. F. Prideaux, 1-20.
 MAKRIZI : *Description of Egypt*, (refs.) 76, 77.
 MALLESON, Herbert : *Sweet Street Sanctuary*, A, 55-60.
Malvern Hills, G. haunt in, 64.
Mandchoux, Asiatic tribe, 61.
Mandrake, used as love-philtre by Gs., 70.
Mang Garudis, tribe of Indian nomads, 36.
Mangones (Mangani, Maignens)=Gs., 89.
 MARCZALI, H. : *Enchiridion fontium historiae Hungarorum*, (quot.), 86.
 Marghellan, Gs. at, 63.
marjarav, remark on form, 151.
Marriage-ceremony of Basque Gs., 297.
 MARSDEN, Wm. : *Observations* (refs.) 162, 163, 168, 170, 175 (*ft. note*), Marseilles, Gs. at, 217-20.
Mash'āl, instruments of torture used in Egypt, 77.
Masha'ilīyyah of Egypt, The, (note). By E. O. Winstedt, 76-8.
Masha'ilīyyah, G. race-name, 76, 77, 78.
masxāri, derivation of, 202 (*ft. note*).
 Mason, G., 304 (*ft. note*).
MATRA collects Turkish Romani for Marsden, 162.
 MAYO, 154.
Mazang, G. race-name, 62, 63.
 MAZARIS, 297.
Me pro targo gejóm, (song), 130.
 MEINHARDT, 76.
mengro = policeman, 311.
 Merchants, G., 85, 90.
Merimaskö Ceriklo ī, (note). By Miss D. E. Yates, 301-2.
 Mianas, low-caste Indian tribe, 38.
Middlesex County Records. See Jeaffreson.
 MIKLOSICH, Franz von : 154 ; *Ueber die Mundarten*, (refs.) 41 (*ft. note*), 42 (*ft. note*), 54, 65, 80, 132, 133, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 176 (*ft. note*), 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 202 (*ft. note*), 218 (*ft. note*), 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 233 (*ft. note*), 234 (*ft. note*), 235 (*ft. note*) ; (quot.) 294, (refs.) 295, 296 (*ft. note*) ; *Zigeunerische Elemente*, (ref.) 134.
 Milan, Gs. at, 220-1.

Milos of Drobnjak, legend of, 69.
 Mina, low-caste Indian tribe, 35, 39.
 Mircea, the Great, presents Gs. to
 monastery, 95.
 Miskow, Johan: *Gs. in Denmark*, (note),
 236-40.
Mithridates. See Adelung.
Moxudi, (note). By W. A. Dutt, 156.
 Mohammedan Gs. in Turkey, 75.
Moldováňje štětender andré-dena, (song),
 129.
 Monasteries, Gs. presented to, 95.
 Monkey-Leaders, G., 67.
 Montenegro, Gs. of, in Italy, 155.
Monumenta historica Zagrabiae. See
 Tkalečić.
 Morality, G., 152-4.
 Morwood: *Our Gs.*, (ref.) 318.
mujtis, 'mufti' 'magistrate' derivation
 of, 53.
Muzliskeri Parameti, E. Bulgarian G.
 Folk-Tale, 50-3.
 Müller, companion of Ujfalvy, 63.
 Murray, Philip, 154.
 Music, G.: and Archduke Joseph, 65;
 of Balkan Gs., 68-9.
 Musicians, G., 68, 199, 238-40, 242-4.
 Myers, John: *G. and a tale*, A, 272-5

Nddža, dajori, pal-o-pani, (song), 130.
 Naiks, Marwar, Indian criminal caste,
 39.
 Nails of the Crucifixion, G. connection
 with, 69.
 Naked Gs., 152, 315.
 Names, G. Christian—
 AARON, 319.
 ABRAHAM, 304, 305, 318.
 ADA, 71.
 ADDIE, 319.
 AGNES, 312.
 AHASUERUS, 75.
 ALABINA, 305.
 ALBERT, 237.
 ALGAR, 71, 156.
 ALGERNON, 75.
 ALICE, 264.
 ALSRRL, 63.
 AMBROSE, 55, 309.
 AMELIA, 301.
 ANDREAS, 93, 94, 237.
 ANDREJ, 95 (*and ft. note*).
 ANDREW, 237, 238, 240.
 ANI, 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 ANNE, 304, 309.
 ANTON, 237 (*and ft. note*), 239.
 ANYUTKA, 250.
 ARTHUR, 57, 58, 59.
 ATHALIA, 71.
 AVIZ, 62.
 BABA, 63.
 BAZENA, 318.
 BECKA, 237.
 BENDIGO, 266.
 BENEDICT, 97.
 BERTREMIEU, 95.
 BESSIKA, 237.
 BETHORNIA, 320.
 BLASIUS, 94.

Names, G. Christian—continued.
 BOHEMIA, 305.
 BOHEMIUS, 74.
 BOJKO, 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 BORSICO, 240.
 BOUSDOKOU, 72.
 BRITTANIA, 320.
 BUI, 74, 264.
 BUSCHA, 237 (*ft. note*).
 CAREW, 304.
 CARNATION, 318.
 CATHARINE, 72.
 CENTINA, 75.
 CHARLOTTE, 264, 311, 320.
 CHRISTOFERUS, 320.
 CHRISTOPHER, 306.
 CINDERELLA, 75.
 CINNAMINTI, 75.
 COLART, 95.
 DAMARIS, 305.
 DAVID, 320.
 DEMETRA, 237.
 DEMETRE, 237.
 DIDDLES, 262, 265.
 DIKA, 237.
 DIMAN, 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 DIMITI, 318.
 DOBROSLAVI, 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 DUNADIE, 237 (*ft. note*).
 DŽANOS, 218.
 EASTER, 305.
 EDMUND, 301.
 EDWARD, 262 (*ft. note*), 319.
 EDWIN, 16, 176.
 ELEANOR, 311.
 ELIAS, 85 (*ft. note*), 87.
 ELISA, 237, 239.
 ELIZABETH, 308.
 ENGELBERT, 20, 271, 287.
 EPHRAIM, 199.
 ERGA, 239.
 ETIENNE, 260.
 EZA, 57, 58.
 FANKA, 199.
 FEDKA, 123, 124.
 FRANCIS, 269, 304.
 FRANCISCUS, 93.
 FRED, Carew Henry Seth, 304.
 FREEDA, 262.
 GEORG, 237 (*ft. note*).
 GEORGE, 259, 304, 306, 308, 309, 319.
 GILBERT, 71, 156.
 GJURKO, 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 GÖGERASA, 237 (*ft. note*).
 GONISI, 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 GRICHA, 125.
 GULLY, 318, 319.
 HANNAH, 308.
 HENRI, 260.
 HENRY, 304, 'King,' 320.
 HODEDUN, 118, 119.
 HUBERT, 266.
 IGAN, 63.
 IGANE, 63.
 ISAAC, 55, 56, 58, 59, 264.
 ISRAEL, 311.
 IVKA, 199, 247, 250, 253, 254.
 JAMES, 304 (*ft. note*), 312, 320.
 JANE, 311, 319.
 JASPER, 80, 319.

Names, G. Christian—continued.
 JOB, 318.
 JOHAN, 237 (*and fl.note*), 238 (*and fl.note*), 239, 240.
 JOHN, 93, 97, 234, 269, 302, 304 (*fl.note*), 305 (*and fl.note*).
 JOSEF, 237, 238, 239.
 JOSEPH, 237 (*fl.note*).
 JOSEPH ANDREAS, 237 (*fl.note*).
 JOSH, 267 (*fl.note*).
 JOSKA, 237 (*fl.note*).
 JULY, 315.
 KAKAHASKA, 72.
 KARL, 238, 239.
 KATHARINA, 237 (*fl.note*).
 KATHARINE, 237, 238, 239.
 KENZA, 156.
 KERIM, 63.
 KOSTA, 94, 95 (*fl.note*).
 LADISLAUS, 97 (*fl.note*).
 LALIZINI, 94, 95 (*fl.note*).
 LAVINIA, 156, 262 (*and fl.note*), 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269.
 LENA, 238 (*fl.note*).
 LENDA, 267 (*fl.note*).
 LEON, 95.
 LEVI, 311.
 LEVIATHAN, 75.
 LEVISE, 75.
 LIESA, 238 (*fl.note*).
 LILY, 265.
 LITI RUTH, 302.
 LOLI, 231, 232.
 LOLO, 239.
 LOUISA, 318.
 LUCAS, 311.
 LUCY, 156.
 LULU, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268.
 LURINA, 312.
 MAHSIN, 110.
 MAJOR, 264.
 MANSOUR, 63.
 MARGARET, 304.
 MARIA, 237 (*and fl.note*), 304.
 MARIA KATHARINA, 237 (*fl.note*).
 MARIETTA, 237, 239.
 MARTIN, 94, 237, 239.
 MARY, 304.
 MARY ANN, 262 (*fl.note*).
 MATHIAS, 97 (*fl.note*).
 MATILDA, 319.
 MATREŠKA, 199.
 MATT, 39 (*fl.note*).
 MATTHEW, 41 (*fl.note*), 304, 305 (*fl.note*).
 MEERA, 266.
 MEREDITH, 305 (*and fl.note*).
 MICHAEL, 97.
 MILOŠ, 219, 220.
 MILOSCH, 238 (*fl.note*).
 MINI, 231 (*and fl.note*), 234.
 MIRCEA, 95.
 MIZELLI, 269.
 MONACHE, 95.
 NATHAN, 156.
 NICEPHORUS, 95.
 NIČOLAUS, 91, 92, 94.
 NIKOLAOS, 95.
 NIKOLAUS, 237 (*fl.note*).
 'NINA,' 'Princess,' 237, 239.

Names, G. Christian—continued.
 NOAH, 74, 302.
 NOENAS, 262, 263, 265, 267, 268, 269.
 NOUR, 63.
 OLI, 273.
 OLIVER, 160.
 OSCAR, 74.
 OSCAR ANDREAS, 237 (*fl.note*).
 OSKAR, 239.
 OUGOL, 63.
 PASHI, 294.
 PATIKA, 220.
 PENTEK, 85 (*fl.note*), 87.
 PERRON, 301.
 PETER, 85 (*fl.note*), 87, 93, 94, 237.
 PETRO, 97.
 PHOEBE, 318.
 PIERRE, 95.
 PLATO, 75.
 PLATOS, 309.
 POLEY, 301.
 PRITHARNE, 320.
 PROVIDENCE, 312.
 PUNCA, 237.
 PUTZARDINKA, 220, 234 (*fl.note*).
 RADÍ, 94, 95 (*fl.note*).
 RAJKO, 94, 95 (*fl.note*).
 REBEKKA, 240.
 REGNIK, 95.
 RHODA, 319.
 RICHARD, 304, 311.
 RIGHT DOOR, 320.
 ROBERT, 308.
 ROBERT GULLY, 318, 319.
 ROSE, 237.
 SAGA, 237 (*fl.note*).
 SAM, 320.
 SANDI, 286.
 SARAH, 305 (*fl.note*).
 SAVAINA, 74, 262 (*fl.note*).
 SELINA, 318.
 SETH, 304, 319.
 SHAKIR, 107 (*fl.note*), 110 (*fl.note*), 119 (*fl.note*).
 SHANDRES, 262, 268, 270.
 SIMPRONIUS, 74, 262 (*fl.note*).
 SINKO, 50.
 SOFIE, 237.
 SOKOLI, 94, 95 (*fl.note*).
 SOLOMON, 264.
 STARKEY, 263, 265, 266.
 STEFAN, 97 (*fl.note*).
 STEPHAN, 97.
 SULJO, 69.
 SURGA, 237 (*fl.note*).
 SUSAN, 305.
 SYRENDA, 272, 273.
 TAIKO, 267 (*fl.note*).
 TAKO, 155.
 TATYANA, 251.
 'TAW,' 305 (*fl.note*).
 TERESKA, 199.
 TERKA, 219, 220.
 THADDEUS, 199.
 THOMA, 97.
 THOMAS, 94, 304, 305, 308, 318.
 TOBIAS, 71.
 TOM, 266.
 TRINITY, 75.

Names, G. Christian—continued.

- UIFALUSSI, 151.
- VASILI, 94, 95 (*fl. note*).
- VASKA, 250.
- VENSALENA (Vensa), 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268, 270.
- VLAD, 95.
- VORA, 238 (*fl. note*).
- WASTI, 40.
- WILLIAM, 58, 305 (*and fl. note*), 311.
- YORŠKA, 231.
- ZINNA, 238 (*fl. note*).
ZOGAR, 229.

Names, G. Surnames—

- AIRES, 5.
- ALLAN, James, 312, 320.
- ALLEN, Charlotte, 311.
- ALLEN family, 311, 312.
- ARINGTON, 305.
- ARRINGTON, Mary, 304.
- ARRINGTON, Thomas, 304.
- BAI, Mansour, 63.
- BAKER family, 309.
- BALERCHA, 260.
- BARATVOR, 63.
- BARKO, Maria Rasa, or, 237 (*fl. note*).
- BEAN family, 310.
- BELLINGER, Maria, 237 (*fl. note*).
- BIRDE, Igan, 63.
- BIRDE, Igane, 63.
- BLEWITT, Hannah, 308.
- BLUETT, George, 308.
- BOSWELL, Aaron, 319.
- BOSWELL, Abraham, 318.
- BOSWELL, Ada, 71.
- BOSWELL, Algar, 71, 156.
- BOSWELL, Arthur, 57, 58, 59.
- BOSWELL, Athalia, 71.
- BOSWELL, Bui, 74.
- BOSWELL, Edward, 319.
- BOSWELL family, 55, 80, 318.
- BOSWELL, Gilbert, 71, 156.
- BOSWELL, Jane, 319.
- BOSWELL, Kenza, 156.
- BOSWELL, Matilda, 319.
- BOSWELL, Nathan, 156.
- BOSWELL, Savaina, 74, 262 (*fl. note*).
- BOSWELL, Seth, 319.
- BOSWELL, Simpronius Bohemius, 74, 262 (*fl. note*).
- BOSWELL, Taiso, 267 (*fl. note*).
- BOSWELL, Tobias, 71.
- BOZWELL, Elizabeth, 308.
- BREWER, Fred Carew Henry Seth, 304.
- BREWER, George, 304.
- BREWER, Henry, 304.
- BREWER, Maria, 304.
- BREWER, Mary, 304.
- BREWERTON, Francis, 304.
- BROWN, 309.
- BROWN, George, 309.
- BUCKLAND, Abraham, 318.
- BUCKLAND, Dimiti, 318.
- BUCKLAND, Edwin, 16, 176.
- BUCKLAND, Phoebe (Phoebe Smith), 318.
- BUCKLAND, Sam, 320.

Names, G. Surnames—continued.

- BUNCK family, 318.
- BUNCK, Phoebe, 318.
- BUNTS, Louisa, 318.
- CABARUS, Maria, 237.
- CABARUS, Rose, 237.
- CACCINI, Uifalussi, 151, 152.
- CHILCOT, John, 302.
- CHOMANN, Johan Milosch, 238 (*fl. note*).
- CHOMANN, Lena, 238 (*fl. note*).
- CHOMANN, Vora, 238 (*fl. note*).
- CHYKANYCH, Thomas, 94.
- CLARK, Eleanor, 311.
- CLARK, Jane, 311.
- CLARK, Richard, 311.
- CLARKE family, 311.
- CLATAN, Job, 318.
- CLAYTON (née Smith), Bazena, 318.
- CLAYTON, Carnation, 318.
- CLIFTON, Bazena, 318.
- COLUMBAR, Johan, 237 (*and fl. note*).
- CHRISTOPHE, Henri, 260, 261.
- ČUKANO, Bousdokou, 72.
- CYGAN, Nicolaus, 91, 92, 94.
- CZYGANICHYN, Andreas, 93, 94.
- DAY, Anne, 309.
- DE LA HAYE, George, 259, 290.
- DEIKON, Joseph, 237 (*fl. note*). *See also* Taikun and Tuikon.
- DEIKON, Katharina, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DEIKON, Nikolaus, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DEIKON, Saga, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DEMETER, Anton, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DEMETER, Buscha, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DEMETER family, 220, 238 (*fl. note*).
- DEMETER, Johan, 240.
- DEMETER, Marie Katharina, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DEMETER, Surga (George), 237 (*fl. note*).
- DEMETRI family, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DEMITRI, Anton, 239.
- DEMITRI, Erga, 239.
- DEMITRI, Johan, 237, 238, 239.
- DEMITRI, Josef, 238, 239.
- DEMITRI, KATHARINE, 238, 239.
- DEMITRI, Marietta, 239.
- DEMITRI, Martin, 239.
- DJANE, Baba 63.
- DJANE, Ougol, 63.
- DODOR, Anton, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DODOR family, 218 (*fl. note*). *See also* Todor.
- DODOR, Georg, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DODOR, Joska, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DODOR, Maria Katharina, 237 (*fl. note*).
- DODOR, Vora (Katharina), 238 (*fl. note*).
- DODOR, Zinna, 238 (*fl. note*).
- ECKSTEIN, B., 289, 290.
- EDES, Rebekka, 240.
- ERN = Heron, 320.
- FAA (Faw) family, 160, 311.
- FAA, James, 304 (*fl. note*).
- FEJER, Anton, 237.
- FLUSKOVITZU, Kakahaška, 72.
- GANDERASCH, 238 (*fl. note*).
- GIBSON, 64.

Names, G. Surnames—*continued.*
 GOMANN, Liesa, 238 (*ft. note*).
 GOMANN, Vora, 238 (*ft. note*).
 GRAY, Amelia, 301.
 GRAY family, 286, 301.
 GRAY, Josh, 267 (*ft. note*).
 GRAY, Poley, 301.
 GRAY, Wasti, 40.
 GUTTENBERGER, S., 289, 290.
 HEARN, Lurina, 312.
 HEARN, Providence, 312.
 HERN, Robert, 308.
 HERNE, Ezra, 57, 58.
 HERNE family, 55, 176.
 HERNE, Isaac, 55, 56, 58, 59.
 HERNE, William, 58.
 HERON, Edmund, 301.
 HERON family, 270, 301.
 HERON, Rhoda, 319.
 HONOUR, Britannia, 320.
 HORAM = Heron, 320.
 INGRAM family, 305 (*and ft. note*).
 INGRAM, Meredith, 305 (*and ft. note*).
 INGRAM, William, 305 (*ft. note*).
 INGROOM, Margaret, 305.
 INGROOM, Thomas, 305.
 IRON, Christopherus, 320.
 JAMES, Henry, 320.
 JOANES, Easter, 305.
 JONES, Christopher, 306.
 Jones family, 306 (*ft. note*).
 Jones, William, 305.
 KEMP, 80.
 KHINDJAGOI, 63.
 KOLOJANJE, 95 (*and ft. note*).
 KOUL, Alsrrl, 63.
 KOUL, Kérim, 63.
 LA COMBE, Etienne, 260.
 LAPLACE, 297.
 LEE, Addie, 319.
 LEE, Agnes, 312.
 LEE, David, 320.
 LEE family, 5, 270, 301, 306, 319.
 LEE, Oli, 273.
 LEE, Oliver, 160.
 LEE, Perron, 301.
 LEE, Right Door, 320.
 LEE, Thomas, 318.
 LEE, Tom, 266.
 LOCK family, 318.
 LOCKE, 306 (*ft. note*).
 LOVELL, 80.
 LOVELL, Liti Ruth, 302.
 LOVELL, Major, 264.
 LOVELL, Sandi, 266.
 LOVELL, Syrenda, 272.
 LOVELL, Thomas, 308.
 LOVERIDGE, 311.
 MAHAD, Aviz, 62.
 MARSHALL, Scottish tinker family, 310.
 MEDLAR, 64.
 MOHAMED, Nour, 63.
 MOLDAVA, Catherine, 72.
 MÖLLER, Oskar, 239.
 MÜLLER, Maria, 237 (*ft. note*).
 MUSTY (Musto), John, 269.
 NIKOLA, 69.
 NOUROUKOUL, 62.
 ONER, Pritharne, 320.

Names, G. Surnames—*continued.*
 ORCHARD, Matt, 39 (*ft. note*).
 PARKER, Israel, 311.
 PARKER, Lucas, 311.
 PETERS, 5.
 PETTERSON, Karl, 238, 239.
 PETOLENGRO, Jasper, 319.
 PIHL, Karl, 238, 239.
 PHILLIP, Martin, 237.
 POURTSALISE, 72.
 POWELL, George, 319.
 PRESVETIKI, 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 PRICH family, 311.
 RASA, Dunadie, 237 (*ft. note*).
 ROBERTS family, 306 (*ft. note*).
 Roberts, John, 304 (*ft. note*), 305.
 ROSE, 304.
 ROSENHAGEN, 237.
 SAMINE, 63.
 SHAW, Lucy, 156.
 SMALL, Robert Gulley, 318, 319.
 SMITH, Ambrose, 55, 309.
 SMITH, Edward, 262 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH family, 301, 306 (*ft. note*), 319.
 SMITH, Lavinia, 262 (*and ft. note*).
 SMITH, Levi, 311.
 SMITH, Mary Ann, 262 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, Platios, 309.
 SMITH, Shandres, 262 (*and ft. note*).
 SOUKIASOVIKI, Sokoli 94, 95 (*ft. note*).
 STANDLEY, Mary, 304.
 STANDLEY, Richard, 304.
 STANDLEY, William, 304.
 STANLEY, Charlotte, 320.
 STANLEY family, 5, 304.
 STEPHANOVICH, Tako, 155.
 STEPHENS, 306 (*ft. note*).
 STEPHENS, Francis, 269.
 STORIKIN, Džanos, 218.
 Suljoff, Pashi, 294.
 TAIKUN, Joseph Andreas, 237 (*ft. note*).
 TAIKUN, Oscar Andreas, 237 (*ft. note*).
 TAYLOR, Isaac, 264.
 TAYLOR, Solomon, 264.
 TODOR, 218, 220, 221, 238 (*ft. note*).
 TOIKON, Andrew, 237, 238, 240.
 TOIKON, Becka, 237.
 TOIKON, Bessika, 237.
 TOIKON, Demetra, 237.
 TOIKON, Dika, 237.
 TOIKON, Eli-a Betta, 237, 239.
 TOIKON family, 239.
 TOIKON, Katharine, 237.
 TOIKON, Peter, 237.
 TOIKON, Punca, 237.
 TUDOR, 218 (*ft. note*).
 VIRGULIE, July, 315.
 WHATTON, 306 (*ft. note*).
 WHITE, Anne, 304.
 WHITE, Elizabeth, 304.
 WHITE family, 304, 311.
 WHITE, Matthew, 304.
 WILLIAMS family, 306 (*ft. note*).
 WILLIAMS, Lenda, 267 (*ft. note*).
 WINTER family, 312.
 WINTER, William, 311.

Names, G. Surnames—*continued.*
 WITTICH, Engelbert, 20, 271, 287.
 Wood, Abraham, 304, 305.
 Wood, Alabina, 305.
 Wood, Alice, 264.
 Wood, Bohemia, 305.
 Wood, Colonel, 305 (*fl. note*).
 Wood, Damaris, 305.
 Wood family, 301, 304-7.
 Wood, George, 306.
 Wood, John, 305 (*fl. note*).
 Wood, Margaret, 304.
 Wood, Matthew, 41 (*fl. note*).
 Wood, Sarah, 305 (*fl. note*).
 Wood, Susan, 305.
 Wood, William, 304.
 YOUNG family, 55, 309.
 YOUNG, Noah, 74, 302.
 YOUNG, Oscar, 74.
 ZLATAREVIKI, Boiko, 94, 95 (*fl. note*).

Names, G. Tribal or Race—
 Almés, 78.
 Arabs, 242 (*and fl. note*).
 Atigani, 95.
 Bohemiens, 131, 132, 151, 155, 259, 316.
 Calderarii (Caldarii), 96, 97.
 Chaltsmfde, 89.
 Cigan, 95.
 Ciganini, 67.
 Cinganos, 155.
 Cingarije, 94, 95 (*fl. note*).
 Dom, 292.
 Egpietians (Aegiptians, Egipciens, Egyptiens, Aegyptii), 159, 160; 242 (*and fl. note*), 259, 304, 305, 316.
Gens Paraica, 312, 313, 314.
Gens Zingarica, 312.
 Gitanos, 259.
 Greeks, 90.
 Heiden, 315.
 Ismaelites, 83-100.
 Kauli, 4.
 Kess'er, 96.
 Luli, 4, 63.
 Mangones (Mangani, Maignens), 89.
 Masha'iliyyah, 76-8.
 Mazang, 62, 63.
 Nawar, 100-20, 292.
Negociadores, 89.
 Pharaoh's people, 200.
 Remadis, 77.
 Tchinghianés, 155.
 Tigan, 95.
 Tinguary, 95.
 Tsiganes (Tziganes), 155-6, 240.
 Zigeuner, 241-4, 271, 272, 315.
 Zingani, 242 (*and fl. note*).
 Zingara, 168, 189.
 Zingari, 313, 314.

Names of persons who are possibly
 Gs. :—
 ALLEN, Charles, 311.
 ALLEN, Goosie, 312.
 ALLEN, Henry, 311.
 ALLEN, Jane, 311.

Names of persons who are possibly
 Gs. —*continued.*

ALLEN, John, (2), 311.
 ALLEN, Mary, 311.
 ALLEN, Thomas, 311.
 BEANE, Mary, 310.
 BROWN, Christopher, 309.
 BROWN, Edward, 309.
 BROWN, Hannah, 309.
 BROWN, Jesse, 309.
 BROWN, John, 309.
 BROWN, Richard, 309.
 BROWN, William, 309.
 BROWNE, Charles, 309.
 BROWNE, Will, 309.
 CLARKE, Luke, 311.
 CLARKE, Mary, (2), 311.
 CLARKE, William, 311.
 DAY, Ann, 309.
 GRAY, Elizabeth, 309.
 GREY family, 310.
 HEARNE, Peter, 308.
 HERN, Jo., 308.
 HERN, Mary, 308.
 JOHNSON, Edward, 310.
 JOHNSON, Simon, 310.
 JOHNSON, Thomas, 310.
 JOONES, Thomas, 312.
 LEE, Jane, 309.
 LEE, John, 308.
 LEY, John, 309.
 MARCHALL, Richard, 310.
 MARSHALL, Lawrence, 310.
 MILLENEAX, Mary, 308.
 PARKER, Elizabeth, 310.
 PARKER, Francis, 310.
 PARKER, John, 310.
 PARKER, Jonathan, 310.
 PARKER, William, 310.
 PRICE, Margrett, 311.
 PRICE, Mary, 311.
 SHAW, Sarah, 309.
 SMITH, Charles, 310.
 SMITH family, 310.
 SMITH, Geo., 310.
 SMITH, Henry, 310.
 SMITH, James, 310.
 SMITH, Jane, (2), 310.
 SMITH, John, 310.
 SMITH, Mary, 310.
 SMITH, Theophilus, 310.
 SMITH, Will, 310.
 STANLEY, Joane, 308.
 STANLEY, Mary, 308.
 TAYLER, Richard, 309.
 TAYLOR, Abimmeleck, 310.
 TAYLOR, John, 309.
 TAYLOR, Katherin, 309.
 TAYLOR, William, (2), 309.
 THOMAS, William, 309.
 THORNHAM, William, 310.
 WAKER, 310.
 WALKER, Alice, 310.
 WALKER, Catherine, 310.
 WALKER, Elizabeth, 310.
 WALKER, John, 310.
 WALKER, Margaret, 310.
 WALKER, Rychard, 310.
 WALKER, William, 310.
 WHITE, Andrew, 311.

- Names of persons who are possibly Gs.—*continued.*
- WHITE, Andry, 311.
 - WHITE, Elezebeth, 311.
 - WHITE, Richard, 311.
 - WOOD, Alexander, 304 (*fl. note*).
 - WOOD, John, 309.
- Names: of stars among Russian Gs., 201-2; of tools used in spoon and spindle-making, 278.
- nanghjarav*, remark on form, 150.
- Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*. See Aubrey.
- Nawar, G. race-name, 100-20, 292.
- Negociatores* = Ismaelites, probably Gs., 87, 89.
- Neuwe Chronika Türkischer Nation*. See Löwenklaw.
- Newspapers, Journals, Magazines, and Periodicals quoted or referred to:—
- American Journal of Philology*, 89 (*fl. note*).
 - Archæologia*, 163.
 - Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie und Kriminalistik*, 39 (*fl. note*).
 - Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal*, 320.
 - Bournemouth Directory*, 307.
 - Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Gers*, 296.
 - Bulletin Historico-philologique*, 195.
 - Cornish Telegraph*, 319.
 - Corriere della Sera*, 220.
 - Detroit Free Press*, 319.
 - Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, 315.
 - International Archiv für Ethnographie*, 297.
 - Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 222, 295.
 - Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 306 (*fl. note*).
 - J. G. L. S., New Series*, 45 (*fl. note*), 64, 65, 68, 82 (and *fl. note*), 163 (*fl. note*), 164 (*fl. note*), 176, 212, 215 (*fl. note*), 218 (*fl. note*), 220 (*fl. note*), 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230 (*fl. note*), 231 (*fl. note*), 232 (*fl. note*), 235 (*fl. note*), 236, 237 (*fl. note*), 238 (*fl. note*), 239 (*fl. note*), 240, 266 (*fl. note*), 269 (*fl. note*), 296, 301, 304 (*fl. note*), 305 (*fl. note*), 309 (and *fl. note*), 311 (and *fl. note*), 312, 319, 320.
 - J. G. L. S., Old Series*, 80 (*fl. note*), 160, 173 (*fl. note*), 220 (*fl. note*), 223, 265 (*fl. note*), 305 (*fl. note*), 306 (*fl. note*), 312 (*fl. note*), 318.
 - Karpahlen*, Die, 275 (*fl. note*).
 - Latcho*, 298, 299, 301.
 - London Chronicle*, 167 (*fl. note*), 168, 307.
 - Northampton Mercury*, 307.
 - Notes and Queries*, 39 (*fl. note*), 215, 306 (*fl. note*).
 - Observer*, The, 214.
 - Revue de Gascogne*, 259 (*fl. note*).
 - Sitzungsberichte of the Vienna Academy*, 134 (*fl. note*), 140 (*fl. note*).
- Newspapers, etc.—*continued.*
- Times*, 319.
 - Transactions of Imperial Russian Geographical Society*, 195.
 - Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1, 5.
 - Transactions of the International Folk-Lore Congress*, 318.
 - Wide World Magazine, The*, 209.
 - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 60 (*fl. note*).
 - Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde*, 279.
 - Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 83.
 - Zivaya Starina*, 196.
- NICHOLAS, a G. saint, 212.
- NICOLAIDES, 76.
- NIJHOFF: *Gedenkvaardigheden*, (quot.) 315.
- Nikolaus Mihajlo *Der Kleine*. By F. W. Brepoli, 47-9.
- Norway, Gs. in, 237 (*fl. note*).
- Norwich, Gs. at, 159.
- NORWOOD, Rev. T., 171, 175, 176.
- Notes and Queries—
- Ambroli 'Shoes'*, 240.
 - Archduke Joseph of Austria and the Gs.*, The, 65-6.
 - Balkan Gs.*, 66-70.
 - Bosnian and Rumanian Gs.*, 240.
 - British G. Crimes*, 157-9.
 - Bli's Boots*, 74.
 - Death Bird*, The, 160.
 - Deaths of Kings and Others*, 318-20.
 - Drei auf Zigeuner Bezugliche Lateinische Urkunden aus Ungarn aus den J. 1695/6*, 312-4.
 - Early Annals*, 159-60.
 - Émouvante Cérémonie, Une*, 155-6.
 - Far-travelled Band in Sweden*, A, 72-3.
 - Fate of Karim Pasha*, The, 79-80.
 - Fee and Faa*, 160.
 - Fire-Magic*, 315.
 - Foreign Gs. in England*, 1761, 307.
 - German Law*, A, 314-5.
 - Gs. and the Hindū Kūsh*, 60-3.
 - Gs. at Helmdon*, Northants, 307-12.
 - Gs. in Denmark*, 236-40.
 - Gs. in France*, 70.
 - G. Burial*, 302.
 - G. Legends*, 71-2.
 - G. Love-Philtre*, A, 70.
 - G. Names*, 75.
 - G. Song from Hungary*, A, 302-4.
 - G. Treatment for Erysipelas*, A, 70.
 - 'Italian Gs.' et le choléra, Les, 155.
 - Magnus the Tinker*, 73-4.
 - Mashal'iyah of Egypt*, The, 76-8.
 - Merimáskö Čeriklő*, I, 301-2.
 - Moxadi*, 156.
 - Observations on 'Textes en Romani Russe'*, 238.
 - Romany Costume of the Nineteenth Century*, 80.
 - Sold to the Devil*, 71.
 - Sun-Baths for the Complexion*, 315-8.

Notes and Queries—continued.
Swiss Chronicler on the 1418 Band,
A, 78-9.
Traces of G. Settlements in England,
64.
Transitive Use of the Verb 'To Be,' 65.
Veterinary Science, 302.
Wood Family Outside Wales, The,
304-7.
Zigeuner in der Europäischen Türkei,
75-6.
Notes on the Criminal Classes in the
Bombay Presidency. By Wm. Crooke,
35-40.
No. 747. See Way.
Numbers: of G. bands, 75, 76, 78, 297,
305 (ft.note), 317; of Gs. in Turkey,
75-6.
Numerals in Romani, 175-6 (*ft.notes*).
Nuri Stories, collected by R. A. Stewart
Macalister, 20-35, 100-20, 279-87.
Nuri Stories, Incidents of—
 Abductor shot, 34.
 Adulterer slain by husband, 116.
 Anvil stolen, 105; restored for half
 a pound, 106.
 Banishment for conjugal infidelity,
 103.
 Bedawi rescues body from Jordan,
 104.
 Bedawin attack Nawar, 106; slay
 husband, 105; steal cows, 101.
 Begging by Nawar, 26.
 Boy adulterer, 116.
 Burial of boy, 104; of uncle, 34.
 Camel killed and sold, 110; kills
 girl, 110; stolen, 104.
 Camels, trade in, 116.
 Charcoal, sacks of, 25.
 Cigarette smoking, 105.
 Cloak of stolen meat, 27.
 Coffee, bitter and sweet, 23.
 Coffee-drinking, 21, 101.
 Cold night, 35, 107.
 Corn, purchase of, 107.
 Court house, Nawar thieves taken
 to, 26.
 Cow and she-ass, theft of, 27.
 Cows, theft of, 101, 107.
 Damascus, flight to, 34; journey
 from, to Jericho, 23; journey to,
 23, 32.
 Deserters bribe sheikh, 35.
 Dog attacks thieves, 109: eaten,
 110; purchased, 109; shot for
 hyaena, 110; ten pounds paid for,
 110.
 Donkey, profit on sale of, 25; sale
 of, 27.
 Donkey-fair, 24.
 Donkeys and mares sold in Egypt,
 106; death of four, 30; stolen,
 107; two and mare stolen, 23.
 Druzes, flight of Nawar to, 102;
 journey to the, 23, 29; quarrel
 with, 102.
 Egypt, flight to, 32; journey to 27;
 Nawar stay four years in, 106;
 Nawar visit, 106, 109, 116.
 Egyptian, an, 23.

Nuri Stories, Incidents of—continued.
 Feast of reconciliation, 32; of sheep
 and rice, 23.
 Female thieves, 33.
 Fine and imprisonment for theft,
 33; of 8 majidis, 102.
 Firewood, gathering of, 25.
 Flour, purchase of, 107.
 Gaza, journey to, 105.
 Gentile in a fit, 24.
 Ghūl attacks man, 105; follows
 woman, 104.
 Girl killed by camel, 110.
 Goat left at grave, 104.
 Goat-meat stolen, 27.
 Governor upholds father's authority,
 30.
 Haifa, journey from, to Tiberias,
 23; voyage to, from Jaffa, 23.
 Hauran, flight to, 102; journey to,
 from Tiberias, 23.
 Hebron, journey from, 26; journey
 to, 107, 110.
 Horse, sale of, 102.
Hubbezi, 24.
 Husband slain by bedawin, 105.
 Hyaena slays old man, 105.
 Imprisonment for six years, 26; for
 three years, 27.
 Infidelity, conjugal, banishment for,
 103.
 Jaffa, husbands of female thieves in,
 33; journey to, 23; theft of cows
 from, 101; visit to, 104.
 Jericho, journey from Damascus to,
 23.
 Jerusalem, journey to, 116.
 Jews, stolen cattle sold to, 101.
 Jordan crossed, 35; woman drowned
 in, 104.
 Joseph, 101.
Laban, 24.
 Lebanon, donkeys from, 106.
 Lentils, purchase of, 107.
 Letter from sheikh, 35.
 Loaves, ten, given to thief, 29.
 Lydd, journey to, 24; Nawar visit,
 106, 107.
 Mahas, a village, 35.
 Mamur, complained to, 23.
 Mare and cow, purchase of, 102.
 Mares and donkeys sold in Egypt,
 106.
 Marriage to cousin, 34.
 Matchmaker, 21.
 Monks, visit to, 101.
 Mutawileh, land of, 34.
 Nablus, mountains of, 107.
 Oil, purchase of, 107.
 Onions, purchase of, 107.
 Oven, sleeping in, 24, 27.
 Price, big, for cows, 107.
 Profit on sale of donkey, 25.
 Quarrel among Nawar, 102; of hus-
 band and wife, 103; of parents
 about marriage of daughter, 30.
 Rain detains travellers, 23, 24, 30.
 Ramallah road, 26.
 Ramleh, journey to, 24, 27, 106.
 Ransom of fourteen pounds, 102.

Nuri Stories, Incidents of—*continued.*
 Reconciliation-feast, 32.
 Reward of four pounds for arrest of thieves, 26.
 She-ass stolen and recovered, 27.
 Sheep slaughtered, 105.
 Sheikh: fined £5, 104; letter from, 35; shot, 32; steals wife, 103.
 Sickness, from overwork, 25; heavy, 34.
 Sister stolen, 34.
 Snake: in gathered brushwood, 25; killed and thrown into pit, 25.
 Soldiers, deserted, 35; three desert, 32.
 Thefts, 23, 26, 27, 34, 101, 103, 116.
 Toll paid on Egyptian frontier, 106.
 Villagers imprisoned, 23.
 Washing at a well, 24.
 Wife-buying, 21, 30.
 Wife stolen by boy, 116; by sheikh, 103; deserts husband, 104, 105; murdered by husband, 104; slain by desertion, 105; and boy-adulterer slain, 116.
 Woman stolen, 23.
 Yeman, journey to, 32.
Nyir, village of, *Ismaelites in*, 85 (*and ft.note*), 87, 88.
Oaths, G., 255, 265 (*and ft.note*), 267 (*and ft.note*).
Observations. *See Marsden.*
Observations on 'Textes en Romani Russe,' (note). By Fred. G. Ackerley, 236.
Observations on the Oriental Origin of the Romnichal, or Tribe miscalled G. and Bohemian. *See Harriott.*
Occupations, G.—
 Acrobats, 259.
 Artillery-inspector, 95.
 Author, 151-2.
 Basketmakers, 259, 297.
 Bath-attendants, 77.
 Bearleaders, 67.
 Beggars, 26, 160, 249.
 Blacksmiths, 95, 105.
 Brass-workers, 240.
 Bread-and-herring inspector, 95.
 Bridle-makers, 94, 95 (*ft.note*).
 Broom-makers, 64, 275.
 Butcher, 90, 91, 92.
 Calderarii [Pot-makers], 96, 97.
 Carpenter, 95.
 Conjurers, 259.
 Coppersmiths, 218, 234 (*ft.note*), 238.
 Criers, 77.
 Dancers, 69, 78, 79, 153, 318.
 Dog-clippers, 259.
 Dog-fanciers, 64.
 Entertainers, 77, 238-40.
 Executioners, 66, 77.
 Falcon-trainers, 63.
 Farriers, 248.
 Fiddlers, 242, 244.
 Fishermen, 199.
 Fortune-tellers, 68, 72, 239, 249, 250, 305, 318, 319.

VOL. IV.—NO. V.

Occupations, G.—*continued.*
 Grinders, 239, 306 (*ft.note*).
 Hawker, 306 (*ft.note*).
 Horse-coupers, 247, 269, 297.
 Horse-thieves, 245, 247.
 Iron-workers, 240.
 Jugglers, 77.
 Mason, 304 (*ft.note*).
 Merchants, 85, 90.
 Monkey-leaders, 67.
 Musicians, 68, 199, 238-40, 242-4.
 Palmists, 316.
 Porter, 49.
 Poultry-farmers, 64.
 Poultry-thieves, 316.
 Priest, 93.
 Prostitutes, 69, 154, 240.
 Scavengers, 77.
 Sheep-stealers, 245, 247, 320.
 Shovel-makers, 275.
 Showmen, 165.
 Sieve-makers, 63.
 Smiths, 67, 69, 95, 105.
 Soldiers, 298.
 Spies, 241, 243.
 Spindle-makers, 275.
 Spoon-makers, 275.
 Tanner, 93.
 Teachers of dancing, 317.
 Thieves, 94, 198, 250, 251, 252, 259, 307.
 Tinkers, 72, 273.
 Tray-makers, 275.
 Watchmen, 77.
 Wine-inspector, 95.
 Wooden-plate-makers, 63.
odt, remark on form, 54.
 Offences, conspicuous G., 158.
Old and New London. *See Thornbury.*
Old Rimed Chronicle, The, (quot.) 73-4.
 Opphem, Gs. at, 72.
 Ordeal of hot iron undergone by *Ismaelites*, 85 (*and ft.note*).
 Organisation of Gs. of Russia, 201, 254-5.
Organisation of South German Gs., The.
 By Engelbert Wittich, 287-92.
 Origin of Gs., legends about, 200, 297; theory of, 151, 152, 154.
Orthodox Church, The. *See Fortescue.*
 OTAKAR, King of Bohemia, in conflict with Gs., 98.
 Outlawry among Gs., causes of, 287, 290.
 Paharis, Asiatic tribe, 61.
 Pails, empty and full, G. superstition about, 216.
 PALLAS, 84 (*ft.note*).
 Palmists, G., 316.
p'andili-cūrī, 'clasp knife,' 45 (*ft.note*).
 Pārdhis, Indian nomadic tribe, 36.
Parish Registers of England. *See Cox.*
 Pāsīs, Indian low-caste tribe, 39.
Paš-o-jig amē bēśīsa, (song), 129.
 PASPATI, A. G.: *Art.* in *J. A. O. S.*, (ref.) 223, (quot.) 295; his aspirates, 80; *Tchinghian's, Les*, (refs.) 41 (*ft.note*), 54, 176, 180, 186, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 234 (*ft.note*), 292, 293, 294.

X

- PATKANOFF, Prof. K. P. [P. Istomin], 121, 195, 197, 198, (quot.) 212; *Anthropological Report: Transcaucasian Gs.*, 195.
Patriarches d' Alexandrie, (ref.) 77.
PAUER, 170.
Peasants of Russia, relations of Gs. with, 251-2.
PENNELL, Mrs., *Charles Godfrey Leland*, (ref.) 306 (*ft. note*).
PERKINS, Sidney W., 221 (*ft. note*), 233 (*ft. note*); *Ambruli 'shoes'*, (note), 240.
PEUCKER, 76.
Pharaoh's people = Gs., 200.
PHILLIPS, Sir Richard: *Walk to Kew*, A, 162, (quot.) 163 (*ft. note*).
Picturesqueness of the Balkan Gs., 67.
Pisáca Languages of N.-W. India, *The*. See Grierson.
PISCHEL, R., (quot.) 60; *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner*, (refs.) 134, 135, 222.
PITTARD, (refs.) 62, 63.
PLANTÉ, Adrien: *Race maudite, Une: Les Bohémiens du Pays Basque*, (rev.), 296-7.
Plymouth, Gs. at, in 1569, 159.
Podgorica, Gs. at, 67.
Polygamy among Gs., 68.
Polytheism among Gs., 202, 212.
Popular Antiquities. See Brand.
Popular Religion and Folklore. See Crooke.
Porter, G., 49.
POTT, A. F.: *Die Zigeuner*, (quot.) 5, (refs.) 6-20, 41 (*ft. note*), 80, 133, 135, 170, (quot.) 175, (refs.) 177-89, 202 (*ft. note*), 222-9, 235 (*ft. note*), 292 (*ft. note*).
Poultry-farmers, G., 64.
Poultry-thieves, G., 316.
pratcheely, remark on form, 177.
PREDARI, 235 (*ft. note*).
Pregnancy, a protection against evil spirits, 266.
Preston, Gs. at, 74.
PRIDEAUX, Col. W. F.: *Major-General John Staples Harriot*, 1-20.
Priest, G., 93; G. superstition about, 215.
PRINCE, Prof., (ref.) 177.
Prishtina, Gs. at, 67.
Private Life of Two Emperors, *The*, (quot.) 65-6.
Prostitutes, G., 69, 154, 240.
Proverbes et dictions populaires. See Crapelet.
Proverbs anent Gs., 199, 253, 256.
PUCHMAYER: *Románi Čib*, (refs.) 9, 228.
pundré, derivation of, 202 (*ft. note*).
Punishment of Gs., 160.
puriā, remark on form, 43 (*ft. note*).
QUATREMÈRE, *Histoire des sultans mamouks* (quot.) 76-8.
r sound in Romani, 292-6.
Race maudite, *Une*. See Planté.
RADONIĆ, Dr. Jovan: *Drei auf Zigeuner bezügliche lateinische Urkunden aus*
Ungarn aus den J. 1695-6, (note), 312-4.
Rámosis, low-caste Indian tribe, 40.
RANKING, Dr. D. F. de l'Hoste, 221 (*ft. note*); *Gs. of Central Russia, The*, 195-217, 244-58.
Raven, G. superstition about, 215.
RAWLINSON: *Herodotus*, (ref.) 169 (*ft. note*).
RECO. See Areco.
Reconciliation ceremony among German Gs., 288-9.
Records of the City of Norwich, *The*, (quot.) 159.
Recueil de Folklore. See Schischmánov.
Recueil des monuments inédits. See Thierry.
Red-haired G., 276.
Regestrum de Várad, (quot.) 85, 87.
Religion of Balkan Gs., 66, 68; of Russian Gs., 212.
Rémadis, G.-like race in Egypt, 77-8.
Report on the Moveable Dwellings Bill, (quot.) 158-9.
Rerum hungaricarum monumenta arpa-diana. See Endlicher.
Reticence of the G., 58.
Reviews:
Areco's *Das Liebesleben der Zigeuner*. By E. O. Winztedt, 152-5.
Brepohl's *Die Zigeuner im Byzantinischen Reich*, 297-8.
Caccini's *I Romi*. (Une brochure tsigane.) By the Marquis Colocci, 151-2.
Journal *Pseudo-Tchinghiané, Un*. By Henri Bourgeois, 298-301.
Planté's *Une race maudite*, 296-7.
RICHARDSON: *Asiatic Researches*, (ref.) 177.
říčko (řicka), 'beast,' derivation of, 43 (*ft. note*).
ROBERTS, Samuel, (ref.) 181.
ROBERTSON, Sir George: *Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, *The*, (ref.) 60 (*ft. note*).
Romancing by Gs., 58-9.
Románi Čib. See Puchmayer.
Romani words worth noting—
Buzn̄ 'pregnant,' 216 (*and ft. note*);
čí 'anything,' 44 (*ft. note*); čárō
'pail,' 41 (*ft. note*); *clerin* 'key,'
177; *covascorook* 'laurel,' 177;
darikerav 'tell fortunes,' 80; *dě*
'yon,' 204 (*ft. note*); *debaamé*, 150;
Dívileškoro Kolysť 'The Great Bear,' 201; -engro, 311 (*ft. note*);
fuzyanri (füzéra) 'fern,' 177 (*ft. note*); *χai*, 204 (*ft. note*); *χen̄*
'spring,' 41 (*ft. note*); *kanciči* 'no-
thing,' 232 (*ft. note*); *korra* 'hour,'
177 (*ft. note*); *kuriema*, 28 (*ft. note*);
Kvakúča 'Frog,' 201;
marjardv 'to cause to be beaten,'
151; *mengro* 'policeman,' 311;
nayghjarav 'to make become bare,'
150; *našaváva* 'to lose,' 54; *odi*
'yon,' 54; *Papiničko Drom* 'Goose
Road,' 201; *pratcheely* 'flame,'
177; *p'uria*, 43 (*ft. note*); *rušdas*
'was angry,' 42 (*ft. note*); *T'xoritko*

- Drom* 'Polecat's Road,' 202; *tušni* 'bucket,' 41 (*ft. note*); *Udirik-dečia* 25 (*ft. note*); *Vidritko Drom* 'Otter's Road,' 202; *zarav* 'to wait,' 54.
- Romany Costume of the Nineteenth Century*, (note). By E. O. Winstedt, 80.
- Romi, I.* See Caccini.
- ROMSTORFER*, C. A., 278.
- Rookwood*. See Ainsworth.
- Route*, G., into Europe, 243.
- RÜDIGER*, 162, 168, 169, 170.
- RUDNEFF*, (quot.) 212.
- Rumáli*, 36.
- Rumania, Gs. in, 240; sedentary Gs. in, in fourteenth century, 97.
- Rumanian loan-words in Romani, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231 (*ft. note*), 233 (*ft. note*), 234 (*ft. note*), 235 (*ft. note*).
- RUPPERT*: *Chroniken der Stadt Konstanz*, (ref.) 79.
- Rural Life in England*. See Howitt.
- rušdas*, remark on form, 42 (*ft. note*).
- RUSSELL*, Alex.: *Bosnian and Rumanian Gs.*, (note), 240; *Fea and Faa*, (note), 160.
- Russia, Gs. of, 195-217, 244-58; become settled, 199.
- Russian Gs. at Marseilles and Milan*. By Augustus E. John, 217-35.
- Russian Gs. in Italy, 155.
- Russian loan-words in Romani, 207 (*ft. note*), 222, 224, 226, 228, 229, 236.
- sábahtán*, remark on form, 105 (*ft. note*).
- Saint Gregory, Saint Basil and the Gs., 72.
- SAMPSON*, Dr. John, 214 (*ft. note*), 221 (*ft. note*), 232 (*ft. note*), 233 (*ft. note*), 301, 304, 306; *Jacob Bryant*, 162-94; *Welsh G. Folk-Tales*. No. 10. *I Bitá Káni*, 40-7.
- Sánsiyás, Indian Nomadic tribe, 36, 40.
- Sarts, a Hindu Kush tribe, 61.
- Satyrical Characters*. See Bergerac.
- SCALIGER*, (quot.) 222. See also *Vulcanius*.
- Scalloway, Gs. executed at, in 1612, 160.
- SCAPINELLI*, Henry, raises monument to Gs. killed on Alps, 155.
- Scavengers, G., 77.
- SCHISCHMANOFF*, Lydia: *Légendes Religieuses Bulgares*, (quot.) 71-2.
- SCHISCHMÁNOV* and Matov: *Recueil de Folklore*, (refs.) 72.
- Schweizerchronik*. See Brennwald.
- SCOTT*, Sir Walter, (quot.) 315; *The Antiquary*, (ref.) 214.
- Scottish Gs. under the Stewarts. See MacRitchie.
- Screech-owl, G. superstition, about, 216, 301.
- SÉBILLOT*, (ref.) 215.
- Secrets du Petit Albert, Les*, (quot.) 213.
- Sel me versti, čavó progejóm*, (song), 127.
- Servian (Gs.), 240; in 1348, 94; refuse to speak Romani to strangers, 67-8.
- Servian loan-words in Romani, 226.
- Seven years' pilgrimage of Gs., 78.
- Sheep-stealers, G., 245, 247, 320.
- Sheep-stealing, G. methods of, in Russia, 245.
- Shovel-makers, G., 275.
- Showmen, G., 165.
- Showmen and legislation, 158-9.
- Shumla, Gs. at, 66.
- Sibos, tribe of Hindu Kush, 61.
- SIEFF*, M., 201; assists in interpretation of Dobrowolski, 197.
- Sieve-makers, G., 63.
- SIMONYI*. See Szarvas.
- SIMSON*: *History of the Gs.*, (refs.) 154, 180, 224, 308.
- SINCLAIR*, A. T., (ref.) 296.
- Size of G. bands, 305.
- Slumber thumb, 40 (*ft. note*).
- SMART*, Bath, (refs.) 177 (*and ft. note*), 178, 180, 182; and Crofton: *Dialect of the English Gs.*, (refs.) 7, 19, 20, 41 (*ft. note*), 176, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 186, (quot.) 306 (*ft. note*).
- Snake's heart eaten by a G., 269.
- SMITH*, George: *G. Life*, 318.
- Smiths, G., 67, 69, 95, 105. See also Blacksmiths, Coppersmiths, Iron-workers.
- Sold to the Devil*, (note). By W. A. Dutt, 71.
- Soldiers, G., 298.
- Solones, Hindu Kush tribe, 61.
- Songs—
- Ach-da, tekamés man*, 130.
 - Adaja e-bída*, 127.
 - Ai bíro d'wel ho me kerdóm*, (ref.) 82 (*ft. note*).
 - Aj-da, miró zeleno urdó*, 126.
 - Amé rakirásá*, 130.
 - Dén Dobridin*, 206-8.
 - Džav mangi, dali, bari Rusiati*, 232.
 - Kai sa nasto Zogar*, 229-31.
 - K'amari telega*, 128.
 - Kaski súves, Mími*, 231-2.
 - Kon avjá, pritradejá?* 126.
 - Me pro tárgo gejón*, 130.
 - Moldováne štelénder andré-dena*, 129.
 - Nádža, čájori, pal-o-pani*, 130.
 - Paš-o-jag amé bešása*, 129.
 - Sel me vérsti, čavó, progejóm*, 127.
 - Sósa Griša, sósa Griša*, 125.
 - Súnta, Mími, šunta*, (ref.) 220, (quot.) 234-5.
 - Te mejóm, te méjom*, 128.
 - Trin ratjá me na sutjóm*, 126.
 - Tachorelo Sendinger Tschawo*, O, 271-2.
 - Zsál o riczi upro pani*, 303-4.
 - Sósa, Griša, sósa, Griša*, (song), 125.
 - Sound *þ*, The. By Bernard Gilliat-Smith, 292-6.
 - Spanish Gs., morals of, 153-4.
 - Spies, G., 241, 243.
 - Spindle-makers, G., 275.
 - SPINELLI*, 151.
 - Spoon and spindle-making, G. method of, 276-7.
 - Spoon-makers, G., 275.
 - Staff of office stolen from Gs., 220.
 - Stanmore Common, a G. haunt, 75.

- Stars, Russian G. names and knowledge of, 201-2.
- Storm in the Forest, The.* Russian-Romani narrative, 202-3.
- Storms and Interludes.* By Thomas W. Thompson, 262-70.
- Story of the Musti,* a Bulgarian G. Folk-Tale, 49-54.
- STRAHLMANN, 84 (*fl. note*).
- STUMPF, 78.
- sudimé, 'judging,' derivation of, 150.
- Sun-baths for the Complexion,* (note). By Ed. Aude, 315-8.
- Šunta, Mimi, Šunta, (song), (ref.) 220; (quot.) 234-5.
- Superstitions, G.—
- Bread, power of, 57, 266.
 - Funeral feast, remains of, thrown into sea, 219-20.
 - Garlic soaked in husband's blood to assist child-birth, 154.
 - 'Hand of glory,' 40, 212-5.
 - Hare running across road, seeing, 215.
 - Linen band from hands of corpse, 212 (*fl. note*).
 - Mandrake, power of, 70.
 - Meeting a priest, 215.
 - Meeting a peasant with two empty pails, 216; with two full pails, 216.
 - Pregnancy, a protection against mulos, 266.
 - Raven, seeing a, 215.
 - Screech-owl: omen of death, 301; of pregnancy, 216.
 - 'Slumber-thumb,' 40 (*fl. note*).
 - Waggons, two, 301.
 - Water-hen: omen of death, 160, 301.
- Supplementum ad lexicon linguae hungaricae aevi antiquioris.* See Zolnai.
- SWAINSON: *Folk-Lore of British Birds*, (quot.) 301-2.
- Sweden, Gs. in, 237.
- Sweet Street Sanctuary, A.* By Herbert Malleson, 55-60.
- SWIFT, Dean (quot.) 164 (*fl. note*).
- Swiss Chronicler on the 1418 Band, A.* (note). By E. O. Winstedt, 78-9.
- Syllabus graecarum membranarum.* See Trinchera.
- SYMONS, Arthur: Gs. on the Road, 161.
- SZAMOTA. See Zolnai.
- SZARVAS and Simonyi: *Lexicon Linguae hungaricae*, (ref.) 97.
- Tabu of iron among Indian low-caste tribes, 39.
- Tainton, Gloucestershire, a reported G. haunt, 64.
- Tanner, G., 93.
- Tarantchis, Asiatic tribe, 61.
- Tchamps, Asiatic tribe, 61.
- Tchinghanés, G. race-name, 155.
- Te mejóm, te méjom,* (song), 128.
- Teachers of dancing, G., 317.
- TEUTSCH, Julius: *G. Lathe, The*, 275-9.
- Textes en Romani Russe, Translitérés et traduits d'après le Tzyganski Yazyk*
- de P. Istomin. By Henri Bourgeois, 121-30.
- THESLEFF: *Wtb. des Dial. d. finnländischen Zigeuner*, (refs.) 136, 137.
- THIERRY, Aug.: *Recueil des monuments inédits*, (ref.) 95 (*fl. note*).
- Thieves, G., 94, 198, 250, 251, 252, 259, 307.
- THOMPSON, T. W., 156; *Bbi's Boots*, (note), 74; *Storms and Interludes*, 262-70.
- THORNBURY and Walford: *Old and New London*, (quot.) 319.
- Thorns placed on G. grave, 302.
- Thorny Hill, a Gypsyry, 64.
- Thousand and one Nights*, (ref.) 77.
- Through Savage Europe.* See De Windt.
- Through the Lands of the Serb.* See Durham.
- Tibetans, Asiatic tribe, 61.
- Tigan, G. race-name, 95.
- riyán, derivation of, 95.
- TINGEY. See Hudson.
- Tinguery, G. race-name, 95.
- Tinkers, G., 72, 273.
- TKALOČ, J. B.: *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae, metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae, et Slavoniae*, (quot.) 90-4.
- Touroucs, a Ferghana tribe, 63 (*fl. note*).
- Tournai, Gs. at, in 1431 and 1442, 70.
- TOWNSEND, 80 (*fl. note*).
- Traces of G. Settlements in England*, (note). By D. M. M. Bartlett, 64.
- Trail-signs, 292.
- Transcaucasian Gs.* See Patkanoff.
- Transitive Use of the Verb 'To Be'*, (note). By Bernard Gilliat-Smith, 65.
- Transylvanian Gs. in Servia, 95.
- Tray-makers, G., 275.
- Tribes and Castes.* See Crooke.
- Tribute of horse-shoes paid by Servian Gs., 94.
- Trickery, G., to elude police, 245-7.
- Tricks of criminal classes in India, 38-9.
- Trin ratjá me na sutjóm,* (song), 126.
- TRINCHERA: *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*, (ref.) 95 (*fl. note*).
- Tschorelo Sendinger Tchawo, O, (song), 271-2.
- Tsiganes, G. race-name, 155-6.
- TUDOR: *Orkneys and Shetland, The*, (ref.) 160.
- Turcomans, Asiatic tribe, 61.
- Turco-tatar type, 61.
- Turkish loan-words in Romani, 224.
- TURNER, Ribton: *History of Vagrants*, (quot.) 305 (*fl. note*).
- TURNER, Wm.: *Herbal*, (quot.) 70.
- Turquie d'Europe, La.* See Boué.
- Types of Hindu Kush, 60-3.
- Tziganes, G. race-name, 240.
- Tzyganski Yazyk. See Istomin.
- udirik-deita, remark on form, 25 (*fl. note*).
- uglimeneder, 'uglier,' derivation of, 43 (*fl. note*).

- UJFALVY, Charles E. de: *Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch, Les*, (quot.) 60; *Kohistan le Ferghanah et Kouldja, Le*, (quot.) 62-3.
- ulján, derivation of, 54.
- Usbeks, Asiatic tribe, 61.
- Vāghris, low-caste Indian tribe, 38.
- VAILLANT: *Grammaire*, (refs.) 176 (*ft. note*), 221, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 233 (*ft. note*).
- VAN EWSUM. See Ewsum.
- Veterinary, Science, (note), 302.
- Vocabularies: Bryant's Anglo-Romani, 178-94; Collected in Sweden, 73; Coppersmith's dialect, 221-9; Harriott's Anglo-Romani, 5-20; Van Ewsum's vocabulary (1570), 133-42.
- Voivode, duties of, 287, 291.
- Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke. See Whislocki.
- VON BELOW, G.: *Landtagsakten von Jülich-Berg*, (quot.) 314.
- VON SOWA, R.: *J. G. L. S.*, (ref.) 223; *Mundart der slowakischen Zigeuner Die*, (refs.) 60 (*ft. note*), 121; *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, (refs.) 82, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141.
- Vowel sounds: in Bryant's Romani, 171-3; in Harriott's Romani, 5-6.
- VUK BRANKOVIĆ, legend of, 67.
- VULCIANUS, 131, 133, 136, 138, 186, 222.
- Waddars, Indian low-caste tribe, 36, 40.
- WAGENSEIL, 154.
- Waggons, two, G., superstition about, 301.
- WALDEMAR, King of Sweden, 73.
- WALFORD: *Antiquarian Magazine*, (quot.) 307.
- Walk to Kew, A. See Phillips.
- Wallachian loan-words in Romani, 222, 223, 225, 228.
- Watchmen, G., 77.
- Waterhen, omen of death, 160, 301.
- WAY, A. E. G. [F. W. Carew], No. 747, (refs.) 39 (*ft. note*), 309 (*ft. note*).
- Wehrmacht der Türkei und Bulgariens, Die. See Mach.
- WEINREICH, (ref.) 315.
- WELLSTOOD, Fred. C.: *Foreign Gs. in England*, 1761, (note), 307; *G. Love-Philtre*, A, (note), 70.
- Welsh G. Folk-Tales, collected and edited by John Sampson. No. 10. *Bita Kāni*, I, 40-7.
- Whip, symbolism of, among Russian Gs., 203-5.
- Whistle, G., 292.
- WHITER, Walter, 19, 169, 175.
- WIENER, Prof. Leo, 76; *Ismaelites*, 83-100.
- WILLIAMS, John, Bishop of Lincoln, letter of, on Gs., (quot.) 160.
- WILLIAMSON, Colonel, (quot.) 158.
- Wine-inspector, G., 95.
- WINSTEDT, Eric Otto: 97 (*ft. note*), 99 (*ft. note*), 167 (*ft. note*); *Deaths of Kings and Others*, (note), 318-20; *Early Annals*, (note), 159-60; *German Law*, A, (note), 314-5; *Gs. at Hemsdon, Northants*, (note), 307-12; *Gs. in France*, (note), 70; *Mashā'iliyyah of Egypt*, The, (note), 76-8; review of Areco's *Liebesleben der Zigeuner*, 152-5; *Romany Costume of the Nineteenth Century*, (note), 80; *Swiss Chronicler on the 1418 Band. A*, (note), 78-9; *Wood Family Outside Wales*, The, (note), 304-7.
- WITTICH, Engelbert: 82 (*ft. note*); *Organisation of South German Gs.*, The, 287-92; *Zigeunerisches*, 271-2.
- WLISLOCKI, Heinrich von: *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner*, (quot.) 39 (*ft. note*), (refs.) 40 (*ft. note*), 215, 220 (*ft. note*); *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, (refs.) 221 (*ft. note*), 302.
- WOLFF, J. W.: *Hessische Sagen*, 315.
- Women, G., in Russia, clever beggars and thieves, 249-51.
- Wood Family Outside Wales, The, (note). By E. O. Winstedt, 304-7.
- Wooden-plate-makers, G., 63.
- Wörterbuch des Dialekts der finnländischen Zigeuner. See Thesleff.
- WORTH, R. N.: *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records*, (quot.) 159.
- XENOPOL, A. D.: *Istoria Românilor în Dacia Traiana*, (ref.) 95 (*ft. note*)
- YAKUT, (quot.) 84, 99 (*ft. note*); criticism of, 98.
- YATES, Miss Dora E.: *Merimáskö čeriklő*, I, (note), 301-2.
- Yéchkoun, Asiatic tribe, 61.
- Zaráv, remark on form, 54.
- Zigeuner, Die. See Liebich and Pott.
- Zigeuner, G. race name, 241-4, 271, 272, 315.
- Zigeuner als Musiker in den Türkischen Eroberungskriegen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Die. By F. W. Brepohl, 241-4.
- Zigeuner im Byzantinischen Reich, Die. See Brepohl.
- Zigeuner in der Europäischen Türkei, (note). By F. W. Brepohl, 75-6.
- Zigeuner-Buch. See Dillmann.
- Zigeunerisches. See Ascoli.
- Zigeunerisches. By Engelbert Wittich, 271-2.
- Zigeunerkraut, Zigeunerkorn = henbane, 298 (*ft. note*).
- Zingani, G. race-name, 242 (*and ft. note*).
- Zingara, Zingari, G. race-name, 168, 169, 313, 314.
- ZIPPEL, 171.
- ZOLNAI and Szamota: *Supplementum ad lexicon linguae hungaricae aevi antiquioris*, (quot.) 97.
- Zsal o riczi upro pani, (song), 303-4.
- Zur Volkskunde. See Liebrecht.

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